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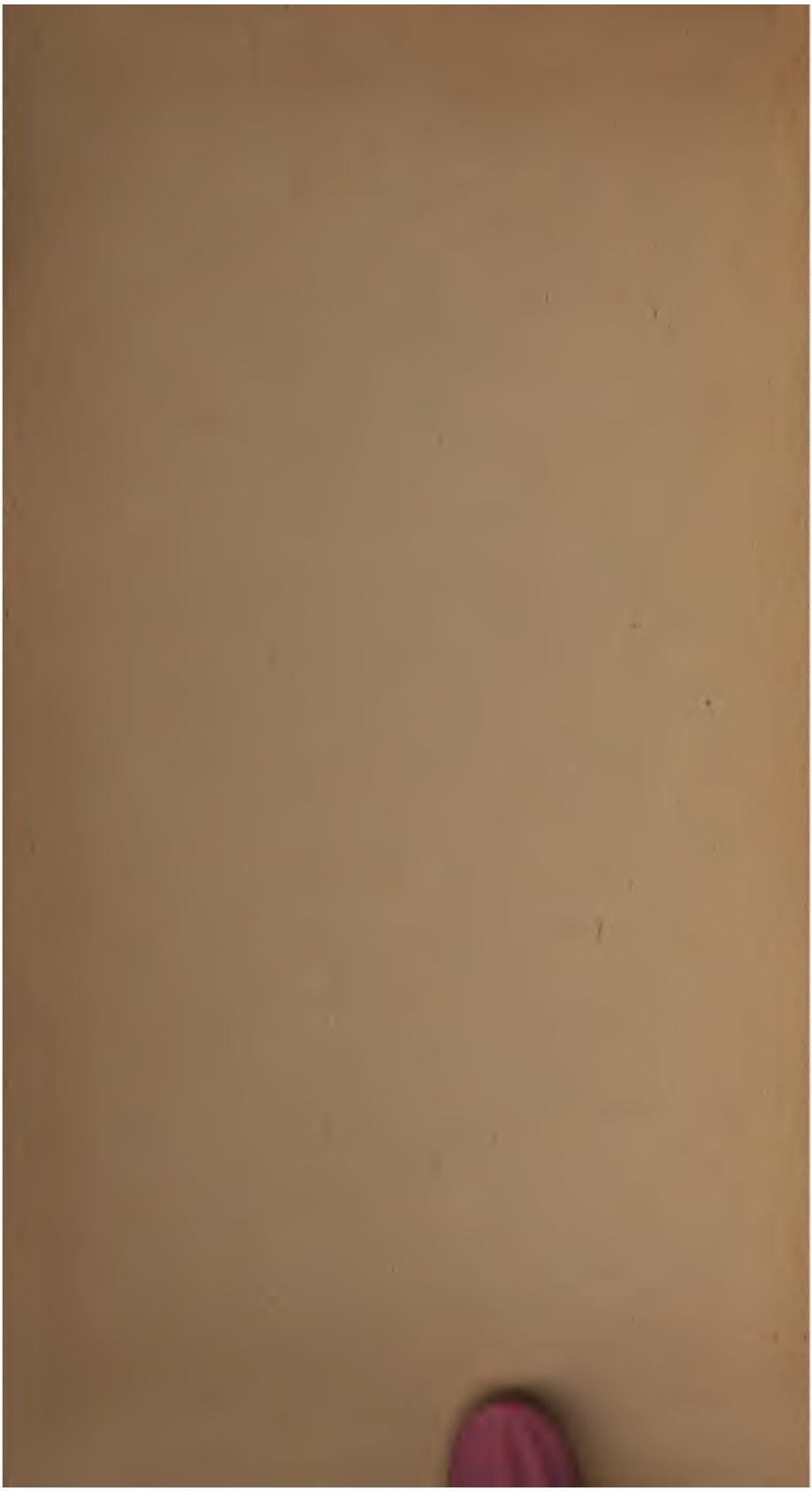

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MEXICO.

BY

H. G. WARD, ESQ.

MAJESTY'S CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES IN THAT COUNTRY

DURING THE YEARS 1825, 1826, AND PART OF 1827.

SECOND EDITION ENLARGED,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE MINING COMPANIES, AND OF

THE POLITICAL EVENTS IN THAT REPUBLIC,

TO THE PRESENT DAY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1829.

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PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

MEXICO.

BOOK V.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

SECTION I.

FIRST VISIT TO MEXICO IN 1823.—JOURNEY FROM VERA-CRUZ TO THE CAPITAL.

In the autumn of 1823, I had the honour of being appointed a member of the Commission, which His Majesty's Government was about to send to Mexico, in order to ascertain the state of affairs in that country, the political separation of which from Spain had been announced to the world in 1821, by the treaty of Cōrdŏvă, and the subsequent elevation of Ităŭrbīdĕ to the imperial throne.*

The party was composed of Mr. Hervey, who was placed at the head of the first Commission, Mr. O'Gorman, now His Majesty's Consul-General in Mexico, Mr. Mackenzie, who resided for some time as Consul at Jalapa, Mr. Thompson, Secretary to the Commission, Dr. Mair, and myself. Our voyage was monotonously prosperous; it is therefore only necessary to state that we embarked at Plymouth, on the

* *Vide* Sketch of the Revolution, Book II.

18th of October, 1823, on board His Majesty's ship Thetis, commanded by Sir John Phillimore, and anchored off the island of Sacrificios on the 11th of December, being prevented from entering the harbour of Vera Cruz by the hostilities, which had commenced, about two months before, between the town and the Castle of San Juan de Uloa.

On the passage we only touched at Madeira, where we passed four delightful days.

This island forms a connecting link between the Old and the New World, and possesses many of the characteristics of both. The curtain of vines, which extends over the whole face of the mountain above Funchal, and rises gradually to the foot of the eminence, upon which the Convent of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad is situated, is worthy of Italy or Andalusia; while the Interior recalls, at one moment, the volcanic remains so frequent in America, and at another, the striking scenery of Switzerland or the Tyrol.

This again contrasts singularly with the minor beauties of cultivation in the vicinity of the town: the trellices extending across the steep, paved road, the walls of which are covered with the Camellia Japonica, the wild luxuriancy of the gardens, and the brilliant white of the houses glittering in the sun, with verandas sheltered from its rays by a large tree, or a cluster of bananas. The whole forms a scene not easily to be forgotten, but impressed, perhaps, the more forcibly on my mind, by its total dissimilarity to that which succeeded it, —the gloomy sand-hills of Veracruz.

On the morning of our arrival at Sacrificios, I was commissioned by Mr. Hervey to go on shore in order to open our communications with the Mexicans. Not being aware that, since the firing from the Castle had commenced, the great gates of the town had been closed, and that all intercourse with it was conducted by a road from Mŏcāmbŏ Point, (nearly opposite to our anchorage,) we took advantage of a momentary silence in the batteries on both sides, and rowed

straight for the pier-head, passing within a quarter of a mile of the Castle, the walls of which were covered with men. On reaching the mole we landed, and proceeded towards the gate at the farther extremity, where, after much delay, we succeeded in obtaining admission through a wicket, behind which we found a breastwork of sand-bags, and a few straggling soldiers, with an officer, who, on due explanation being given, conducted us to the house of General Victoria, at that time Governor of the Province, and Commander-in-chief of the Army employed in the siege of Uloa.

Nothing could exceed the melancholy appearance of the streets through which we passed. A town entirely abandoned by its inhabitants, must be, at all times, a strange, and a mournful sight; but when to this unnatural solitude are added the marks of recent warfare, houses riddled with shot, churches half in ruins, and flights of vultures congregating around the carcase of some dead animal in the streets, it is difficult to imagine a more striking picture of desolation.

Nor was there any of the military bustle which usually attends a siege, to enliven the monotony of the scene. The garrison of St. John of Uloa was so small, and the climate of Veracruz so dangerous, that the Mexican force consisted merely of men enough to work the batteries, which had been constructed in the hope of making some impression upon the Castle, the bomb-proof casemates of which would have bid defiance to any such attempt, had not hunger and disease lent their powerful assistance to the besieging force without.

I do not believe that we met with a single living creature from the sea-side to General Victoria's house, where, to our great surprise, we found ourselves suddenly in the midst of loud and boisterous rejoicings. It was his Saint's day, (the day of the Virgin of Gŭadălūpĕ,) and all the officers of the garrison were dining with him, in order to commemorate it. Rather a fine band of music was playing in the court; a

number of dark, muscular-looking men were scattered carelessly around; and although the appearance of many of them was sufficiently uncouth, still, both amongst them, and amongst the officers to whom we were afterwards introduced, there was some attempt at uniformity of dress, no traces of which could be discovered in the guard, by which we had been admitted at the gate.

Of the pleasure with which the intelligence of the arrival of a British Commission in Mexico was received by General Victoria, who came out in person to welcome us, it is needless to speak. Next to the Independence of his country, his first wish through life had been to see an intercourse established with England; and that wish was at length gratified! After a long conversation with him, he conducted us to the room where the officers were assembled, by whom we were received with deafening "Vivas:" the band was stationed in the corridor; toasts were given in honour of England, and her King; in which the happy coincidence of our arrival having taken place upon the day sacred to the Patroness of Mexico, and of Guădălūpĕ Victoria, was not forgotten. Some of the impromptus made by the officers upon this "feliz casualidad" were clever, and the verses by no means ill turned; although their principal merit naturally consisted in conveying to us the feelings of the moment.

After making arrangements for landing our baggage at Mŏcāmbŏ, and receiving a promise that mules should be immediately provided for our conveyance into the Interior, we returned to the boat, accompanied by a guard of honour, much superior in appearance to that which we had found upon duty, and took leave, at the gate, of our new friends. The last mark of attention with which they favoured us I should willingly have dispensed with, for wishing to honour us with a salute, on pushing off, they forgot that their guns were shotted, and directed against the Castle, which imme-

diately opened its batteries in return, so that for some time we had the pleasure of finding ourselves between two fires. The balls and shells passed considerably above us, but we saw more than one strike the pier which we had just left, and many others bury themselves in the sands near a bastion at the Southern extremity of the town.

Notwithstanding General Victoria's wish to expedite our departure, several days elapsed before the arrangements for our journey could be completed. We found the greatest difficulty in procuring mules for our baggage, or horses for ourselves; for the trade of Veracruz having been transferred to Alvarado, a general emigration of the population had taken place, with the exception of a few sickly-looking families, which had established themselves in tents in the midst of what was once a wood of cocoa-nut trees,* a little beyond the range of the shells from the Castle. In the mean time a constant communication was kept up between the Thetis and the town, by the Mocambo road; Mr. Hervey and General Victoria exchanged visits, and on the 14th the whole Commission dined at the General's house, which, in the evening, presented a curious scene; for although there was not a woman in Veracruz, we had the music of all the regiments playing in the Patio, while the soldiers danced the Jărāvĕ, and other national dances, until a very late hour. A violent North-west wind came on about eight o'clock, which rendered it impossible for us to return on board to sleep, but General Victoria provided us with beds, and during the night the gale abated sufficiently to enable us to reach the Thetis after breakfast the next morning. We there made our final preparations for landing, and got the last of our baggage on shore, in the hope of being able to commence our

* The trees were all cut down, when Santana and Victoria were besieged in Veracruz by Iturbide's army, under the orders of General Echavarri.—*Vide* last Section of Book II.

journey early on the 16th; but the long expected mules did not arrive till late, and when they did come, such confusion ensued amongst the muleteers in parcelling out boxes and packages, very few of which were intended for the back of a mule, that although we were at work from six in the morning, it was four in the afternoon before we succeeded in getting fairly into marching order. I was at one time very much inclined to throw up the task of superintendence in despair, for with fifty baggage mules, and three English carriages, each drawn by seven wretched animals, to marshal, I saw no hope of ever leaving the beach. None of our English servants were of the slightest use, as, with the exception of mine, who had been four years with me in Spain, they spoke no Spanish; but had they been perfect masters of the language, it would have been of little avail, for neither remonstrances, nor persuasion, nor abuse, produced the least effect upon the lawless set by which we were surrounded. Nothing but the very dregs of the population had remained in Veracruz, and out of these, of course, our muleteers and coachmen were selected. They were almost all blacks, or descendants of blacks, with a mixture of Indian blood, and seemed either never to have known the restraints of civilization, or, at all events, to have lost sight of them amidst the wild scenes of the Revolution: whilst with us, they certainly acknowledged no superior but the Corporal of the escort, whose sword, the flat part of which was applied without scruple to their backs, sometimes accomplished what it was impossible for any other mode of treatment to effect.

On quitting the beach with our caravan in marching order, we followed a path, which, after winding for about a league amongst the sand-hills by which Veracruz is surrounded, joined the road to Santa Fé, a village where, although only three leagues from Veracruz, we had agreed to rendezvous, and pass the night. It was seven in the evening before I reached it, and eleven at night before the carriages appeared.

I found them imbedded in the sand about a league from Veracruz, with the coachman stretched at full length by the side of their mules, and fast asleep; a measure to which our English servants told me that they had had recourse the very moment that a difficulty occurred in advancing. With the assistance of the guard, means were taken to awaken them; but seeing that it was useless for me to remain, I rode on, leaving a *sous officier*, and four men to bring them up; and rejoicing to think, that however necessary the carriages might prove in the Capital, all the members of our party were young, and active enough to be able to dispense with them upon the road. Even in the present improved state of the communications, they are a continual source of embarrassment on a journey, for English axletrees are not at all adapted to Mexican roads, and if a wheel or a spring be injured, there is no possibility of getting it repaired: but in 1823, there was hardly a single league between Veracruz and Pĕrōtĕ, in which some vexatious delay did not occur to make us regret that we had burthened ourselves with such incumbrances at all.

We found at Sāntă Fē the first specimen of the sort of accommodations that we were to expect on our journey through the *Tierra Caliente* of Mexico. The village was composed of five or six Indian huts, rather more spacious than some which we afterwards met with, but built of bamboos, and thatched with palm-leaves, with a portico of similar materials before the door. The canes of which the sides are composed, are placed at so respectable a distance from each other as to admit both light and air: this renders windows unnecessary. A door there is, which leads at once into the principal apartment, where father and mother, brothers and sisters, pigs and poultry, all lodge together in amicable confusion. In some instances, a subdivision is attempted, by suspending a mat or two in such a manner as to partition off a corner of the room; but this is usually thought super-

fluous. The kitchen occupies a separate hut. The beds are sometimes raised on a little framework of cane, but much oftener consist of a square mat placed upon the ground; while a few gourds for containing water, some large glasses for orangeade, a stone for grinding maize, and a little coarse earthenware, compose the whole stock of domestic utensils. We found, however, provisions in abundance; fowls, rice, tortillas, (thin maize cakes,) and pine-apples, with a copious supply of orangeade, furnished an excellent supper, after which we commenced our preparations for the night. We had all taken the precaution of providing ourselves with brass camp-beds, which, in America, are one of the necessaries of life: they pack into so small a compass that two of them make a light load for a mule; while, when put together, which requires but little time or trouble, they ensure to the traveller the means of resting after the fatigues of the day with every possible convenience and comfort. Above all, the Musquito-net should not be forgotten; for without it there are few parts of the New World in which those troublesome insects do not make such an example of a *nouveau debarqué*, as not only to deprive him of rest, but to throw him into a fever for some days. We put up our beds in the open air, under the shed which projected from the front of the inn, while Dr. Mair and Mr. Thompson, whose baggage was not come up, slung two cots, which they had brought from on board, to the rafters above us. Our horses were picketed close round the shed, with an ample provision of Zăcātĕ, (dried maize stalks;) the servants slept on the outside, wrapped up in cloaks, with our saddles for pillows; and beyond them again the men and horses of the escort were stationed, with a large watch-fire, and two or three sentinels, to prevent robberies during the night. Upon the whole, I have seldom witnessed a more curious scene, and we could none of us help remarking, as we contemplated it, that if this were a fair specimen of the introduction to American diplo-

macy, there would be few candidates for the missions to the New States amongst his Majesty's older diplomatic servants in Europe.

On the morning of the 17th of December, we quitted Santa Fe at nine o'clock, having sent off the carriages and heavy baggage some hours before. Our day's journey was to be only twelve leagues, as we had been advised to sleep at Puente del Rey, a large village, celebrated as the scene of many a sanguinary engagement during the Revolutionary wars; but although the ground rises very little in the intervening space, we found the greatest difficulty in advancing, from the extreme badness of the road, which was in many places a wilderness of sand. The carriage-mules knocked up, and the coachmen mutinied both at El Mănănttĭāl, and at Pāsŏ ŏvējās, two Ranchos, at each of which they seemed determined to pass the night; and although we forced them on, and left a guard with them at last, with strict orders not to allow them to stop, they did not reach the Puente until two in the morning. We arrived ourselves about dusk, with barely light enough to enable us to admire the beautiful scenery by which we were surrounded. The bridge thrown over the river Antīgŭa at this place is, like most Spanish works of that description, admirably constructed. The arches are of stone, and the bridge itself communicates with a causeway, which, on the one side, winds down a steep descent, and on the other, forms an elevated road, along which the huts, of which the village of the Puente is composed, are scattered amongst some large trees, at considerable intervals from each other. But it is on looking towards the Veracruz side that you are struck with the picturesque appearance of the bridge, for there you perceive most distinctly the curve in which its peculiarity consists; while the fine masses of rock that command it, and the rapid stream that runs below, forcing a passage over a thousand obstacles, form a scene far superior to any that we had met with since our landing. Nothing can

be more monotonous than the general character of the country from Veracruz to the Puente: the sand-hills do not indeed extend above three miles into the interior, but for some leagues there seems to be a struggle between vegetation and sterility. Patches of a rich and luxuriant green are intersected by long intervals of rocks and sand, nor is it until you reach Pāsŏ dĕ ŏvējăs, that any thing like regular cultivation is discovered. There we passed the ruins of a large Sugar Hacienda, which had been abandoned during the Revolution, and saw evident traces of a rich and productive soil. But on leaving the river to which this fertility is due, we again found ourselves in a sandy desert, where little but the Mimosa was to be seen, except in spots where some apparently insignificant stream called into existence, at once, the luxuriant vegetation of the Tropics. In these we were quite bewildered by the variety of plants, all new to the European eye, and generally thrown together in such fanciful confusion, that the most experienced botanist would have had some difficulty in classing them; for, as each tree supports two or three creepers, the fruits and flowers of which bear no sort of proportion in point of size to the slender branches of the mother plant, it is not easy to distinguish them, at first sight, from the produce of the tree to which they cling. The air is quite perfumed at times with this profusion of flowers, many of which are most delicately coloured, (particularly the varieties of the Convolvulus kind;) while the plumage of the birds, of which, in some places, the woods are full, is hardly less brilliant than the flowers themselves. Flocks of Parrots and Macaws are seen in every direction, with Cardinals, Censōntlĭs, or mocking birds, and a thousand others, the names of which, in any language, I cannot pretend to give: Deer too, occasionally bounded across the road; but of the Jăgūārs, (Mexican Tiger,) and other wild animals, we saw none, although their skins are to be met with in great abundance. Throughout the *Tierra Caliente*, not one hundredth part of the soil has

been brought into cultivation; yet in the Indian cottages, many of which I entered, I always found a plentiful supply of Indian corn, rice, bănānăs, oranges, and pine-apples, which last, though certainly not equal to those of the Havanna in flavour, seemed to us, when heated with travelling, a most delicious fruit. Of the bănănă I am not an admirer; its taste reminded me of sweet pomatum, and I gave it up after a very short trial. All these fruits are produced, with little or no labour, on a spot of ground in the vicinity of the cottage, which, though apparently too small to support a single individual, is usually sufficient, with the addition of a few Frijoles, (beans,) and a little Chile from the Interior, to provide for the subsistence of the whole family. For this indeed, not much is required. They seldom partake of animal food: their fowls supply them abundantly with eggs, and enable them, when sent to the market of the nearest town, to purchase a little clothing: this, however, the beauty of the climate, and a sufficiently primitive notion of what decency requires, induce them, in a great measure, to dispense with. If a horse be added to the establishment, which is indispensable where there is any mixture of white blood, the forest furnishes abundant pasturage, and it causes no additional expense. A saddle, and a Machete, (a long cut and thrust sword,) which is almost always worn, are indeed costly articles; but these are transmitted, as heir-looms in the family, from one generation to another; and the young man who obtains possession of such treasures, during his father's lifetime, by any exertions of his own, may be said to have established his independence at once.

Friday the 18th, we quitted the Puente, where our accommodations had been very similar to those at Santa Fe, as we again bivouacked in front of the house, which was not nearly large enough to contain us. We took a last look before we set out at the bridge, and at the little eminence upon which Victoria had entrenched himself above. It is sufficiently

precipitous to render any attempt to carry it by assault extremely difficult, but, as a military position, it is untenable; being liable both to be turned, and to be deprived of water, with which it is supplied from the river below. Victoria experienced this when attacked by a regular force under Miyares, (as stated in the history of the Revolution,) against whom he tried in vain to maintain his ground: but as a strong hold in a Guerrilla war, the possession of Puente del Rey was of importance, by enabling the Insurgents to cut off the ordinary communication with the Capital, and to bid defiance to small detachments of the Royalist Troops. A sketch of the bridge and surrounding rocks will be found in the first Volume, which though on a small scale, sufficiently indicates both the beauties and the difficulties of the Pass.

The distance from the Pūēntĕ to Plan del Rio does not exceed six leagues, but we found, on arriving there, that our carriages were, as usual, so very far behind, that it was useless to attempt the ascent to the Ĕncērro, which commences a little beyond Plan del Rio, without fresh mules. These there was no possibility of obtaining, so that we resolved to halt at once for the day. The luxury of an inn actually built of brick, and subdivided into a number of separate rooms, each with a door opening into the Patio, or court, and, though without windows, whitewashed, and provided with a small table and a chair, reconciled us to the delay. Such indulgencies were quite unexpected.

There is a fine bridge at the Plan, thrown over a rapid stream, which, in the rainy season, would be impassable without it. It consists of a single arch of very large dimensions, and, as at Puente del Rey, communicates with a line of causeway, formerly a part of the great paved road constructed at the expense of the merchants of Veracruz. There are nothing but fragments of this road now in existence, one of which extends for about two leagues into the interior from Puente del Rey. The remainder was either broken up by

the contending parties during the Civil War, or allowed to go to ruin for want of repairs; a constant necessity for which is created by the impetuosity of the mountain torrents during the rainy season.

The village of ĕl Plān, at the time of our visit, was very healthy, but it is within the range of the Vomito, or Veracruz fever, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and is consequently by no means a safe residence in the hotter months. From November to April, the only inconvenience to be apprehended are the sand-flies, which are quite insufferable. They are so small that no Musquito-net will exclude them, and bite with such sharpness that a small drop of blood is usually the first indication of their having settled upon the hand or face. Fortunately, they differ from Musquitos in one respect, as they disappear at sunset, a peculiarity to which travellers are indebted for a chance of sleep, which they could not otherwise enjoy.

On leaving Plan del Rio, (December 19,) the ascent to the Table-land of Mexico, may be said to commence. The elevation of the Plan above the level of the sea is very trifling, but in the six leagues which intervene between it and the Encerro, the height of 3,043 feet is attained, and this is sufficient to give an entirely new character to the climate and productions. The air becomes considerably rarefied; the fruits and flowers of the Tierra Caliente disappear; and the Mimosas are replaced by the Mexican Oak; which, in the summer season, must be a welcome sight, as it is supposed to indicate to the traveller his arrival in those more healthy regions, where, if he has not brought infection with him, he has no longer any danger from the Vomito to apprehend. With the exception of this change, for which Humboldt's work had prepared us, we met with little worthy of remark on the road to the Ĕncērrŏ, where we stopped to breakfast, and to allow time for our carriages to come up. We found great reason to rejoice at not having been tempted to select it

for our quarters during the preceding night, as the house was small, and incommodious, combining all the disagreeable smells peculiar to a Spanish-American shop, of which tăsājŏ (dried beef,) and garlic are usually the most agreeable, with a great appearance of dirt, which we should have been unable to avoid by sleeping in the open air, as the change of climate was already sufficient to render the shelter of a roof indispensable. As some compensation, the distant view of Ŏrĭzāvă and Pĕrōtĕ, from the door of the inn, was very fine, as was that over the vast extent of country which we had traversed in our way from the coast.

As soon as the carriages arrived, we proceeded in the direction of Jălāpă, where we understood that some preparations had been made for our reception. After a continued ascent of about two hours, over a rugged and dangerous road, we reached the platform upon which the town stands, and pursued our course along a piece of the old Veracruz causeway, through fields of maize, and gardens, following each other in rapid succession, sometimes surrounded with hedges of the Banana and the Aloe, interspersed with Chĭrĭmōyăs and a thousand other trees; and at others by a light cane fence, which just enabled us to perceive the variety of the flowers in which the houses were almost buried within. At a little distance from the town we were met by several officers on horseback, who had been deputed to receive us, and by whom we were conducted to a house prepared for us in the principal street, where we found the Governor, with some of the principal members of the Ayuntamiento: a dinner was in readiness, to which we sate down in great state, with a band of music at the door: servants were placed at our disposal; and a *mayor domo*, or *Maitre d'hôtel* was presented to us, who, we were informed, had orders to furnish every thing that we could possibly want during our stay. In short, nothing could be more gratifying than our reception: the streets were full of people as we passed, and, although the

"*Vivas*" with which they saluted us proved that they had rather an indistinct idea as yet of our real character,* they at least showed that we were hailed as no unwelcome guests.

It was, indeed, a new epoch in the history of America that commenced with our arrival. It was the first step towards that growing intercourse with Europe, the importance of which to them, and to us, will be every day more generally felt; and as such, it justified the enthusiasm with which the resolution of His Majesty's Government was received on both sides of the Atlantic, before the evils, to which an unbridled spirit of speculation gave rise in this country, taught the disappointed to ascribe to this wise policy the misfortunes, which were to be attributed solely to their own folly.

We remained three whole days at Jălāpă, in hourly expectation of the arrival of carriage-mules, which had been sent for to Lă Pūēbla, as it was impossible for us to proceed any farther with those which had brought us with so much difficulty from Veracruz. At last they came, and on the 24th we recommenced our journey. We had had ample opportunity in the mean time to admire both the beauty of the scenery in the environs of Jălāpă, and the hospitality of the Natives. All the Creoles eagerly sought our acquaintance, and omitted nothing that could render our stay agreeable; but of the Old Spanish Veracruz merchants, we did not, I believe, see one. This was bad policy on their part; for although it was natural that they should give up their hold upon the country with reluctance, still, to show it, was only to afford their enemies a pretext for those violent measures, by which their expulsion from the Republic has been since attempted. No one laments this violence more than myself: it is discreditable to Mexico, inasmuch as it is a violation of the public faith, pledged to the Spaniards by the Plan of Iguala, for the security of the persons and property of all such as chose to remain; and it is

* Vivan los Embajadores de la Europa! (Long live the Ambassadors of Europe!) was, if I recollect right, the most general cry.

disadvantageous to the general interests of the State, by draining it of the capital left by the civil war, which was barely sufficient in 1827 to give activity to trade: but at the same time justice bids me add that it was hardly possible that any amalgamation of interests, so directly opposed to each other, should permanently take place. Very few of the Spaniards could learn to treat as equals, men, over whom they had long exercised almost absolute authority; many betrayed this feeling in the most unguarded manner; and their imprudence contributed not a little to increase that irritation, on the part of the Creoles, which had taken but too deep a root during twelve years of civil war. It is lamentable, however, to reflect upon the number of respectable and useful men, who will be involved in the common ruin. But let me return from this digression.

Of the country about Jălāpă it is impossible that any words should convey an adequate idea. It stands in the centre of some of the finest mountain scenery that the world can boast of. Nothing can be more splendid than the Peak of Ŏrĭzāvă, when the veil of clouds, which but too frequently conceals it during the day, yields to the last rays of the glorious setting sun. Such a sunset, and such a mountain, can only be seen beneath the Tropics, where every thing is upon a gigantic scale, and where, from the purity of the atmosphere, even the flood of light from above seems proportioned to the magnitude of the objects upon which it is poured forth.

Ŏrĭzāvă is 17,375 feet above the level of the sea: it is connected by a long chain of intervening mountains with the Cōffrĕ de Pĕrŏtē, (so called from the mass of rock in the shape of a chest, which distinguishes the crest of the mountain,) and the two together form a beautiful termination to the view in the direction of the Table-land. The Coffre is nearly 4,000 feet lower than Ŏrĭzāvă, and looks quite diminutive when the Peak is visible at the same time, although when not seen together, the eye rests with satisfaction upon so magnificent an object.

On the sloping ground descending from the foot of Ŏrĭzāvă to the sea, are situated the towns of Cōrdōvă and Ŏrĭzāvă, celebrated for the tobacco and coffee raised in their vicinity. The same district produces the best Vanilla, as well as the Jalap, and Sarsaparilla, mentioned amongst the exports of Veracruz. A few Indian villages are scattered over this rich country, in every part of which but little exertion is required on the part of man in order to draw a subsistence from the exuberant fertility of the soil. Immense forests occupy the intervening spaces, abounding in every variety of timber, but rarely visited, except by the Indians, at the season for collecting the crop of Vanilla: they are watered by the streams descending from the slope of the Cŏrdĭllēră, and produce, during the greatest part of the year, the fruits of the Tropics in such profusion, that Victoria subsisted upon them almost entirely, during the eighteen months which he passed there, without seeing a human being. There are many indications of their having possessed a much larger population at the time of the Conquest, as the ruins of towns, and fortifications, have been discovered, which could only have been raised by very numerous tribes: but, like every thing connected with the Indian race, their history is wrapped in obscurity, and with regard to some, not even a tradition now remains.

Jălāpă is indebted to the peculiarity of its position for the extreme softness of its climate. The town stands upon a little platform 4,335 feet above the level of the sea, and would consequently be even more exposed than the Encerro to the North-west winds, which have the effect of stunting the vegetation both above and below this favoured spot, were it not protected from their violence by an intervening ridge of mountains; while this being exactly the height, at which the clouds suspended over the ocean touch the Cordillera, there is a constant humidity in the atmosphere, which gives a balmy feel to the air, and a delightful freshness to every thing around. After climbing the tedious ascent

from Plan del Rio, nearly the whole of which lies through a dreary and monotonous country, the little declivity that forms the last mile and a half of the approach to Jălāpă, seems at all seasons a paradise; but its beauty vanishes the instant that you wander beyond the limits of the enchanted ground. This is more particularly the case on the ascent towards the Table-land, which becomes excessively steep almost immediately after leaving Jălāpă, and continues uninterruptedly so as far as Lăs Vīgăs. The distance between the two points does not exceed eighteen miles, while the difference of elevation amounts to 3,485 feet; we were therefore prepared to expect a great change of temperature, although we were far from calculating upon a transition so sudden and so complete, as that which we experienced.

We left Jălāpă about twelve o'clock on the morning of the 24th of December, with a cloudless sky, and the thermometer at 70°; but before we got half-way to Lăs Vīgăs, a Norte came on upon the coast, and in an instant we found ourselves enveloped in clouds, which, both in appearance and effect, strikingly resembled a November Scotch mist. Our cloaks proved insufficient to keep out the chilling cold; and as to the moisture, we soon found that our only chance was to push rapidly on, wherever the road would admit of it, by which means we contrived to reach our quarters for the night without being entirely wet through. The change in the scenery about us, was, in every respect, equal to that which had taken place in the atmosphere. At a very early period of the day we lost sight of the gardens of Jălāpă; and although hedges planted with Chĭrĭmōyăs extended about a league beyond the town, they soon gave place to plants of a hardier growth. These again gradually yielded to the Mexican Oak, and latterly even that to the Fir, which reigned for the last few miles in solitary pre-eminence. The light bamboo cottages of the Indians, which, notwithstanding my objections to them as places of accommodation on the road, were pretty and fantastic, were replaced by buildings of a more solid structure,

and consequently better adapted to the climate, but without any pretensions to beauty. I thought them very like the houses in parts of Sweden, and particularly in Dalecarlia, which are composed of unhewn trunks of trees, rudely fastened together, and surrounded with enclosures, twelve feet high, to protect the cattle against the wolves. But still, in the midst of this ungenial scene, there are many features that remind the traveller of the singular character of the country, through which he is passing. About two leagues from Las Vigas, there is a district covered with vesicular lava: the ground is strewed as far as the eye can reach with masses of black, calcined rock, the appearance of which evidently announces their volcanic origin. In some places these masses are of an enormous size; in others, they look as if they had been pulverized by some gigantic steam-engine; but in all, it seems as if but a few years had elapsed since the eruption which produced them took place, although not even a tradition with regard to its date is now in existence.

We found the old Veracruz causeway in a sufficiently good state of preservation between Jălāpă and Lăs Vīgăs, to afford an easy passage even for carriages; the horses and mules, however, suffer exceedingly in the steeper parts of the ascent, from the difficulty of getting a good footing on the hard pavement. After passing through the villages of Lā Crūz dĕ lă Cūēstă, Lă Hōyă, and Săn Mīgūēl ĕl Sŏldādŏ, between which we had been taught to expect some picturesque scenery, which the mist prevented us from perceiving, we reached Las Vigas about dusk, where we found very comfortable quarters prepared for us in the house of the Cura, and obtained a sufficiency of fowls to furnish a tolerable supper. No other meat was to be procured in the village, or bread; but our carriages came up in time to supply us with the last, as well as with some pine-apples and Chirimoyas, of which a stock had been laid in at Jălāpă. The Chĭrĭmōyă is a fruit unknown, I believe, in Europe: in size it is larger than the

largest orange; the rind is green, and full of little inequalities, but the pulp is a beautiful white, of such delicacy that it must be eaten with a spoon, as it assumes a rusty tinge if cut with a knife: the flavour is that of the strawberry, combined with other fruits.

I seldom recollect suffering more from cold than I did at Las Vigas: we probably felt the severity of the weather the more from having been relaxed by a month of unusually hot weather on our passage from Madeira to Veracruz. The inhabitants are but little affected by it; for although the rooms are boarded, and some precautions taken to exclude the air, a fireplace is a thing unknown; and even the Spanish brasero seems not in common use. There was, however, something more than imagination in our chilliness; for at seven the next morning the thermometor was at 41°, (about 30° below the temperature of Jălāpă,) and the ground during the night was covered with a white frost. Our horses, many of which had been bred in the *Tierra Caliente*, suffered even more than ourselves; for although we succeeded in procuring stabling for them, they were perfectly stiff with cold in the morning, and did not recover the full use of their legs until half the day's journey was concluded.

The road from Lăs Vīgăs to Pĕrōtĕ is very steep and bad. It was once nearly completed, at the expense of the Veracruz Consulado, in the same magnificent style as the rest of the causeway; but not a vestige now remains of their labours. During the Civil War, the ground between Jălāpă and Pĕrōtĕ was obstinately disputed by the Insurgents, who, in their attempts to cut off the communication between the Capital and the Coast, destroyed every part of the road that was not actually in the possession of the Royalist forces, which were stationed in considerable numbers at Jălāpă. Hence the marks of devastation, which commence at an equal distance above and below the town. We were four hours in reaching Pĕrōtĕ on horseback, although the distance is not above four leagues;

and as to the carriages, we left them, as usual, far behind. The road winds almost continually through a pine-forest, with occasional clearings, the fences round which serve to show the little value that timber possesses in these districts, as they are constructed with whole trunks of trees piled lengthways, one upon another, in wasteful profusion. These symptoms of the presence of man increased as we approached Pĕrōtĕ. After passing the village of Crūz Blāncă, we saw two large Haciendas, or farms, surrounded by extensive fields of wheat, barley, and Indian corn, which, when the crop is on the ground, may, I dare say, justify Humboldt's description of their beauty. When we saw them, they had assumed the monotonous colouring peculiar to the Table-land during the dry months; and there was, consequently, but little to attract the attention, or gratify the sight.

Pĕrōtĕ, San Juan de Uloa, Acapulco, and San Blas, being the only fortresses which the Viceroyalty of Mexico contained, we were curious to see a place to which the natives appeared to attach no little importance, and naturally conceived that it would be so situated as to command some one of the principal mountain-passes, through which an invading army would endeavour to penetrate into the Interior. We were disappointed, therefore, at finding the Castle placed beyond the last ridge of the mountains, upon the borders of one of those immense plains, which extend, almost without interruption, for fifty miles in the direction of the Capital. It is, in fact, a mere depôt for arms and bullion; for, although regularly fortified with four bastions and abundance of heavy artillery, it is too small to be of importance, and would probably not be taken into account at all by an enemy's force on its march towards the Central Provinces. The town, which lies about half a mile from the fortress, consists of one long street, with flat-roofed houses, seldom rising above the ground-floor, low windows, mostly without glass, and white-washed walls. It affords, altogether, a fair specimen of the

style of architecture introduced by the Spaniards into all their American Colonies, where, with the exception of the capitals, houses of two stories are seldom seen. We were received with great hospitality by the Governor and officers of the garrison, but proceeded almost immediately to the village of Tĕpĕyăgūālcŏ, (seven leagues farther on,) which we reached a little before dusk.

Pĕrōtĕ may be regarded as the Eastern extremity of the Table-land: it is situated 7,692 feet above the level of the sea, and as it is but little protected from the North-west winds, its climate is at times exceedingly severe. In the immediate vicinity of the town, the ground is fertile, and the Cerealia succeed remarkably well; but as you advance into the Interior, the sterility of the soil increases at every step. The pine-forests are confined entirely to the mountains; they cease to thrive upon the tracts of flat country, by which the ridges, which intersect them at intervals, are separated from each other. These form a succession of basins, which evidently must have been, at some former period, extensive lakes. The action of the water upon the foot of the mountains, by which these basins are environed, is distinctly visible, and you can even trace the line to which it appears to have risen. It seems to have partaken of the nature of that of the Lake of Mexico, for, in receding, it has left the ground covered with a thick coat of Tequesquite, or Carbonate of Soda, which is gradually destroying every trace of vegetation. The plain already produces only a scanty supply of food for the flocks of sheep which are occasionally seen wandering over it; and as the water that still remains is brackish, and grows every year more scarce, it is probable that the district will ultimately become a desert.

I hardly know any thing more gloomy than the ride from Pĕrōtĕ to Tĕpĕyăgūālcŏ; the uniformity of the scene is only broken by little hills starting up abruptly every here and there, covered with the aloe, the cactus, and a few dwarf

palms, which almost conceal the masses of lava upon which they grow. Upon the whole, we were none of us inclined to dispute the justice of the appellation by which this tract of country is distinguished, "*el Mal Pais*," although there are some redeeming points to which the European traveller may look back with interest, and even with pleasure. The first of these is the view of Ŏrĭzāvă, which is seen from this dreary plain to greater advantage than even from Jălāpă; and the second, the frequency with which specimens of "mirage" occur, in a degree of perfection which the great Sahara itself can hardly surpass. Prepared as we were for this optical illusion, we were more than once completely deceived by it, and fancied that we really saw before us a vast expanse of water, with trees, houses, and every surrounding object, beautifully reflected in it. The whirlwinds of sand too, which occasionally rise in majestic columns from the centre of the plain, were to me a novel sight; and we were all much struck with an insulated conical mountain, called El Cerro de Pizarro,* which had attracted our attention almost immediately after leaving Pĕrōtĕ, and which, on a nearer approach, we found to be composed entirely of masses of lava, so black and gloomy, as to give to the whole the appearance of having very recently emerged from the bowels of the earth.

The house in which we were lodged at Tĕpĕyăgūălcŏ, contained one large Sala, which served us for bed-room, dining-room, and every other purpose; in this, however, the whole extent of the accommodations consisted, for no provisions of any kind were to be procured, and the servants having neglected to lay in a stock at Pĕrōtĕ, we were reduced to very short allowance. Fortunately, we had a couple of cases of preserved meat with us, which we converted into soup, and this, with a few crusts of bread discovered in one of the carriages, saved us from a course of tortillas and chile,

* The outline of this mountain is given in the drawing of the Maguey, vol. I. Sect. III.

upon which the servants were dieted, *ad libitum*, as a proper recompense for not having been better purveyors.

Few people like this dish at first, although it constitutes the food of two-thirds of the population of Mexico. There is an unpleasant taste in the maize, to which, as well as to the extreme pungency of the chile, it requires some time to get reconciled. I never learnt to eat it with pleasure, though I have often had recourse to it in the absence of more palatable food.

After a most detestable breakfast, we set off, at an early hour on the 26th, for Nŏpălūcă, (a town about twelve leagues from Tĕpĕyăgūalcŏ,) having taken the precaution of sending one of the soldiers of our escort in advance, in order to avoid, if possible, a second scarcity. Our road lay through a continuation of the plains already described, where, with the exception of a few hawks and vultures, a wolf or two, and some Cŏyōtĕs, (a large kind of jackall,) which are always found prowling in the vicinity of a flock of sheep, not a living creature was to be seen. It was with considerable satisfaction that, about one o'clock, we crossed a ridge of hills that forms the North-western boundary of the Mal Pais, and found that we were about to enter upon a less dreary scene. From this ridge, to El Ojo de Agua, a solitary inn, which takes its name from a fine spring of water that rises near the house, a sensible improvement took place. A few trees and Haciendas, with little patches of cultivation around them, broke, at intervals, the monotony of the view: we saw some large flocks of sheep, a cow or two, with some horses, and as we approached the stream to which these indications of fertility were due, we found ducks and other water-fowl in great abundance.

There is a singular view of Ŏrĭzāvă from the inn-yard at Ojo de Agua. The mountain stands exactly opposite the gateway, from which a long vaulted passage leads to the Patio, or court. This passage has the effect of confining the view in such a manner, that the eye rests exclusively upon

the Peak, which appears, when thus seen, to stand alone, detached from the chain of inferior hills by which it is connected with the Coffre. In a clear day, the effect is very striking, as, from the purity of the atmosphere, the outline of this enormous mass is distinctly and sharply defined; but I should think it very difficult to transfer this effect to paper, so as to give any idea of the magnificence of the object. It is a natural picture as it now stands, and I should much doubt the power of art to do justice to it.

The boundary line between the States of Veracruz and La Puebla runs close to Ŏjŏ dĕ Ăguă, in consequence of which the guard which had accompanied us from the Coast, was replaced by an escort of Lancers, which had been stationed there by the authorities of Lă Pūēblă, to await our arrival. The men were remarkably well-mounted and equipped, and in the officer, Don Juan Gōmĕz, we found a young Creole of gentlemanlike manners, and agreeable conversation, with whose society, during the rest of our journey, we were all much pleased. After passing an hour at the inn, where there were provisions in abundance to make amends for the scantiness of our morning fare, we proceeded towards Nŏpălūcă, observing with pleasure, as we advanced, that a number of little farms gave the surest possible indication of a more fertile soil. At Santa Ana, a village about two leagues from Ojo de Agua, we were received with great politeness by the Cura, an old man who came out to meet us in his sacerdotal dress. Such an instance of courtesy towards heretics, was too remarkable not to be most gratefully acknowledged, and we remained for some time receiving and returning compliments, to the great edification of a crowd of by-standers, who regarded us with intense curiosity. We did not reach Nŏpălūcă till dusk, when we found excellent quarters at the house of one of the Regidores of the town, Don Raymundo Gŏnsălĕz, whose wife and three daughters were all employed in preparing supper for us with their own fair hands. We were much pleased

with the appearance of the town, which is clean and pretty: the houses are indeed, only built of tapia, or rammed earth; but as the walls are kept white-washed, and in good repair, there is nothing to denote the humble materials of which they are formed. The land about the town is subdivided into a multiplicity of small enclosures, which it was quite pleasing to see once more, after the deserts over which our eyes had been roaming for two whole days. They indicated habits of industry, of which we had seen but few traces in the *Tierra Caliente*, where we had rather found cause to admire the bounty of Nature, than the exertions of the inhabitants, whose indolence seemed to increase exactly in the same ratio as the facility with which their wants were supplied. But on the Table-land, the necessaries of life are not to be obtained without some efforts: the fertility of the soil is great, but it requires the hand of the cultivator to call it forth; and to this the laborious habits of the agricultural population, in the Central Provinces of Mexico, are probably due.

On the evening of our arrival at Nŏpălūcă, a courier came in from the Capital with letters informing us that disturbances had taken place at La Puebla, the capital of the Province, where it had been our intention to sleep on the following night, which, although not serious, induced the Supreme Government to wish that the Commission should take another route, which branching off to the North, across the Llānŏs de Apăn, (a district remarkable for its fertility,) enters the valley of Mexico by Ŏtūmbă and San Crĭstoval, leaving Lă Pūēblă far to the South and West. With this wish we of course complied, and two dragoons of the escort were dispatched, in order to prepare quarters for us at any Hacienda, in the direction of Otūmbă, where they might be able and willing to afford us hospitality for the night. We ourselves did not set out till ten o'clock, when we took the road to

Hŭămāntlă, (a little town four leagues from Nŏpălūcă,) which led us through a succession of large fields of corn, barley, and maize, interspersed with plantations of the Aloe, *(Agave Americana,)* from which the wine of the natives, Pulque, is extracted. Having already given a detailed account of the process by which this liquor is prepared, (Book I. Section III.) it would be superfluous to repeat it here; I shall, therefore, merely state that Pulque is nowhere found in greater perfection that in the district through which we were about to pass, where the Maguey plantations, from their vicinity to La Puebla and Mexico, constitute one great source of the prosperity of the inhabitants.

Although but very short notice had been given at Hŭămāntlă of our intention to visit that place, we found a great part of the population waiting in the streets to receive us; nor was it possible to withstand the solicitations of the Cura, at whose house we were absolutely compelled to alight. We were immediately visited by the Ayuntamiento, with the Alcalde at its head, as well as by the officers of a regiment quartered in the town; after which we were conducted to a room, where a dinner for thirty people had been prepared, in a style of hospitality that would have done honour to any country in the world. The moment we quitted the table, our kind hosts, who were determined not to do things by halves, sent for our servants, who, as well as the escort, were regaled with the innumerable dishes which we had been compelled to leave untouched; while we, being very great people, were solicited to exhibit ourselves from the balcony to the crowd assembled below. I mention these circumstances, trifling as they may appear, because they serve to show the feelings with which the prospect of an intercourse with Great Britain was hailed by the Mexicans. Nothing could be more decisive in this respect than our reception, particularly in the smaller towns, where, whatever was done, was done spontane-

ously by the inhabitants themselves, and not under the direction of the Government, as was the case at Jălāpă and Veracruz.

The population of Hŭămāntlă does not exceed three thousand souls. The town ranks as second in the district of Tlăscālă, to which it belongs; indeed, it is but little inferior in importance to the capital itself, which has now "fallen from its high estate," and does not contain above four thousand inhabitants: a sad change from the days when it set at defiance the power of Montezuma, and baffled, for some time, the efforts of Cortes to force a passage through its territory.

On leaving Hŭămāntlă, which we did not accomplish until a very late hour, it being three o'clock before dinner was concluded, we took the road to Ăcŏcōtlan, a large Hacienda about five leagues from the town, at which we found that we were to sleep. Our ride was a beautiful one, as our guide conducted us through a rich country, at the foot of the Mălīnchĕ, a mountain which forms the connecting link between the Volcanos of Mexico and that of Ŏrĭzāvă, and at the same time disseminates fertility throughout the surrounding district by the numberless streams which descend from its summit. From whichever side the Mălīnchĕ is seen, its figure is always a perfect cone: its slope produces some of the finest wheat known in Lă Pūēblă; and lower down, wherever the mountain-torrents afford any facility for irrigation, crops of maize are grown, which, in a good year, increase in the ratio of 400 fanegas for every one put into the ground.

The Hacienda of Ăcŏcōtlăn has little to recommend it but its situation: nothing, however, can be finer than this. The balcony of the great Sala, or state-room, in which we were lodged, commands a view of five mountains, two of which are upwards of two thousand feet higher than the highest mountain in Europe. We saw Orĭzāvă with its peak *couleur de rose*, reflecting the last rays of the setting sun;—the Coffre de Pĕrōtĕ already half sunk into obscurity;—the Mălīnchĕ

quite in the shade before us; and the two great Volcanos which separate La Puebla from Mexico, (Pŏpŏcătēpĕtl and Istăccīhuătl,) with an occasional ray of light playing upon their snowy summits. We were all admiring the magnificence of this scene, when the silence around us was broken in the most unexpected manner. A long file of Indians returning from the labours of the day, drew up in a line before the house, and began to chant the Ave Maria, or evening hymn. The music was very simple, and few of the voices good, yet the whole, like the *Ranz des vaches* of the Swiss, derived an interest from the splendid scenery around, and made an impression, which much sweeter strains, under other circumstances, might have failed to produce.

Our host at Ăcŏcōtlăn was a most respectable man; one of the numerous class of minor proprietors, who continue, all their lives, to cultivate the spot upon which they are born, and transmit from generation to generation an estate, which supports themselves and their children, in comfort, and comparative affluence. He received us with great hospitality, and gave us a most excellent supper, with some pulque, which, unaccustomed as we were to the beverage, most of our party thought exceedingly agreeable. This was not the case with the chile, a powerful species of Capsicum, both green and red, of which the Mexicans make an immoderate use in most of their dishes: the taste is not disagreeable, but the pungency is so great, that a stranger finds it difficult to taste it without inconvenience. Robinson states, in his account of Mina's expedition, that with many of the American officers, who were compelled to live for some days upon tortillas and chile, on their march towards the Interior, excoriation was the consequence.

Our next stage from Ăcŏcōtlăn was Cūāutmănzīngŏ, where we were advised to pass the night, although the distance was only seven leagues, on account of the difficulty of reaching any other resting-place calculated to receive so large a party.

The road was mostly good, but as it continued to wind around the foot of the Mălīnchĕ, it was occasionally intersected by deep barrancas, (or ravines,) which although perfectly passable for horsemen, retarded the progress of the carriages considerably. In one place we came to a descent of about twelve feet perpendicular, which there was no possibility of avoiding, as the barranca, both above and below, was exceedingly deep and rugged. The carriages were before us when this obstacle to our farther progress was discovered, and a dragoon came galloping back to announce that it was impossible to proceed. Upon reaching the place, however, we discovered that there was such an abundance of loose stones in every part of the ravine, that it would not be difficult to construct an inclined plane by which the carriages might descend; and this our joint efforts soon accomplished, a part of the escort having assisted in the conveyance of materials, while the rest broke down with their lances the side of the barranca. In half an hour a very tolerable bridge was manufactured, and we had the pleasure of seeing the carriages in succession reach the bottom in safety.

At Cūāutmănzīngŏ, where we arrived at an early hour, we were welcomed with the same hospitality which had characterized our reception everywhere, during our progress through the country. The most valuable portion of the estate consisted in some extensive corn-lands watered by the Mălīnchĕ, and in the Maguey plantations more immediately about the house. These we were glad to have an opportunity of visiting; and a part of the afternoon was employed in inspecting the progress of Pulque-making in all its stages. There is nothing disagreeable either in the smell or appearance of the liquor on the spot where it is thus prepared. The greatest attention is paid to cleanliness in the buildings connected with it, and it derives a very refreshing coolness from the slight state of fermentation in which it ought always to be drunk. It is only by exposure to the sun, and a careless

mode of conveyance to the great towns, which are at a considerable distance, that it acquires the unpleasant flavour compared by Humboldt to the smell of putrid meat. In this state it becomes really offensive; although to the amateurs in the capital who are unaccustomed to Pulque in its original purity, it is said to be a recommendation. On the same principle, in Madrid, Irish butter is preferred to fresh, which is thought tasteless, and insipid.

We left Cuāutmănzīngŏ early on the morning of the 29th of December, but stopped to breakfast at San Nicŏlās, a fine Hacienda belonging to the Conde de Sāntiāgŏ, with whose family we had the pleasure of making acquaintance, as they happened to be residing in the country at the time. This was our first introduction to the Creole nobility, and we were much pleased with the unaffected politeness of their manners. After a most sumptuous entertainment, we were allowed to proceed on our journey, but not until our escort and servants had been made to partake of the Count's hospitality, which was extended even to the horses of our very numerous party. At four in the afternoon, we reached the Venta de las Indias, (the Inn of the Indies,) the magnificent name of which had led us to expect better accommodations than the house, which is very small, was calculated to afford. The inn is about eleven leagues from Cuautmănzīngŏ, and seven from San Nicŏlās. The intervening space is laid out either in fields of Maize, Frijoles, wheat, and barley, or in Maguey plantations, the value of which increases in proportion to their vicinity to the Capital. The country, as the name denotes, (Los Llanos, the plains, of Apăn,) is flat and uninteresting. A few great Haciendas are scattered, at intervals, over the plain; but we did not see a tree throughout the district. Game we found in abundance, particularly hares, which differ from ours only in colour, having a much larger proportion of white, and being sometimes spotted with a sort of greyish blue.

On our approach to Otūmbă, (Dec. 30,) the appearance of a large species of Peruvian pepper-tree, called El Arbol del Peru, and a little broken ground, announced our vicinity to the mountain ridge, which still separated us from the Valley of Mexico. The Arbol del Peru is, I believe, known in Europe, although at Madrid, where I have seen it, it was a pretty, but diminutive shrub; in Mexico, where it is very common, it attains a considerable size, and is remarkably ornamental, and graceful in its appearance.

Otūmbă, like most of the smaller towns through which we had passed, appeared to have suffered considerably during the Revolution. From its vicinity both to the Capital, and to the Llānŏs, where a formidable Insurgent force was organized during the Civil War, it was transferred frequently from one party to the other, never remaining long in the possession of either, but equally maltreated by both. It will require many years of tranquillity to obliterate the traces of this period of universal suffering.

As usual, on entering the town, we found a dinner provided for us at the house of the Alcalde, of which we were forced to partake, though we regretted a delay, which retarded our arrival at Săn Jūān dĕ Tĕŏtĭhuăcān, (where we slept,) until after dusk, and consequently prevented us from visiting the Mexican antiquities in the vicinity of that place. These ancient monuments consist of two immense pyramids, dedicated to the Sun and the Moon, truncated, as all the Toltec pyramids are, and considerably defaced both by the hand of time, and by the fanaticism of the first conquerors, who seem to have left nothing undone in order to destroy every memorial of the primitive religion of the country. Such, however, is the solidity of these structures, that it has not been found possible to complete their destruction. They stand at some distance from the road, and it was nearly dusk when we passed them; but seen even thus, there was something imposing in the enormous size of these masses, which rise conspicuous

in the middle of the valley, as if to testify of ages long gone by, and of a people whose power they alone are left to record. Reflections such as these strike the imagination very forcibly after traversing the plain of Otumba, where the Mexicans made one of their most gallant struggles against the superior skill and weapons of their invaders. I could not help calling to mind the description given by Solis of that plain,—(a description which used to be my delight as a boy, long before I ever dreamed that it would be my fate to visit the spot,)—with the rays of the sun playing upon the crests of the Mexican warriors, adorned with feathers of a thousand hues, and contrasting the picture which he has traced of that brilliant army, with the state of ignorance, wretchedness, and abject submission, to which their descendants have been reduced since the Conquest. Whatever be the advantages which they may derive from the recent changes, (and the nature of these time alone can determine,) the fruits of the introduction of our boasted civilization into the New World have been hitherto bitter indeed. Throughout America the Indian race has been sacrificed; nor can I discover that in New Spain any one step has been taken for their improvement. In the neighbourhood of the Capital nothing can be more wretched than their appearance; and although, under a Republican form of government, they must enjoy, in theory at least, an equality of rights with every other class of citizens, they seemed, practically, at the period of my first visit, to be under the orders of every one, whether officer, soldier, churchman, or civilian, who chose to honour them with a command.

We left Săn Juān early on the 31st of December, and commenced, not without much curiosity, our approach to the Capital. We were gratified almost immediately with a view of the Valley of Mexico, but the day being unusually cloudy, neither the Lakes, nor the town, were distinctly visible. After descending from the ridge of hills, which forms the boundary to the North-east, and traversing a long stone causeway, by

which the lake of Tĕzcūcŏ is separated from that of San Chrĭstōvăl, we arrived about twelve o'clock at the Ġuădălūpĕ gate, where we were met by Mr. Ălămān, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. This gentleman, after making us enter a large state-coach, which had been Ĭtŭrbīdĕ's, but was now destined by the Government for our use, conducted us to a house on the Ălămēdă, or great public walk, which had been furnished for our reception, where he left us to make our own arrangements, after begging us to consider ourselves completely at home, and adding that we should find every thing that we could possibly want provided for us.

Of this unexpected courtesy we were glad, at first, to avail ourselves, as all the heavy baggage had been left at Jălāpă; only a few mules, with our beds, portmanteaus, and a canteen, having accompanied us to the Capital. This is a necessary arrangement in Mexican travelling, as the ordinary pace of a muleteer, when his mules carry their full load of twelve Arrobas, (300 lbs.) does not exceed four leagues a day: with a load of 200 lbs. they keep pace with a carriage without difficulty, and are then much preferable to any other mode of conveyance for baggage, as no roads, however bad, can stop them, while with any thing upon wheels difficulties are constantly occurring.

None of our party had suffered from sickness on the journey, yet we were all much fatigued on reaching the Capital. There is something very trying at first in the climate of the Tropics, particularly where, as in our case, the sedentary life of a ship is exchanged for one of sudden and violent exertion. The transition, too, from the relaxing heat of the Coast, to the rarefied atmosphere of the Table-land, was severely felt by us all. We had disdained to use the precautions which the natives uniformly take when travelling, by muffling up the lower part of the face in a white handkerchief, and the consequence was that our lips were cracked by the sun, and the peculiar subtilty of the air, in a manner that

long left us a painful recollection of our journey. In every other respect we could only look back to it with pleasure. We had traversed a country, hitherto visited by very few of our countrymen, where, if there were but few beauties, there was novelty in abundance to attract us, and we had received, at every step, the most unequivocal proofs, that the Commission with which we were entrusted was a most acceptable one to the great mass of the inhabitants. Many of them termed the commencement of a more unrestricted intercourse with Europe, "the second discovery of the New World;" and such it has indeed proved to us, for we have acquired more information respecting America, and a greater insight into the capabilities of the country, and the character of its inhabitants, in the last three years, than had been obtained during the three centuries which preceded them.

SECTION II.

RESIDENCE IN THE CAPITAL; AND RETURN TO THE COAST.

THE approach to Mexico did not give us a very favourable idea either of the Capital, or of the country about it. The valley on the Otumba side possesses none of the beautiful features which are so remarkable to the South and East; for, having more recently formed a part of the great lake of Tĕzcūcŏ, which in the rainy season still extends as far as San Crĭstōbăl, the waters in receding have left a barren tract, covered with a crust of carbonate of soda. Sterility prevails, with few interruptions, from the village of Săn Jūan dĕ Tĕŏtīhŭacān to the Convent of Guădălūpĕ, where the Virgin of Guădălūpĕ, the Patroness of Mexico, has taken up her abode. A drawing of this rich but singular building will be found in the First Volume: it is difficult to say to what style of architecture it belongs, as all pretensions to uniformity are destroyed by the Capillas, (chapels,) erected in the vicinity of the principal edifice by the more wealthy votaries of the Virgin, one of which is very remarkable, for, having been built in consequence of an escape from shipwreck, in order to commemorate the event, it has assumed as much as possible the form of the sails of a ship.

The avenue extending from Guădălūpĕ to the gates of the Capital is traced upon the line of one of the ancient Mexican causeways: it is broad and paved in the centre, with a row

of trees on each side; but the suburb to which it leads by no means corresponds with this magnificence. It is dreary and desolate, the Indian population by which it was formerly tenanted having been destroyed by an epidemic disorder, while their houses, which were merely composed of mud-bricks baked in the sun, are entirely in ruins.

Such a scene agreed too ill with the picture which Humboldt has drawn of Mexico, not to occasion us considerable disappointment, nor were we satisfied with the assurances which we received, that we had not passed through any one of the principal streets of the town, on our way from the gate, until a view of the splendid Calle de San Francisco, which enters the Alameda close to the house in which we were lodged, convinced us of the propriety of not forming too hasty an opinion. The second day made converts of us all: in the course of it we had occasion to visit most of the central parts of the town, and, after seeing the great Plaza, the Cathedral, the Palace, and the noble streets communicating with them, we were forced to confess not only that Humboldt's praises did not exceed the truth, but that amongst the various Capitals of Europe, there were few that could support with any advantage a comparison with Mexico.

In the general style of the architecture there is something very peculiar. The streets are broad, airy, and drawn at right angles, so that by looking down any two, at the point where they intersect each other, a view of nearly the whole extent of the town is commanded. The houses are spacious, but low, seldom exceeding one story; the roofs are flat, and as they sometimes communicate with each other for a considerable distance, when seen from an elevation, they look like immense terraces, the parapets by which they are separated being lost in the distance. Few of the public buildings attain the height to which an European eye is accustomed in such edifices. This is owing partly to the difficulty of laying a good foundation in the valley of Mexico, where water is

uniformly found at a very few feet from the surface, and partly from the frequency of earthquakes. The first renders it necessary to raise all the larger buildings upon piles, while the second, although the shocks are seldom severe, would endanger the safety of very lofty edifices, which are the first to suffer.

Every one who has resided in a Southern climate, knows how much the purity of the atmosphere tends to diminish distances; but even at Madrid, where the summer sky is beautifully clear, I never saw it produce this effect in so extraordinary a degree as at Mexico. The valley is surrounded with mountains, most of which are, at least, fifteen miles from the capital, yet on looking down any of the principal streets, (particularly in the direction of Săn Ängel, or Sān Agustin,) it appears to be terminated by a mass of rocks, which are seen so distinctly, that on a fine day, one can trace all the undulations of the surface, and almost count the trees, and little patches of vegetation which are scattered over it.

The general appearance of the town at the period of our arrival was dull, except at an early hour of the morning, when the great streets presented a very lively scene, particularly those near the Cathedral, and the Plaza Mayor, where the Părĭān, and the principal shops are situated. In these we found many articles of domestic manufacture; hats, with cotton and woollen cloths, from La Puebla and Quĕrētărŏ;—a great variety of coloured blankets, called Mangas, used as a cloak when riding by most people, and as a substitute for every other kind of clothing by the lower orders;—leather, curiously wrought, from Guadalajara;—with saddles, spurs, lassos, and all the various trappings with which Mexican horses are usually disfigured. These were concentrated upon one point; near which, in the Calle del Plateros, there was a whole nest of silversmiths. In the other parts of the town, some cumbrous furniture was occasionally

to be met with, as bedsteads, presses, and tables, painted, varnished, and inlaid at a vast expense, but of a most uncouth shape, and generally as little calculated for comfort, as for ornament. The other contents of the shops appeared to be European, but the supply was scanty, and the price enormous. Nature, on the other hand, as if to compensate the want of the luxuries of the Old World, seemed to have been most munificent in her gifts. For many days after my arrival, I could never pass a common fruit-stall without stopping to admire the variety of fruits and flowers with which it was adorned. Pine-apples, oranges, bananas, chirimoyas, melons, grenaditos de China, and a thousand other delicious fruits, may be procured during the greatest part of the year, together with pears, apples, and other productions of more Northern climates. Many of these fruits do not, it is true, thrive on the Table-land; but it must always be borne in mind that Mexico, from the peculiarity of its geological structure, and the manner in which heat is modified by height in every part of its territory, combines, sometimes, within a very few leagues, the greatest possible variety of climates. On the road to Acapulco, for instance, a descent, as rapid as that from Las Vigas to Jalapa, commences within a few miles of the Capital, so that on reaching the plains of Cuĕrnăvācă, you find a *Tierra Caliente*, with all its various productions, from which Mexico derives a constant and most abundant supply. On the Table-land, flowers are to be found at all seasons, but particularly from March to June, when roses spring up in such profusion, that, on the *dias de fiesta*, hundreds of men and women, of the very lowest classes, are seen returning covered with garlands from the Chĭnāmpăs. The trees, too, preserve their foliage during ten months of the year.

With such advantages as these, the valley about the Capital might be made a paradise; yet there is hardly a single country-house to be seen, except in the Pueblos of

Săn Angĕl, and Săn Ăgŭstīn, and these have been nearly abandoned since the recommencement of the Revolution. The principal feature in the smaller villages is a little white chapel, which produces a beautiful effect when seen at a distance; but, as you approach, the charm is broken, for it is usually surrounded by nothing but wretched hovels, affording shelter to a few Indian families, with all their live stock, compressed into the smallest possible compass. Yet there are very pretty rides in many directions: Chăpūltĕpēc and Tăcŭbāyă (of which I shall have occasion to speak later,) are within a moderate distance; and, by taking the direction of the Păsēo dĕ lăs Vīgăs, you see the remains of the Chĭnāmpăs, or floating gardens, which are to be found at a little distance from the canal of Chalco. It seems to me questionable whether they ever did float, but it is certain that they are now fixtures; they are surrounded, however, by a broad ditch full of water, over which a little drawbridge is thrown, to keep up the communication with terra firma. Of the correctness of the description which Humboldt gives of their beauties, it was impossible for us to judge, as, in January, we naturally look in vain for the hedges of flowers, with which he states them to be adorned: to us they appeared mere kitchen-gardens, and it is, in fact, from thence that the Capital is principally supplied with vegetables. The hut of the Indian proprietor, far from adding to the attractions of the scene, is generally a miserable abode, but too well suited, in point of appearance, to the squalid looks and tattered garments of its inhabitants.

The canal of Chalco presents a much more lively prospect. Both evening and morning it is covered with canoes, in which the natives convey the produce of their gardens, fruits, flowers, and vegetables, to the Mexican market. Chalco is a large town, situated upon a lake of the same name, about twenty miles to the South-east of the Capital; the canal which leads to it is very narrow. The canoes mostly used are of two

kinds: one, a punt, which is pushed along by men, and contains sometimes the joint stock of two or three families; the other, a very light narrow canoe, about twelve feet in length, and just broad enough to contain one person sitting down, at each end, with their little provision for the market piled up between them. These canoes are chiefly worked by women, with single paddles, with which, however, they are made to skim over the water with great velocity. The gesticulations of these ladies, when animated by a little pulque on their return home, their extreme volubility, and the energy displayed in their quarrels with the tribes of children which they carry about with them, form a curious contrast to their melancholy looks, and extreme taciturnity at all other times. They are, however, a very hardy race, and capable of supporting great fatigue. I have often met, when returning from my rides, whole files of men and women, all loaded, the men with baskets, the women with a couple of children each, setting out from Mexico at five in the evening, to return to their villages, which I usually found, upon inquiry, to be seven or eight miles off; and this they accomplished in an hour and a half, by continuing steadily at a long Indian trot, which many of them are able to keep up for a surprising distance. If a question be asked of the leader, the whole party stops, and when it is answered, they proceed again together at the same uniform pace.

Amongst the many curious scenes that Mexico presented at the end of 1823, I know none with which we were more struck than the Alameda. As compared with the Prado of Madrid, it was, indeed, deprived of its brightest ornament, the women; for few or none of the ladies of Mexico ever appear in public on foot; but to compensate this, it had the merit of being totally unlike any thing that we had ever seen before. On a Sunday, or *Dia de Fiesta*, the avenues were crowded with enormous coaches, mostly without springs, but very highly varnished, and bedizened with extraordinary

paintings in lieu of arms, in each of which were seated two or more ladies, dressed in full evening costume, and whiling away the time with a segar *en attendant* the approach of some of the numerous gentlemen walking or riding near. Nor were the equestrians less remarkable; for most of them were equipped in the full riding-dress of the country, differing only from that worn by the lower orders in the richness of the materials. When made up for display in the Capital, it is enormously expensive. In the first place, the hind-quarters of the horse are covered with a coating of leather, (called the anquera,) sometimes stamped and gilt, and sometimes curiously wrought, but always terminating in a fringe or border of little tags of brass, iron, or silver, which make a prodigious jingling at every step. The saddle, which is of a piece with the anquera, and is adorned in a similar manner, rises before into an inlaid pummel, to which, in the country, the lasso is attached; while the plated headstall of the bridle is connected by large silver ornaments with the powerful Arabic bit. Fur is sometimes used for the anquera; and this, when of an expensive kind, (as black bear-skin, or otter-skin,) and embroidered, as it generally is, with broad stripes of gold and silver, makes the value of the whole apparatus amount to four or five hundred dollars, (about 100*l.*) A common leather saddle costs from fifty to eighty dollars. The rider wears a Mexican hat, with a brim six inches wide, a broad edging of gold or silver lace, and a very low crown; he has a jacket, likewise embroidered in gold, or trimmed with rich fur. and a pair of breeches open at the knee, and terminating in two points considerably below it, of some extraordinary colour, (pea-green or *bleu celeste,)* and thickly studded down the sides with large silver buttons. The lower part of the leg is protected by a pair of Guadalajara stamped-leather boots, curiously wrapped around it, and attached to the knee with embroidered garters; these descend as far as the ankle, where they are met by shoes of a most peculiar

shape, with a sort of wing projecting on the saddle side;* and the whole is terminated by spurs, (made at Lerma or Toluca,) of so preposterous a size, that many of them weigh a pound and a half, while the rowels of all trail upon the ground, if, by any chance, the wearer is forced to dismount. A cloth manga, or riding-cloak, is often thrown over the front of the saddle, and crossed behind the rider in such a manner as to display the circular piece of green or blue velvet in the centre, through which the head is passed when the manga is worn, and which is generally very beautifully embroidered. The cost of the whole dress, when the saddle is of fur, with *armas de agua* of the same materials, it is not easy to calculate, as it depends entirely upon the degree of expense to which a person chooses to go in the embroidery. A very handsome saddle may be bought for three hundred dollars. I have known two hundred dollars given for a pair of Guadalajara boots, (worked with silver,) but eighty may be taken as a very liberal price. A jacket, not at all particularly fine, would cost as much more. The hat is worth twenty dollars; the breeches, if at all rich, fifty or sixty; the spurs, with embroidered stirrup-leathers, twenty; the plated bridle, thirty-two; while a manga of the most ordinary kind is not to be procured under one hundred dollars, and, if at all remarkable, could not be purchased for less than three The horse usually mounted on these occasions must be a Brazeador,† fat, sleek, and slow, but with remarkably high action before; which it is thought, tends to show off both the animal and the rider, to the greatest advantage. The *tout ensemble* is exceedingly picturesque, and the public walks of Mexico will lose much in point of effect, when the riding-dress of England, or France, is substituted, as it

* The use of these is confined to the middling and lower classes.

† The name is taken from the peculiar action of the *brazos*, or forelegs, which are doubled up at every step, while the weight of the horse is thrown upon the hind-quarter.

probably will be, for a national costume of so very peculiar a character.

The Ălămēdă is situated nearly at one extremity of the town, and communicates with the Paseo Nuevo, a broad avenue of trees, from the extremity of which the road to Chăpūltĕpēc, and Tăcŭbāyă, branches off. The first is a summer palace, built by the celebrated Count Galvez during his Viceroyalty, upon a rock, to the foot of which the waters of the lake of Tĕzcūcŏ formerly extended. Nothing can be more beautiful than its situation, or more striking than the view of the valley of Mexico which it commands. The road to Chăpūltĕpēc is divided by an aqueduct, which separates the portion of it destined for carts and mules, from that intended for carriages and equestrians. The structure of this aqueduct is solid; it consists of nine hundred arches, and the fountain, from which it is supplied, produces the clearest and most pellucid water I almost ever saw. On entering the gardens of Chăpūltĕpēc, the first object that strikes the eye is the magnificent Cypress, (Sabino, Ăhŭahuētĕ, or *Cupressus disticha*,) called the Cypress of Montezuma. It had attained its full growth when that monarch was on the throne, (1520,) so that it must now be, at least, four hundred years old, yet it still retains all the vigour of youthful vegetation. The trunk is forty-one feet in circumference, yet the height is so majestic, as to make even this enormous mass appear slender. On a close inspection, it appears to be composed of three trees, the trunks of which unite towards the root so closely as to blend into one; this circumstance, however, led us to give the preference to a second Cypress, not quite equal to the first in circumference, (it is thirty-eight feet in girth,) but as old, as lofty, and distinguished by a slight curve towards the middle of the stem, which gives it a particularly graceful appearance. Both trees are covered, in part, with a parasitic plant, (*Tillandsia usneoides*,) resembling long grey moss, which sets off their dark foliage amaz-

ingly. They were formerly surrounded by a whole wood of *Sabinos*, as venerable as themselves; but the Revolution, which spared nothing, did not respect them. A detachment of troops was quartered at Chăpūltĕpēc, which, from its commanding height, is a strong military position; and although it was never attacked, more damage was done by these barbarians, than the place would have sustained had it been taken by storm. They cut down a number of the finest old trees for fire-wood, and as no notice was taken of such slight excesses, at a time when licence was the order of the day, it is wonderful that any should have escaped. The view from the Azŏtĕă of Chapultepec embraces the full extent of the valley of Tĕnōchtĭtlān, with its lakes and villages, and highly cultivated fields, intersected, every here and there, by rocks of the most uncouth shape, which stand sometimes isolated, and sometimes in groups so very singularly put together, as to give quite a novel character to the scene. Beyond these again, the eye rests upon the two splendid mountains, which form the boundary of the valley to the South-east. The most distant of these, Pŏpŏcătēpetl is higher than any mountain in the Northern division of America, except Mount St. Elias. Iztăccĭhuătl, which is much nearer, is two thousand feet lower; but, from whatever part of the valley the two are seen, they stand proudly preeminent; and, in the evening, it is beautiful to watch the effect of the last rays of light playing upon their summits, whilst every thing around is sinking into obscurity.

In the interior of Chăpūltĕpēc, there is nothing at all worthy of remark, for the principal apartments are neither spacious, nor lofty; but the building, when seen from without, is a beautiful object, and one, upon which the eye rests with pleasure in almost every part of the valley.

The great road to Lĕrmă and Tŏlūcă diverges to the South-west from Chăpūltĕpēc, and passes through Tăcŭbāyă, a village about four miles from the gates of the Capital,

formerly the country residence of the Archbishop of Mexico. The episcopal palace is situated upon an elevated spot, with a large olive plantation, and a garden attached to it. The windows of the principal rooms command an extent of country nearly equal to that seen from Chăpūltĕpēc, but the place has a deserted and melancholy appearance, having been entirely neglected since the Revolution.

Amongst the few public buildings in the town of Mexico which it can be necessary to describe, the Cathedral is one of the finest. It covers an immense space of ground, but to those who are accustomed to the beautiful spring of the arch, by which the old Gothic churches in Europe are distinguished, nothing can make up for the want of height, which, as I have already remarked, is an unavoidable defect in Mexican architecture. Riches have been lavished upon the interior of the Cathedral; but there is nothing grand or imposing in the effect of the whole. The most remarkable feature is a balustrade, occupying the centre of the church; it is composed of a metal brought from China, through the Philippine Islands, (whence its name, Metal de China,) and appears to be a composition of brass and silver, massive, but not handsome: it must however have cost a very large sum, as it was paid for by the weight in dollars. In the outer wall of the Cathedral is fixed a circular stone, covered with hieroglyphical figures, by which the Aztecs used to designate the months of the year, and which is supposed to have formed a perpetual calendar. At a little distance from it, is a second stone, upon which the human sacrifices were performed, with which the great Temple of Mexico was so frequently polluted: it is in a complete state of preservation, and the little canals for carrying off the blood, with the hollow in the middle, into which the piece of jasper was inserted, upon which the back of the victim rested, while his breast was laid open, and his palpitating heart submitted to the inspection of the High Priest, give one still, after the

lapse of three centuries, a very lively idea of the horrors of this disgusting operation. Whatever be the evils which the conquests of Spain have entailed upon the New World, the abolition of these sacrifices may, at least, be recorded, as a benefit conferred upon humanity in return.

The Cathedral forms part of the northern side of the Plaza Mayor, or great square. Another whole side is occupied by the Palace, formerly the residence of the Viceroy, but now occupied by the Executive power, the Ministers, who have their offices there, and the principal courts of justice; so that it presents, at all hours, a very busy scene. In the interior, the part most worthy of notice is the Botanical Garden, which was extensive as well as rich, until the Revolution, when a portion of it was converted into barracks for the body-guard of the Viceroys, who were taught, by the fate of Iturrigaray, the necessity of having a strong military force constantly at hand. Many of the most valuable productions were afterwards removed, by order of Madame Căllējă, when Vice-Queen, to make room for some European vegetables, of which she was particularly fond; but in 1823, it was supposed that the garden still contained nearly three hundred species of plants little known in Europe. Of these I can attempt no description. I was, however, much struck with a tree of considerable size called "El Arbol de las Manitos," the tree of the little hands, (*Cheirostemon platanifolium*,) bearing a beautiful red flower, the centre of which is in the form of a hand, with the fingers a little bent inwards. Only three trees of the kind exist in all Mexico; two in the botanical garden, and one, (the mother plant,) in the mountains of Tŏlūcă, where it was accidentally discovered. The same mountains produce a very singular species of Cactus, which has likewise been transplanted to the botanical garden. It looks exactly like an old man's head, as it is covered with long grey hair, which completely conceals the thorns: it is raised in boxes filled with pieces of the scoria, amongst which

it was originally found. The garden is full of humming birds, which feed upon the flower of the Arbol de las Manitos, and, to the European visitor, add much to the novelty of the scene.

Like most Spanish towns, Mexico abounds in churches and convents, the interior of which is very splendid, particularly that of the Profesa, and the great convent of San Francisco. The College of Mines is likewise a magnificent building, the plan of which does honour to the taste of the architect, (the celebrated Tolsa,) although, from some radical defect in the execution, the edifice is now falling into ruins. It is supposed that the piles, upon which the foundations were laid, were not driven to the depth specified by the contract, in consequence of which the superstructure has given way, while the lower floor has sunk below the level of the street. It is most melancholy to see magnificent rows of columns, windows, and doors, completely out of the perpendicular, with walls and staircases cracking in every direction. The roof, too, in some places, and the ceilings in almost all, are falling in, and a very few years will complete the destruction of this noble edifice, which ought to have served as a monument of the wealth and magnificence of the miners of New Spain, at whose expense it was erected. The collection of minerals, which the College contains, is rich, but in the very worst order possible; as are also the models and instruments, though a little more attention seems to have been paid to them. They are under the care of a Professor, who gives lectures on chemistry and mineralogy, alternately, which were formerly very numerously attended. His auditors are now reduced to two or three solitary pupils, and the gloom of the vast apartments in the interior corresponds but too well with the dilapidated state of the building without.

By far the most disagreeable part of Mexico, at the close of 1823, was its Lazzaroni population, which rendered the suburbs one continued scene of filth and misery. Twenty

thousand of these Leperos infested, at that time, the streets, exhibiting a picture of wretchedness to which no words can do justice. In addition to the extraordinary natural ugliness of the Indian race, particularly when advanced in years, all that the most disgusting combination of dirt and rags could do to increase it was done. Dress they had none: a blanket full of holes for the man, and a tattered petticoat for the woman, formed the utmost extent of the attire of each; and the display of their persons, which was the natural consequence of this scarcity of raiment, to a stranger was really intolerable. Yet amongst these degraded creatures are found men endowed with natural powers, which, if properly directed, would soon render their situation very different. The wax figures, with which Bullock's exhibition has rendered most people in London acquainted, are all made by the Leperos, with the rudest possible implements. Some of them are beautifully finished, particularly the images of the Virgin, many of which have a sweet expression of countenance, borrowed, originally, I suppose, from some picture of Murillo's, for it is difficult to believe that the men by whom they are made could ever have imagined such a face. It is Humboldt, I believe, who remarks that it is to imitation that the powers of the copper-coloured race are confined: in this they certainly stand unrivalled, for while the Academy of San Carlos continued open, (a most liberal institution, in which instruction was given in drawing, and models, with every thing else required for the use of the students, provided at the public expense,) some of the most promising pupils were found amongst the least civilized of the Indian population. They seemed (to use the words of the Professor, who was at the head of the establishment,) to draw by instinct, and to copy whatever was put before them with the utmost facility; but they had no perseverance, soon grew tired of such little restraint as the regulations of the Academy imposed, and disappeared, after a few lessons, to return

no more. It remains to be seen whether any thing can be effected, by a better system of government, for a race of men composed of such heterogeneous elements. In 1824 they were nothing but a public nuisance. It was hardly possible to pass through those parts of the towns, of which they had possession; and had it not been for the extreme purity of the air, the accumulation of filth before their doors must infallibly have produced a pestilence. The fear of wandering, by mistake, into their territories, which we did, once or twice, on our return from distant excursions, induced us latterly, to prefer the Tacubaya road to any other, because it led at once into the open country, and afforded an easy communication with the spacious avenues, extending from the Chăpūltĕpēc gate in different directions, for nearly two leagues round the town.

Of the state of society in 1824 it is unnecessary here to speak, as we saw the Capital under very unfavourable circumstances. A civil war, carried on with unexampled cruelty on both sides, had desolated the country for thirteen years; and, although the contest with Spain was at length decided, the disturbances, which had arisen in consequence of Iturbide's elevation to the throne, had terminated only a few months before our arrival. The form of government to be adopted was not definitively determined upon; for, though the Provinces united in a cordial detestation of the yoke of the Mother-country, great differences of opinion prevailed with regard to the propriety of substituting a Central, or a Federal, Republic for her authority. The composition of the Executive was exceedingly singular: it consisted of Generals Victoria, Bravo, and Negrete, each of whom being employed in different commissions in the Interior, was replaced by a substitute named by the Congress, who exercised the supreme authority, in conjunction with his colleagues, until the return of the Proprietario, (the member originally named,) to the Capital. The substitutes in January 1824 were Messrs. Mi-

chelena and Dominguez, with General Guerrero, by whom the affairs of the country were for some time conducted. A government thus constituted, found it no easy task to curb the licentious spirit generated by the civil war; and there was, consequently, much wildness in the appearance of the troops, and no little insubordination on the part of the officers, of which the insurrection of Lobato afforded a memorable example. Means were found to repress both this, and every similar attempt to resist the authority of the Supreme Government; but time was requisite in order to efface the demoralizing effects of the Revolution, and every thing was still in an incipient state. The streets of the capital were unlighted; the pavement in many places destroyed, and the principal houses shut up; while the general appearance of the population bespoke poverty and distress. There was hardly a single foreign resident, with the exception of two gentlemen, (Mr. Ruperti, of the house of Green and Hartley, and Mr. Staples,) who had formed establishments in the city of Mexico, a few months before the arrival of the Commission. Trade was in a state of absolute stagnation; for most of the old Spanish capitalists had withdrawn from the country, and no new channel of communication with Europe had been opened to supply their place. The Mines were in like manner abandoned, and all the numberless individuals who depended upon these two great sources of national prosperity for their subsistence, were reduced to absolute want.

The effects of such a state of things were felt by every class of society, for a great depreciation in the value of agricultural produce was the consequence of the general distress; and many landed proprietors, whose incomes, in better times, amounted to fifty, or sixty, thousand dollars, were compelled to reside entirely upon their estates, from the impossibility of keeping up an establishment in the Capital. The seeds of future prosperity were, however, in existence, and it was evident that time and tranquillity were alone requisite in order

to bring them to maturity. All our inquiries tended to give us a higher opinion of the resources of the country; and next to Independence, the general and most anxious wish of the population seemed to be for peace. I, therefore, quitted the Capital, where my stay did not exceed three weeks, with a conviction that if it should be my fate to revisit it, I should find things in a very different state; and it is not without satisfaction that I reflect upon the manner in which this belief was justified by subsequent events.

Before I left Mexico, I had an opportunity of ascertaining the exact nature of the sensations excited by an earthquake, and I cannot say that I found them sufficiently agreeable to entertain any wish for their frequent repetition. On the morning of the 14th of January, 1824, we experienced a shock of the most unpleasant kind, which lasted about six seconds: the motion was perpendicular, not horizontal, and the various noises by which it was accompanied, the cracking of the doors, the rattling of the windows, and the melancholy howling of the dogs, who are usually the first to feel, and to announce, the approach of an earthquake, were well calculated to alarm even the least timid. The first shock occurred at four in the morning, and was followed by a succession of others, which, though very slight, served to connect it with a second very severe one, which took place at sunrise. Seventeen other vibrations, so slight as to be almost imperceptible to foreigners, were counted during the next twenty-four hours, after which they ceased, nor have I since experienced any thing of the same kind. Earthquakes seldom do any serious injury in Mexico; a church or two is sometimes thrown a little out of the perpendicular, but beyond this their effects have not often extended. The past, indeed, is no security for the future, in a country abounding in the traces of great volcanic eruptions; but still, it enables you to meet an incipient earthquake with infinitely more composure than I, at least, should feel, under similar circumstances, at Caracas, or upon the

ruins of Callao. The natives are both more sensible than strangers of the smaller shocks, and more alarmed by them; while even animals give evident indications of anxiety at their approach.

Having given so detailed an account of the first journey of the Commission to the Capital, it will be unnecessary for me to state any thing with regard to my return to the Coast, except that, not being encumbered with a carriage, I was enabled to effect it in a very short time. I took with me a number of baggage mules very lightly laden, and two good horses for myself, and my servant. My escort, which the unsettled state of the country rendered indispensable, was changed at each of the towns through which we passed, so that I proceeded with great rapidity. I took the La Puebla road, (the disturbances at that place having been entirely settled,) and made my first stage to the Venta de Cōrdŏvă, (eight leagues from Mexico,) having left that town very late in the day. The second day I reached Lă Pūĕblă; the third, Ŏjŏ dĕ Aguă; the fourth, Pĕrōtĕ; the fifth, Jălāpă, where I passed the morning of the sixth day, and from whence I arrived at Vĕrăcrūz in twenty-four hours, which included a few hours rest at Plan del Rio, and Pūēntĕ dĕl Rēy. I found the Thetis still at her anchorage, but was prevented from embarking by a violent Norte, which, with other circumstances, compelled me to remain at Veracruz for nearly a week. Fortunately, the season was healthy, and the firing from the Castle at an end; a suspension of hostilities having taken place in consequence of both parties being tired of such desultory warfare. I lodged at the house of Mr. Smith, (subsequently appointed His Majesty's Vice-Consul,) which was exactly opposite the great battery of San Juan de Uloa, and bore evidence to the precision with which the guns had been brought to bear upon the town, by the number of shots which had gone through it. It must have been a very uncomfortable residence, from what I saw of the

effect produced by the opening of the batteries one evening, during my stay, which was sufficiently unpleasant to have induced me to seek other quarters immediately, had not the violence of a Norte without rendered it impossible to think of a change of abode. Nothing can be more melancholy than the appearance of Veracruz during one of these winds. The air is filled with sand, and the sky darkened with clouds, while the waves are driven with such impetuosity upon the beach, that the whole line of coast is one sheet of foam. All communication between the shipping and the town is suspended, even when at anchor under the walls of the Castle, which are not half a mile from the pier-head. The rapidity with which these gales come on is equal to their violence. A little ripple from the North first indicates their approach, and if boats are out, or on shore, not an instant should then be lost in placing them in security. Five minutes afterwards I have seen the strength of a whole boat's crew exerted in vain, in order to keep the head of the boat towards the sea: they sometimes succeeded in carrying it through the shoal water off Mocambo Point, but, as soon as they trusted to their oars, they were driven back again, and compelled to abandon the attempt. The only consolation in these cases is the reflection that, as long as the Norte lasts, there is no danger in the detention on shore. It purifies the atmosphere, and seems to destroy for the time the seeds of that terrible disorder, the "Vomito," which at other seasons proves so fatal to foreigners, upon the whole Eastern coast of New Spain. This fever is very similar to the worst species of the Yellow Fever common throughout the West Indies: it takes its name from one of its symptoms, the black vomit, (*vomito prieto*,) by which dissolution is usually preceded. At Veracruz its cause has been sought in the local peculiarities of the situation, and there is little doubt that the exhalations from the marshes which surround the town, must have a tendency to increase the virulence of the disorder. But throughout

the Gulph of Mexico, the Vomito has made its appearance whenever a number of Europeans have been assembled for the purposes of trade. At Tămpĭcŏ, where it was little known, or, at least, little remarked, before 1821, it is now almost as prevalent as at Veracruz; and New Orleans, to the extreme North of the Gulph, being subject to it during the hot months of the year, it is probable that all the intervening line of coast will be found exposed to this scourge, when the arrival of Foreigners shall call into activity the latent malaria, which appears not to act upon the Natives with similar violence. In them it produces *Frios*, (agues,) from which many suffer during the summer months, and to which Europeans who have survived the Vomito are likewise liable; while with others it leads to a bilious fever of so very virulent a nature, that unless the most powerful remedies are immediately employed, there is but little time for medicine to act. In many recent cases, the disorder has proved fatal on the third day. Those who survive the fifth are almost out of danger, if they have sufficient stamina to carry them through their convalescence; but there is such a total prostration of strength, that nature often fails at the moment when the most sanguine hopes of recovery are entertained.

One peculiarity of this disease is the facility with which it is contracted. There have been instances of individuals who have not even passed through the town of Veracruz, but have got into a litter upon the beach, and taken the road to Jălāpă within a quarter of an hour after leaving the ship, who have nevertheless carried with them the seeds of the disorder, and died of it upon the road. I should be inclined, however, to think that these must have been persons of a particularly nervous disposition, whose very anxiety exposed them to additional danger, by creating great mental irritation, and with it a pre-disposition to fever. Precautions ought not, indeed, to be neglected, but the best are temperance, and abstinence from wine on the voyage out, so as to produce a

good habit of body before arriving on the coast. Any unnecessary stay at Veracruz, and too great an exposure to the sun, should also be avoided; but in other respects a predestinarian would have a much better chance of escaping, than a man over-anxious to hurry the preparations for his departure, in a country, where, without the exertion of something far beyond any ordinary patience, very little can be effected. On reaching the level of the Encĕrrŏ, it is supposed that the danger of infection ceases. It is at least certain that the Vomito never spreads amongst the inhabitants of Jălāpă, or of the villages upon the higher parts of the road to that place, in which poorer travellers sometimes stop to die. As far as Plan del Rio its ravages are occasionally felt: it is probable that the disease is indigeneous there, as at Veracruz, for Humboldt denies that it can be communicated by infection, or contagion, and states that there is nothing in the air of a sick man's chamber that could render the miasmata, which might exhale from it, dangerous to those around him. Be this as it may, the rarefaction of the air in the higher regions exempts them from such visitations; and although the disorder may prove fatal to the patient, it has never been known to extend to those who attend him.

When once contracted, however, removal to a more healthy region is of no avail; the Vomito runs its course with equal violence at Jalapa, and on the coast, and the event depends entirely upon the strength of the sufferer. In general it is remarked that the most robust in appearance are the first to sink under the attack: women are less liable to it than men, and very young children have, I believe, never been known to be affected by it. There is a difference too between the inhabitants of the Southern parts of Spain, or Italy, and other Europeans; the first being less frequently visited with the disorder, while very few natives of a Northern climate, if they become residents, for any time, at Veracruz, are known to escape it. Like the small-pox, it seldom visits the

same person twice. Those who survive the first attack, particularly if it be a severe one, consider themselves as acclimatés, and think no farther precautions necessary. The inhabitants of the Table-land of Mexico are even more liable than foreigners to be seized with the Vomito on visiting the coast. This is probably owing to the suddenness of the transition: the rapidity of the descent from Pĕrōtĕ allows no time for the body to become seasoned to the moist heat of the Tropics, so different from the dry and rarefied atmosphere of the higher country: all the pores are opened at once, and the general relaxation of the system necessarily renders them peculiarly susceptible of disease. Few of the muleteers of the Interior will descend lower than Jalapa during the hot months, (from the end of April to the beginning of October,) and when they do, it is lamentable to see the poor wretches, as I have done more than once, actually dying upon the road. When they can no longer sit their mules, they stretch themselves out under the first tree, or shrub, that will afford them protection from the sun, wrap up their heads in their blankets, and meet their fate with that composure, which, in every part of the New World, seems to be one of the characteristics of the Indian race.

During this season, the Government couriers are changed at Jălāpă, and no one, who is not compelled to do so by business of the most urgent nature, thinks of visiting the *Tierra Caliente*. Commerce is nearly at a stand; and it is only upon the approach of the autumnal equinox that business begins to be again transacted with any sort of activity. From the middle of October till the end of March, if the winter be not unusually mild, Veracruz, though never a safe, is at least not a very dangerous residence.

The Nortes, though inconvenient for the shipping, are infinitely preferable to the almost certain destruction of the crew with which the fatigue of unshipping the cargo of a merchant-vessel in summer would be attended; and while they

continue, the unhealthy season is seldom known to commence. There have been instances, indeed, of deaths from Vomito in the months of November and December, but these are exceedingly rare, and would probably be found, if inquired into, to have proceeded from some incautious exposure, or excess, on the part of the sufferer.* In an ordinary year, I should have no objection to pass through Veracruz at any time between October and March: indeed, with proper precautions, I should think that it might be done without very great risk much later in the year. The persons most likely to suffer would be servants, and persons of that class, who often will not be induced to prepare themselves for landing beforehand, and, when on shore, are either excessively apprehensive, or unnecessarily imprudent. Amongst these the mortality is sometimes very great. In 1826, a number of Frenchmen, mostly in inferior stations of life, who had come to Veracruz *pour chercher fortune*, were swept away at once; the want of hospitals, which have not been properly re-organized since the Revolution, rendering the progress of the disease doubly rapid. In 1825, a terrible instance of the effects of the climate, in cases where exposure to the sun is unavoidable, occurred. In consequence of some delay in the completion of the Real del Monte steam-engines, the expedition entrusted with the charge of conveying them up the country, under the orders of Captain Colquhoun, did not reach Veracruz until the commencement of the sickly season; and out of this small party fifteen men were buried near the spot where the disembarkation of the machinery was effected. The attempt to remove it inland was of course abandoned until the commencement of the winter, but it is grievous to reflect upon

* In November 1826, Mr. Oxley, a gentleman who had been travelling for some time in Mexico on the account of some great Manchester houses, died at Veracruz of the Vomito, after having purposely delayed his departure from the Capital from July to October, in order to select the most favourable time for it.

the waste of life which was occasioned by a little miscalculation with regard to time on this side of the Atlantic.

Of the mode of treatment pursued in cases of Vomito at Veracruz I am wholly ignorant. The natives do not willingly resort to the violent measures adopted in the West Indies, and which, where the patient is sufficiently strong to support them, undoubtedly cut short the disease at once. They usually employ medicines of a less decided character, such as olive-oil, and infusions of various kinds, which if not very effective as remedies, at least do no harm.* In such cases, the patient, if he survives, is indebted for his recovery to the goodness of his own constitution. This, at least, is the language of our English physicians, though I have seen the copious bleedings, and still more copious use of calomel, which our sailors endure at Jamaica, prove fatal at once, when tried upon the less robust constitution of a Spaniard. No clever medical man has yet practised at Veracruz. An American doctor, who was very successful there in the early part of 1826, was carried off by the disease himself at the end of the season; and no good account has been given, either by him, or any one else, of the change produced by the late influx of foreigners in the proportion of the number of deaths to that of the persons attacked by the fever, which Humboldt states, in the best of the Veracruz hospitals, (in 1804,) not to have exceeded sixteen in the hundred. The Vomito has become, I believe, much more generally fatal, since Natives from so many of the Northern parts of Europe have been exposed to

* Mr. Carrington, who came out to Mexico in April 1826, and afterwards resided for nearly a year with me, got over the Vomito at Jalapa, by a negative treatment of this sort. He arrrived there in a state of delirium, having been seized with the disorder upon the road, and was immediately forced to take a large tumbler of oil and lemon-juice, by the master of the inn. Youth, (he was only nineteen,) and a good habit of body, probably contributed still more effectually to save him, which they did after a severe struggle.

its action: I know, however, some instances of persons who have escaped, and whose general health has been even improved by the dangerous crisis which they have undergone.*

Neither the natives of Veracruz, nor the black population, are subject to the Vomito. By natives, I do not mean the inhabitants of the whole Province, (for those on the Slope of the Cordillera dread a journey to the coast as much as those who descend at once from the Table-land,) but individuals born in the town of Veracruz, or in the *Tierra Caliente* immediately around it. These seem to enjoy a special exemption from the dangers of the climate, and, strange as it may appear, they do not lose it even if they are removed at an early age from their native shore, and pass several successive years in countries, the natives of which cannot sustain the heat of the Tropics without imminent danger. I am myself acquainted with one young man, of a most respectable Veracruz family, who, having been sent to receive his education at Paris, Hamburg, and Madrid, returned to Veracruz at the very worst period of the sickly season of 1821, (which was remarkably violent,) after an absence of ten years, and remained there without the slightest apprehension of danger, for nearly six weeks.

Whether the rule is a general one, or whether his was an exception, due, perhaps, to the very freedom from anxiety, which the conviction of his own safety produced, is a question well worthy of investigation: the general belief of the country is decidedly in favour of the first supposition.

I have been led into details which belong of right to a later period than that comprehended in this Section, by my wish to state connectedly all the facts with which I am acquainted

* Amongst the most remarkable of these instances I might mention Don Rafael Beraza, who is employed as King's Messenger to the Mission in Mexico, and who, having survived the first attack, now performs the journey to Veracruz on horseback with his dispatches, once or twice a month, in the very worst seasons, without apprehension or inconvenience.

relative to a disorder, the nature of which, as our commercial intercourse with Mexico becomes more extensive, it will be of infinite importance to ascertain.

It is to be hoped that the attention of some competent person will soon be drawn to the subject; for although it is hardly to be expected that art can devise a remedy for a disease, the seeds of which seem to lie in the action of the sun upon the mass of rank vegetation, which, wherever there is water, a Tropical climate is sure to engender; still, there is little doubt that its effects upon the human frame will be less dangerous, in proportion as they are better understood. Great indeed will be the benefit conferred upon mankind, by him to whom the merit of even a moderately efficacious treatment of the Vomito is first due. Most fortunately, its ravages are confined exclusively to the land, few or none of the ships, in which common precautions are taken, and the men not unnecessarily exposed, having suffered from the fever. This has been particularly remarked of our men of war, many of which have remained at anchor off Veracruz, on different occasions, five or six weeks, and yet have left it with a clean bill of health. In vessels where solitary cases of Vomito have occurred, it has not spread on board, unless where several of the men have been exposed to the action of similar exciting causes, in which case the vessel itself at last becomes a foyer, or receptacle, of those miasmata, by which the disorder is supposed to be propagated. The whole crew is then exposed to the utmost danger: but such instances are exceedingly rare, and with the attention that is now paid to cleanliness and ventilation, they may be expected rather to diminish, than to increase. The Thetis buried only one man during the seven weeks which she passed at the anchorage of Sacrificios, and he died of a disease in the heart.

On the 5th of February, 1824, I returned on board, and we sailed for England the same morning. In crossing the Gulf we met with a severe Norther, which, however, was

much more disagreeable in its effects, than while it actually lasted, as it threw the whole volume of water into such a commotion that we had not a quiet moment afterwards for several days. I still recollect with pleasure the relief which we experienced, after passing five whole days with our quarter-boats alternately under water, as we glided past the Morro, and entered the magnificent harbour of the Havanna, where there was neither a ripple to be seen on the surface, nor the slightest motion to be felt in the ship. The transition to such a perfectly quiescent state, to a young sailor like myself, was inexpressibly delightful, nor have three subsequent voyages made me forget it.

We were ten days in reaching the Havanna from Veracruz, and ten more in the Island, notwithstanding which we anchored within the Plymouth Breakwater on the 17th of March, after a passage of twenty-one days.

Few ships have performed the voyage in so short a time. We were only thirty-one days at sea between Veracruz and Devonport.

SECTION III.

SECOND VISIT TO MEXICO IN 1825.—STATE OF LA PUEBLA.—DESCRIPTION OF HUEHUETOCA, AND TEZCUCO.—ROUTE TO CUAUTLA AMILPAS.

I PASSED the summer and autumn of 1824 in England, but in December I received orders to prepare immediately for my return to Mexico, where I had the honour of being entrusted, subsequently, in conjunction with Mr. Morier, with the negotiation of the Treaty, which it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to conclude with New Spain, in common with others of the South American States.

On the 8th of January, 1825, I left London, and on the 18th, after being detained some days at Devonport by contrary winds, we embarked on board His Majesty's ship Egeria, commanded by Captain Roberts, and commenced, for the second time, a voyage, which a few years will, I suppose, render so ordinary a transaction that it will be little more thought of than the passage from Dover to Calais. Our party was an uncomfortably large one, considering the size of the vessel, as, in addition to Mrs. Ward, Mr. Ball, and Dr. Wilson, who, with myself, formed the Mexican passengers, there were Colonel Campbell and two other gentlemen belonging to the Mission in Columbia, whom the Egeria was directed to land at Carthagena, on their way to Bŏgŏtā. It was only by dint

of great good humour, and kindness on the part of Captain Roberts, and a spirit of mutual accommodation amongst the other members of the party, that we were enabled to stow ourselves away at all, and, when we got into the warmer latitudes, we suffered not a little from the effects of being so crowded.

We had some very bad weather on first sailing, but left it behind us, with the Bay of Biscay, and reached Madeira on the eighth morning after our departure from Devonport. There we remained only twenty-four hours. From Funchal we had a run of twenty-one days to Barbadoes, where there is little novelty, or beauty to describe; for although the grove of Cocoa-nuts on the beach is rather picturesque, the effect is destroyed, on approaching the town, by the intermixture of the very worst style of English houses, with the productions of a climate, to which they are particularly ill adapted. Nothing can be more uncomfortable, on a sultry day, than the small boarded rooms, sash windows, and narrow passages, into which an abode of this kind is divided; yet both at Gibraltar, and in the West Indies, we seem to have preferred this system of wholesale architectural transplantation to the adoption of the corridors and verandas of our French and Spanish neighbours. In the country residences of the Planters, more taste is shown, and a better idea of comfort entertained; but in the town, there is nothing but the black population, and a glowing sky, to denote that one is separated from England, by 37 degrees of latitude, and some thousand miles of sea.

Five days' sail carried us from Barbadoes to Carthagena, the hottest, dullest, dryest, and most dreary place that I have almost ever seen. Yet, it is said not to be unhealthy, and, though much frequented by Foreigners, there have hitherto been but few instances of the Vomito, so prevalent at Veracruz. The disorder, which proved so fatal to the Scylla, in 1826, (she lost at Carthagena her captain, two-

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... marshes in the vicinity of the
... olonel Campbell took leave of us
...oyage up the Magdalena. From his
...at, the privations, and the annoyances
...nds, which must be endured during the
...ent on board one of the long river-boats,
...yage to Honda is performed, before you com-
...ent to Bŏgŏtā, it seems evident that a new æra
...ey must be dated from the opening of our commu-
... with the New World. It was, hitherto, thought,
...an easy, luxurious sort of *metier;* but a Diplomatist
...rica requires stamina as well as head, and must have
...t for undergoing a good deal of very rough work, as
...l as for managing a delicate negotiation. Colonel Camp-
...l was blessed with a frame of iron, and performed, for the
...ond time, in perfect safety, what many would have found
an arduous task; but one of the gentlemen who accompanied him, (Mr. Wood,) has since died a victim to the climate, on a journey to Qūitŏ, from Gŭyăqūil, at which place he resided as Consul for about a year.

From Carthagena we made no land until we saw the Island of Pines, (off the coast of Cuba,) Captain Roberts having kept to the Southward of the Pedro shoals in order to avoid Port Royal. Few ships sailing under Admiralty Orders like coming too near to an Admiral's Flag, particularly on a rich and unhealthy station, where there is a possibility of being detained, and a certainty of being obliged to pay tithes upon whatever freight may be procured for Europe. On the 5th of March we made Cape San Antonio, from

which point there are two modes of steering for Veracruz. The first is to run up as high as 24 North latitude, by which means all the shoals and rocks that we are yet acquainted with, between the Island of Cuba and the Main land, are left to the Southward; and the second, to keep within the shoals, and close along shore, passing between the Bank of Sisal and the town, with the coast of Yŭcătān constantly in view, from about 88 to near 91 of West longitude. In steering the first course, it requires a slant of wind from the North to reach Veracruz, and this it would be in vain to look for between the months of May and October; but at all other times, in as far as a landsman may presume to give an opinion upon such a subject, I should think it by far the safest line to take, on account of the extreme shallowness of the water near the coast of Yūcătān, and the very inaccurate manner in which the reefs between Campeche and Veracruz are laid down. On the 6th of March, (in West longitude 88,) we had soundings in $2\frac{3}{4}$ fathoms, and on the night of the 8th, we were very near terminating our voyage at some distance from the place of our original destination. We had lost sight of land for upwards of twenty-four hours, and were running down, in the direction of Veracruz, with a beautiful breeze of about eight knots, when one of the leadsmen, whom Captain Roberts had taken the precaution of keeping in the chains, with orders to continue sounding every quarter of an hour, suddenly obtained sounding in eight fathoms: the next cast of the lead gave seven fathoms; the third six; and although all hands were turned up to put the ship about, if she had not obeyed the helm instantly, we should none of us, in all probability, ever have seen land again. There was a good deal of sea running, and the Egeria was an old vessel, so that if she had struck, she must have gone to pieces. It has been since ascertained that there is only one fathom of water upon the centre of this dangerous shoal, with which the

Spaniards themselves were long unacquainted. I was told at Veracruz that its discovery was supposed to account for the disappearance of a number of small vessels engaged in the Campeche trade, which had been lost, without any thing being ever heard of them afterwards. It lies in Latitude 19.35, Longitude 92.32, Las Arcas, (as laid down in our charts,) bearing North 36.15, East 40 miles.

On the 11th of March we reached Veracruz without any further interruption. The news of the projected Treaty had been received two days before, by the Jamaica Mail, and nothing, certainly, could exceed the enthusiasm excited in every part of the country by the intelligence of a resolution on the part of His Majesty's Government, which was naturally regarded as the definitive recognition of Mexican Independence. From Veracruz to the Capital, but one feeling was displayed; and in every village through which we passed, we received proofs of its sincerity; for the wishes of the Government were seconded by the inhabitants, who vied with each other in loading us with marks of attention and kindness.

From the moment that we approached the shores of Veracruz, an astonishing difference became visible in the state and appearance of every thing around us. The Castle was, indeed, still held by a Spanish garrison, and the harbour closed, in consequence, to Foreign vessels, but the firing had long ceased, the siege being converted into a blockade, in which a number of Mexican schooners and gun-boats were employed, while the Castle was occasionally supplied with fresh provisions by the Spanish flotilla from the Havanna. The Island of Sacrificios, where we again anchored, and which I had left, a year before, a barren and desolate spot, upon which Sir John Phillimore used to turn out the bullocks bought for his ship's company, had been converted into a regular fortification, under which the Mexican gun-boats

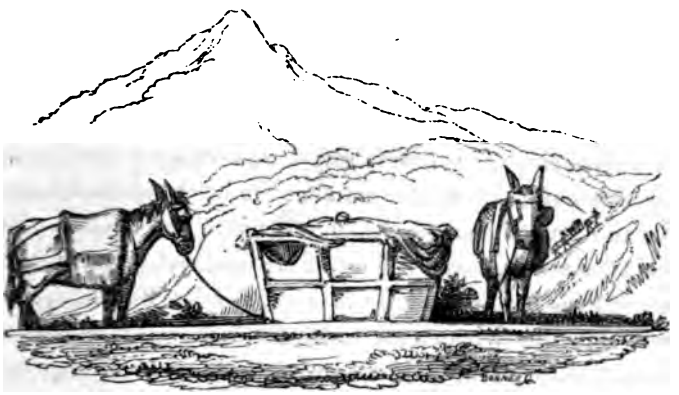
sought protection on the approach of the Spanish fleet. Mŏcāmbŏ too had assumed a formidable appearance. In both places the Independent flag was flying, and at the anchorage ground there were more merchant vessels of different countries assembled, than had entered the Ports of Mexico in the whole year of 1823. On the morning of our landing, nothing could be prettier than this scene, the ships being all dressed in their colours, and the batteries from the shore and the Island answering each other with alternate guns, as we rowed in to the pier-head, where we were received by the Governor of Veracruz, General Rincon, and all his Staff. General Victoria had been summoned from this post some months before, in order to assume the more arduous situation of President.

A small portion of the population of the town had returned to it since the cessation of hostilities with the Castle, but its appearance was still melancholy and desolate; very few of the houses of the more wealthy inhabitants being as yet occupied.

The weather began to be sultry, but the town was healthy, which was a fortunate circumstance for us, as we were forced to remain there two whole days, before we could get our baggage disembarked, and complete our preparations for commencing our journey to the Capital.

I had taken every precaution, however, to have things made up into proper sizes for carriage by mules, before we left England; and by this means, as we had no large chests to cut up, and their contents to distribute into two or three others, (which was the case, in more than one instance, on our first voyage,) we were enabled to get into marching order in less time than could have been expected from the largeness of the party, and the quantity of baggage which the prospect of a long residence had rendered necessary.

Mrs. Ward performed the journey in a litter, a description of which the accompanying sketch will render unnecessary.



It is by no means an uncomfortable conveyance in a wild country, particularly where riding, or the violent motion of a carriage over roads intersected by gullies, and covered with fragments of rock, must have proved dangerous, as in Mrs. Ward's case, who was at that time so near her first confinement, that she was hardly expected to reach the capital in safety. All the rest of the party rode. At the Mănănt'ĭāl, we were met by an officer, whom General Bărrăgān, the Governor of the State of Veracruz, had sent to receive us, with a whole cargo of wine, porter, and refreshments of every kind. At Puente del Rey, where we slept the first night, we found a most abundant supper in waiting, and lodgings prepared for us in the only brick house in the place, which had been built since my first visit. At Plan del Rio similar attentions were shown; and at Jălāpă, where we were most luxuriously lodged in the house of Madame Santa Ana, we were welcomed by General Bărrăgān himself, and his very pleasing wife, with a kindness and hospitality such as I have seldom seen equalled.

We remained one day at Jălāpă, in order to be present at a dinner given by General Bărrăgān, at which we met all the Authorities, both civil and military, and almost every person

of respectability in or near the town. Most of those present had already called upon us in the course of the morning, during the whole of which the house in which we lodged had been literally crowded with visitors. Nothing could be more pleasing to an Englishman than the feelings evinced upon this occasion. Toasts were given, and verses recited in commemoration of the connexion about to be established between the two countries; and although many of the golden visions which were then entertained, have not yet been realized, enough has been gained by Mexico, and by England, to demonstrate the advantages which both may derive from this connexion, in proportion as each becomes better acquainted with the wants and capabilities of the other.

The scene altogether was one of general—of national excitement; and I shall always look back to it with pleasure, as one most gratifying to me, because most honourable to my country.

On the 18th we left Jalapa, still the guests of the State of Veracruz, to whose hospitality we were indebted for excellent lodgings both at Lăs Vīgăs, and at Tĕpēyăgūalcŏ, with which we were provided by orders of the Governor. At Nŏpălūcă, where we slept on the 20th, we found that similar precautions had been taken by the authorities of Lă Pūeblă, in whose territories we then were; and when we reached the Capital of that State, on the 21st, after a most excellent dinner, which we found waiting for us on the road at Ămŏzōqŭe, we were lodged by the Governor, Don José Maria Călděroñ, in his own house, where, notwithstanding the largeness of our party, he insisted upon accommodating us all.

Lă Pūeblă was formerly a town inferior only to the Capital in extent and population. It contains at present about 50,000 inhabitants, and is an important place, as being the seat both of the richest Bishoprick in the country, and of the most extensive manufactures of cotton, earthenware, and wool. The streets, like those of Mexico, are rectangular, spacious and

airy; the houses low, but roomy, and the apartments mostly paved with porcelain, and adorned with Fresco paintings on the walls. The country around is rich, but naked, being totally devoid of trees, with the exception of the Pĭnāl, a pine forest, (as the name implies,) which extends from within a league and a half of Nŏpălūcă, to about five leagues from the gates of La Puebla, where cultivation recommences. The distance does not exceed twelve leagues. The road through the Pĭnāl is extremely bad, and dangerous in unsettled times, the forest being the favourite haunt of banditti, who sometimes assemble there in considerable numbers for a *coup de main;* but our escort was too strong for us to feel any apprehensions of an attack.

We remained during the whole of the 22nd at La Puebla, as the Governor, whose hospitality and friendly disposition towards every Englishman of respectability who visits the town I have ever found the same, would not hear of our passing a shorter time with him, than we had done at Jălāpă with General Bărrăgān. The delay afforded us an opportunity of seeing the Cathedral, a magnificent building, in the construction of which the angels themselves are said to have taken an active part. It is regarded by the Indians, and by a large proportion of the female Spanish population, as a well-authenticated fact, that during the time that the walls of the edifice were constructing, two messengers from heaven descended every night, and added to their height exactly as much as had been raised, by the united efforts of the labourers, during the day. With such assistance the work advanced at a prodigious rate, and was brought to a conclusion in a much shorter space of time than could have been effected hy human exertions alone. It is in grateful commemoration of this event that the name of the town, "La Puebla de los Angeles," was assumed; and as the details of it are recorded with singular care in the convents, which have since been built upon this favoured spot, there is little

danger of their not being handed down to posterity, in all the purity in which they are now preserved.

But whether of divine or human origin, the Cathedral is a very fine building, and the riches of the interior are worthy of a country that has produced, during the last two centuries, nearly two-thirds of the whole of the silver raised annually in the world. The lofty candlesticks, the balustrade, the lamps, and all the ornaments of the principal altar, are of massive silver; and the effect produced by such magnificence, in conjunction with the beauty of the columns of native marble by which the roof is supported, is very striking. We were not, however, allowed to admire them long in peace, for, notwithstanding the presence of Madame Călděrōn, and two or three aides-de-camp of the Governor, the curiosity excited by the first appearance of an English woman was so ungovernable, that the great market-place, through which the carriage had passed, transferred in a moment by far the largest portion of its inmates to the Cathedral, where the crowd soon became so great, that, although no incivility was intended, it was quite impossible for us to remain. La Puebla contained, at that time, a Lazzaroni population nearly as numerous as that of the capital; a naked and offensive race, whom you cannot approach without pollution, or even behold without disgust. I do not know any thing in nature more hideous than an old Indian woman, with all the deformities of her person displayed, as they usually are, by a dress which hardly covers a tenth part of her body; and in La Pŭebla, in consequence of the numerous convents in which alms were distributed, these objects were particularly numerous. We were too happy to escape by a different door from that by which we had entered, and to take refuge in the carriage.

We left La Puebla on the 22d of March, and slept at Săn Mărtīn, taking the road through Chŏlūlă to that place, in order to obtain a better view of the old Mexican Tĕŏcālli, or Pyramid, of which Humboldt's work contains so detailed a

description. The base of this Pyramid comprises a square of 1773 feet; the height is 54 metres, or 177 feet. It is truncated, and, on the spacious platform in which it terminates, the Conquerors have erected a chapel, as if to mark the substitution of another creed, and another race, for the nation by whose united exertions this stupendous monument must have been raised. The whole mass is formed of alternate layers of unburnt bricks and clay, and is now overgrown with thick shrubs, amongst which clouds of tortolas, (a small wood pigeon,) are found. Its structure is said by Baron Humboldt to present a curious analogy with that of the temple of Belus at Babylon, and of the pyramids of Egypt.

Its object was undoubtedly religious, but as its construction is ascribed to the Toltecs, a nation which preceded the Aztecs in their emigration towards the South, the exact nature of the rites to which it was dedicated can only be conjectured. It may have served for the performance of human sacrifices in the sight of the assembled tribe; or as a place of defence in the event of an unexpected attack:—perhaps the two objects were combined, for, in the siege of Mexico, the most obstinate resistance was made in the vicinity of the great temple, (which resembled in form, though not in size, the Teocallis of Chŏlūlă and Tĕŏtĭhuăcān,) from the summit of which the priests are said to have encouraged the warriors by whom the staircase and platform were defended.

The view from the pyramid of Chŏlūlă embraces the three great Volcanoes, and the Mălīnche, with a finely cultivated country covering the intervening space. The town of Chŏlūlă lies immediately below the platform, reduced, like its rival Tlăscālă, (which is separated from it by the Mălīnchĕ,) to a mere shadow of its former greatness, but still indicating, by the size of its Plaza, the extent of ground which the city formerly covered. The fertility of the plain around is very great, as from its vicinity to the eternal snows of Pŏpŏcătēpĕtl, and Īstăccīhuătl, a constant supply

of water for irrigation can be obtained. It abounds in Haciendas de trigo, (corn estates,) many of which, in good years, are said to produce wheat in the proportion of eighty to one to the seed, but this fertility terminates a little beyond Sān Mărtīn, where the passage of the mountains, that separate La Puebla from Mexico, commences.

Cortes, on his march towards Mexico, opened a road for his army between the two volcanoes, but this has long been abandoned, and the line of communication now runs to the East of Istăccīhuătl, where, though the ground is very rugged, and in one part, (the Bărrāncă de Jūānĕs,) attains the height of 10,486 feet, carriages are nevertheless able to pass. From San Martin, which is seven leagues from La Puebla by the direct road, to the Venta de Tĕsmĕlūcŏs, (about three leagues,) the ascent is very gentle, amounting only to 557 feet: but in the next four leagues, which extend to Rio Frio, and the Bărrāncă de Juānĕs, there is a difference of 2,219 feet.

From the summit of the Barranca to the Valley of Tĕnōchtĭtlān, or Mexico, there is a gradual descent, which becomes almost imperceptible on reaching the Venta de Chālcŏ, where Humboldt found the elevation to be exactly the same as that of San Martin on the opposite side of the range, viz. 7,711 feet.

Nothing can be finer than the first view of the Valley of Mexico as it bursts upon you from a little above the Venta de Cōrdŏvă, with its lakes, rocks, villages, and Haciendas, scattered around the Capital in one vast basin. It is impossible not to be struck with so magnificent a scene.

We had been detained too long in crossing the mountains, to attempt to reach Mexico on the evening of the 24th, and we accordingly took up our quarters for the night at the Hacienda de la Buena Vista, which, unlike many other Haciendas with names of equal promise, we found fully deserving of its appellation, from the beauty of its situation. It is just

far enough within the range of mountains to render their outline distinctly visible, while it is sufficiently elevated above the valley to give the eye a very extensive range. All the best rooms of the house were, as usual, placed at our disposal; so that up to the last moment of our journey there was no diminution of those attentions, of which we had been the object from its commencement. In recording them I cannot be suspected of vanity, for they were not shown to me as an individual, but were intended to mark the feelings which the Mexicans, in general, entertain towards the country which I had the honour of representing; and most sincerely do I hope that those feelings may long remain unchanged.

On the morning of the 25th of March, we reached the Capital. We were met about two leagues from the gates by a number of English residents, not one of whom, with the exception of Mr. Ruperti, was established in the country at the time of my first visit, and their presence was alone sufficient to indicate the improvements which I was called upon, at almost every step, to remark. Not a house was unoccupied, and the busy activity of the streets formed an agreeable contrast to their melancholy aspect in January 1824.

Indeed, from the moment that I landed, I had been struck with the progress which, in one year, the country had made. There was everywhere an appearance of more settled habits, more subordination amongst the military, and more respect for the civil authorities; while the long files of mules which we continually passed on their way from the Coast to the Capital, afforded evident proofs of an increase of activity in trade. In the town of Mexico it was always difficult to procure a tolerable house, without paying a traspaso,* the amount of which competition had rendered enormous. In

* A traspaso is a fine paid by the tenant, for which he is to receive a compensation on giving up the house, not from the proprietor, but from the person who succeeds himself.

good situations I have known eight, ten, twelve, and even twenty thousand dollars paid, in order to obtain possession of nothing but bare walls and windows, with the probability of being obliged to lay out half as much more in order to make the house secure and habitable. In 1823, one fifth part of the sum would have been sufficient.

The distance from Riŏ Frīŏ to the Venta de Cordova is five leagues; from thence to the Capital eight. The Hacienda of Buena Vista lies about half a league out of the direct road. The whole distance from La Puebla to Mexico may be taken at 27 leagues, or 70 English miles. By sleeping at Rio Frio, the journey may be divided into two fatiguing days; but without a change of mules at the Venta de Cordova it is not easy to accomplish it. On horseback, the time employed depends entirely upon the number of relays.

In January 1826, on Mr. Morier's return from England with the second Treaty, circumstances occurred which made me particularly desirous to see him before his arrival in the Capital; and in order to accomplish this with the least possible loss of time, I stationed my own horses at proper distances upon the road. The first was placed at Īstăpălūcă, the second at Rio Frio, and the third at San Martin, while a fourth carried me the seven leagues from San Cosme to Īstăpălūcă. I left the gates of Mexico at half past seven o'clock, and reached General Calderon's house in La Puebla at a quarter past three, having accomplished the journey, without difficulty, in eight hours and a quarter, although, from the nature of the ground, it was not supposed that the distance could be performed in so short a time. I remained at La Puebla three days, Mr. Morier's arrival there having been unexpectedly delayed, and returned on the fourth to Mexico, in rather less time than before, being not quite eight hours upon the road.

During my short stay at La Puebla in 1826, I had an

opportunity of observing the improvements which General Calderon's exertions had effected in the appearance of the population. The State Congress had been induced by him to pass a law, by which every Lepero found naked or begging in the streets was condemned to labour at the works undertaken by the Government for the improvement of the town, for the term of one month, at the end of which he was set at liberty, and provided with a decent dress, with the offer of employment if he chose to work, and the certainty of a double penalty if he relapsed into his former habits.

This law, which was most rigorously enforced at first, produced a wonderful effect; and, as it was accompanied by the introduction of an excellent night police, it soon freed La Puebla from the swarms of vagrants, by which it had been previously infested; and substituted order and decency for the disgusting licence, which prevailed amongst the lower classes at the period of my first and second visits.

I was present at the meeting of the State Legislature of La Puebla, which, though on a small scale, was conducted with all the formality that accompanies the opening of the sessions of the General Congress in the Capital. In both, an *exposé* of the state of affairs is made; and this in the States, may be considered as the first step towards a regular system of statistics; for the Governor's report embraces all the details of the new territorial division, and enumerates the Towns, Pueblos, and Ranchos, comprehended in the territory, with an estimate of their population and resources. I was much pleased with the eagerness with which many questions of local importance were discussed at General Calderon's table, where I met most of the members of Congress on the day that the sessions commenced. They were chiefly landed proprietors; not, perhaps, of very refined education, (for, under the guardianship of Spain, there were few Mexicans to whom that advantage was not denied,) but of much sim-

plicity of manners, and possessing a practical knowledge of the evils, by the removal of which their own interests could be best promoted.

The most important question that has yet come before the Legislature of La Puebla, has been the claims of the Church for the arrears of interest due on money lent on mortgage, to the landed proprietors of the State, before the Revolution, which they have been prevented from paying by the general ruin of their estates during the civil war. From the great influence of the Church in La Puebla, and the determination at first evinced by it to insist upon the full extent of its dues, the discussion was attended with considerable difficuly; nor would it have been found easy to reconcile such opposite interests, had not the apprehension of an appeal to the Supreme Congress, on the part of the landholders, induced the clergy to consent to a composition, by which something is sacrificed by both parties, and thus the common loss pretty equally borne by each. The necessity of such a concession on the part of the clergy, in a town where the great revenues of the Cathedral Chapter, and the personal influence of the Bishop, unite in maintaining their power over the minds of the lower orders, may be regarded as no slight proof of the progress which Mexico has made towards emancipation from that thraldom, in which the Inquisition, and the splendour of the ecclesiastical establishments, combined to hold the country. Don Antonio Perez, the present Bishop of La Puebla, possesses all the qualites best calculated to render him the prop and support, in his own Diocese, of that system, of which he is now almost the sole representative in New Spain. With the most polished manners, and the most dignified address, he has considerable oratorical powers; and he adds to these merits that of dispensing with great liberality the large revenues of his See. He is a Creole too, (the first ever raised by the Court of Madrid to the episcopal dignity;) and all these advantages have given him an

influence, such as no Spaniard could have hoped to exercise. In whatever country his lot had been cast, he must have been a distinguished man, for he possesses that power of accommodating himself to circumstances, which is, perhaps, the surest way to preferment, when accompanied by sufficient penetration to seize the happy moment for a change. In Spain he was an active member of the Cortes of Cadiz, until the King's return in 1814, when his name appeared at the head of the Persas, or party, which petitioned his Majesty for the immediate dissolution of that assembly. Raised in 1815 to the Bishopric of La Puebla, he addressed, upon his arrival, a Pastoral to the people of his Diocese, exhorting them to beware of the dangerous and heretical tendency of the Spanish Constitution; and yet, on the second proclamation of that Constitution, in 1820, he contrived to conciliate, in a second Pastoral, all that he had before said of its defects with the panegyric which it became expedient to pronounce upon its advantages.

I know few better models of political ingenuity than this curious paper, which Bustamante has given, at length, in his Cuadro Historico. It was headed by the text—"There is a time to speak, and there is a time to be silent," (Eccl. iii. v. 7,) and it must be admitted that in a country still involved in a great political struggle, where caution was consequently necessary in the choice of a subject, and much tact required in the mode of treating it, a happier selection could not easily have been made.

The State of La Puebla is divided into twenty-five Partidos, or districts, containing, in all, according to a census taken after the great epidemy in 1825, a population of 584,358 souls; or 681,751, if one sixth be added to the registered amount for unavoidable errors in the returns.

The names of all the Partidos, the situation of which is correctly ascertained, will be found in the map.

The principal are Atlixco, which has a population of 31,657

inhabitants, and is celebrated both for its corn lands, and for the famous Ăhŭahūētĕ, or cypress, (*Cupressus disticha,*) which stands near the town. It is of the same kind as those of Chapultepec, but much exceeds them in size, being seventy-three feet in girth. The district of Guāūchĭnāngŏ has 26,086 inhabitants; ŏmētĕpēc, 25,151; Lă Pūēblă, 34,756; Tĕpĕācă, 43,713; Tĕhŭacān de las Grănādăs, 43,248; Hāpă, 38,383; and Zăcătlān, 47,129. All produce in great abundance the fruits either of *Tierra Caliente*, (for the territory of the State extends beyond the Western ridge of the Sierra Madre, down to the shores of the Pacific,) or those common to the rest of the Table-land. Thus cotton, rice, coffee, sugar, and a little cochineal, (near the confines of Oaxaca,) are grown in common with wheat, barley, maize, chile, and frijoles, as well as the fruits of much more northern climates. With these the market of La Puebla is supplied in the greatest profusion; but agriculture is, in general, in a very depressed state, there being no mines to create a home market. The exportation of wheat, however, to Veracruz and Oaxaca, is stated in the Governor's report to be considerable, and is likely to increase. The revenue of the State, in the year ending January 1826, was 633,625 Dollars, and the expenses, (including all the Government charges, both legislative and executive, as well as the contingent due to the Federation, which has been paid with great punctuality,) 629,070 Dollars; so that a balance of 4,555 Dollars was left in favour of the State, at the end of the first twelve months, in which the experiment of self-government had been tried.

The capital can hardly expect, under the present system of free intercourse with Europe, to regain its former importance, which depended, principally, upon the native manufactures of wool and cotton.

Its population, before the Revolution, amounted to 67,000: it is now much reduced, although not nearly so low as the census of 1825 appears to indicate, La Puebla being still sup-

posed to contain from forty-five to fifty thousand inhabitants. A large portion of these will, probably, be compelled to have recourse to agricultural labours for support, and as there is a complaint of a want of hands amongst the landed proprietors, the general interests of the State will gain by the suppression of a branch of industry in the towns, which could only be supported by a system of taxation upon all the rest; the produce of the looms of La Puebla, during the best times, being infinitely dearer than the European manufactures, by which they are replaced, even under the pressure of the enormous duties, which, by the old tariff, were exacted upon them.

With the exception of my journey to La Puebla, I was unable, during the first twelvemonth after my return from England, to make a single excursion to any distance from the Capital, although there were many places in its vicinity which, from their importance, either as mining districts, or as the seats of the most valuable agricultural produce of the country, I was anxious to visit. In February, 1826, however, I commenced a series of journeys, which I continued, at intervals, during the whole remainder of my residence in Mexico, and in the course of which I visited in person all the most interesting portions of the Republic, South of Durango. I cannot but hope therefore, that it may be in my power to lay before my readers, some information respecting the general character and resources of New Spain; and although I feel that a journal, devoid as mine is of any extraordinary incidents, and consisting merely of a recapitulation of the every-day difficulties of a traveller's life in passing through a wild country, can possess but few attractions, yet as I know no other mode of conveying an equally good idea of the peculiarities which I wish to describe, I shall adopt this form in the narration upon which I am about to enter; subdividing my journeys into Sections, in order to render more distinct my account of the most interesting districts.

Before I commence, however, upon this plan, it may be as well to mention a few particulars respecting the country in the vicinity of the Capital, and to give my route from thence to the valleys of Cūērnăvăcă and Cūāūtlă Ămīlpăs, in which are situated the great Sugar estates, an account of which is given, in part, in the Third Section of the First Book.

The most interesting object in the valley of Mexico is the vast system of drainage, by which the Capital is protected against the periodical inundations of the lake of Tĕzcūcŏ, which, during the two first centuries after the conquest, threatened it repeatedly with destruction. Of this system the third Book of Baron Humboldt's Essai Politique contains a description, given with all the accuracy which distinguishes the works of that scientific traveller, upon every point to which his personal observations extended; and to this I must refer my readers for details, many of which will be found to possess the highest interest. I shall only attempt here to mention a few of the leading facts, in order not to leave entirely unnoticed a subject so worthy in every sense of attention.

The valley of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, forms a vast basin, which, although it is situated at an elevation of 7,000 feet above the level of the sea, serves as a receptacle for the humidity, which filtres from every part of the lofty ridge of porphyritic mountains by which it is surrounded. Not a single stream issues from the valley, with the exception of the Arroyo of Tĕquīsqŭiāc, but it receives the waters of the rivers Păpălŏtlă, Tĕzcūcŏ, Tĕŏtĭhŭacān, Guădălūpĕ, Păchūcă, and Gūāūtĭtlān, by the accumulation of which the four great lakes of Chalco, (and Xochimilco,) Tezcuco, San Crĭstōbăl, and Zŭmpāngō, are formed. These lakes rise by stages as they approach the Northern extremity of the valley, the waters of the lake of Tezcuco being, in their ordinary state, four Mexican varas and eight inches lower than the waters of the lake of San Cristobal, while these again are six varas lower than the waters of the lake of Zumpango, which forms the Northernmost link of this dangerous chain.

The level of the great square (Plaza Mayor) of Mexico, is exactly one vara, one foot, and one inch above that of the lake of Tezcuco, and is consequently nine varas and five inches lower than that of the lake of Zumpango; a disproportion, the effects of which have been the more severely felt because the lake of Zŭmpāngŏ receives the tributary streams of the river of Gūāūtĭtlān, the volume of which is more considerable than that of all the other rivers, which enter the valley, combined.

In the inundations to which this peculiarity in the formation of the valley of Mexico has given rise, a similar succession of events has always been observed. The lake of Zŭmpāngŏ, swollen by the rapid increase of the river Guautitlan during the rainy season, forms a junction with that of San Cristobal, and the waters of the two combined burst the dikes which separate them from the lake of Tezcuco. The waters of this last again, raised suddenly more than a vara above their usual level, and prevented from extending themselves to the East and South-east by the rapid rise of the ground in that direction, rush back towards the Capital, and fill the streets which approach nearest to their own level. This was the case in 1553, 1580, 1604, and 1607, in each of which years the Capital was laid under water, and the dikes, (Albaradones,) constructed for its protection, entirely destroyed. The rapid succession of these misfortunes at length compelled the Government to turn its attention to some other mode of averting the danger; and in 1607 an engineer called Enrique Martinez, was commissioned by the Marquis of Salinas, who was then Viceroy, to attempt the drainage of the lake of Zumpango by the stupendous canal now known under the name of the "Desague de Huĕhŭetōcă."

The plan of Martinez appears to have embraced two distinct objects, the first of which extended to the lakes of Tezcuco and San Cristobal, while the second was confined to the lake of Zumpango, the superfluous waters of which were to be carried into the valley of Tula, by a subterraneous canal,

into which the river Guautitlan was likewise to be compelled to flow.

The second of these projects only was approved of by the Government; and the line of the canal having been traced by Martinez between the Cerro (mountain) of Sincōqŭe and the hill of Nŏchĭstōngŏ, to the North-north-west of Hŭehuetōcă, where the mountains that surround the valley are less elevated than in any other spot, the great subterraneous gallery of Nŏchĭstōngŏ was commenced on the 28th November, 1607. Fifteen thousand Indians were employed upon this work, and as a number of air-shafts (lumbreras) were sunk, in order to enable them to work upon several different points at once, in eleven months a tunnel (Socabon) of 6,600 metres* in length, three metres five in breadth, and four metres two in height, was concluded.

From the Northern extremity of this Socabon, (La boca de San Gregorio,) an open cut of 8,600 metres conducted the waters to the Salto (fall) of the river Tula, where, quitting the valley of Mexico, they precipitate themselves into that of Tula, from a natural terrace of twenty Mexican varas in height, and take their course towards the Bar of Tampico, where they enter the Mexican Gulph. An enterprize of such magnitude, concluded with such extraordinary expedition, could hardly be free from defects; and Martinez soon discovered that the unbaked mud bricks, (tĕpĕtāte,) of which the interior of the Socabon was composed, were unable to resist the action of the water, which, being confined within such narrow limits, was at times impelled through the tunnel with irresistible violence. A facing of wood proved equally ineffectual, and masonry was at last resorted to; but even this, although successful for a time, did not answer permanently the purpose for which it was intended, because the engineer, instead of an elliptical arch, constructed nothing but

* The Metre is equal to 39,371 English inches.

a sort of vault, the sides of which rested upon a foundation of no solidity. The consequence was, that the walls were gradually undermined by the water, and that the vault itself, in many parts, fell in.

This accident rendered the Government indifferent to the fate of the gallery, which was neglected, and finally abandoned in the year 1623, when a Dutch engineer, by name Adrian Boot, induced the Viceroy to resume the old system of dykes and embankments, and to give orders for closing the Socabon of Nochistongo. A sudden rise in the lake of Tezcuco caused these orders to be revoked, and Martinez was again allowed to proceed with his works, which he continued until the 20th of June, 1629, when an event took place, the real causes of which have never been ascertained.

The rainy season having set in with unusual violence, Martinez, either desirous to convince the inhabitants of the Capital of the utility of his gallery, or fearful, (as he himself stated,) that the fruits of his labour would be destroyed by the entrance of too great a volume of water, closed the mouth of the Socabon, without having communicated to any one his intention to do so. The effect was instantaneous, and in one night the whole town of Mexico was laid under water, with the exception of the Plaza Mayor, and one of the suburbs. In all the other streets the water rose upwards of three feet, and during five years, (from 1629 to 1634,) canoes formed the only medium of communication between them. The foundations of many of the principal houses were destroyed; trade was paralized; the lower classes reduced to the lowest state of misery; and orders were actually given by the Court of Madrid to abandon the town, and to build a new Capital in the elevated plains between Tăcūbă and Tăcŭbāyă, to which the waters of the lakes, even before the conquest, had never been known to extend.

The necessity of this measure was obviated by a succession of earthquakes in the dry year of 1634, when the sur-

face of the valley was cracked and rent in various directions, and the waters gradually disappeared; a miracle for which due credit should be given to the Virgin of Guadalupe, by whose powerful intercession it is said to have been effected.

Martinez, who had been thrown into confinement in 1629, was released upon the termination of the evils occasioned by his imprudence; and again placed by a new Viceroy, (the Marquis of Ceralvo,) at the head of the works, by which similar visitations were to be averted in future. Under his superintendence the great dike, or Calzada of San Crĭstōbăl was constructed, by which the lake of this name is divided from that of Tĕzcūcŏ. This gigantic work, which consists of two distinct masses, the first one league, and the second 1,500 varas in length, is ten varas in width, (or thickness) throughout, and from three and a half to four varas in height. It is composed entirely of stone, with buttresses of solid masonry on both sides, and three sluices, by which, in any emergency, a communication between the lakes can be effected, and regulated at the same time. The whole was concluded, like the gallery of Nŏchĭstōngŏ, in eleven months, although as many years would now be required for such an undertaking. But in those days the sacrifice of life, (and particularly of Indian life,) in public works, was not regarded. Many thousands of the natives perished before the Dĕsāgŭe was completed; and to their loss, as well as to the hardships endured by the survivors, may be ascribed the horror with which the name of Hŭehŭetōcă is still pronounced by their descendants.

It is not my intention to follow the progress of the canal of Hŭehŭetōcă through all the changes which occurred in the plans pursued with respect to it from 1637, when the direction of the works was again taken from Martinez, and confided to the Monks of the Order of San Francisco, until 1767, when, under the Viceroyalty of the Marquis de Croix, the Consulado, or corporate body of merchants of Mexico,

engaged to perfect this great national undertaking. The necessity of converting the Socabon of Martinez into an open cut, (Tajo abierto) had long been felt, it having been found impossible to prevent the Socabon from being continually choked up by the sand and rubbish deposited by the water on its passage; but as the work was only prosecuted with vigour, when the danger of an inundation became imminent, and was almost suspended in the dry years, 2,310 Mexican varas of the northern part of the gallery remained untouched, after the expiration of one hundred and thirty years, when the Consulado was entrusted with the completion of the arduous task. As the old line of the gallery was to be preserved, it became necessary to give the cut, which was to be sunk perpendicularly upon it, an enormous width at the top, in order to prevent the sides from falling in; and in the more elevated parts, between the mountain of Sŷncōqŭe and the hill of Nŏchistōngŏ, for the space of 2,624 feet, the width across varies from 278 to 360 feet, while the perpendicular depth is from 147 to 196 feet. The whole length of the cut, from the sluice called the Vertideros to the Salto of the river Tula, is 67,537 feet, or 24,530 Mexican varas. The highest point of the hill of Nŏchĭstōngŏ, is that called Boveda Real, and it would be difficult when looking down from it upon the stream below, and following with the eye the vast opening through which it seeks an issue, to conceive that the whole is indeed the work of man, did not the mounds on either side, as yet but imperfectly covered with vegetation, and the regular outline of the terraces, denote both the recency of its completion, and the impossibility of attributing it to any natural convulsion.

The Obra del Consulado, as the open cutting is called, was concluded in the year 1789. It cost nearly a million of dollars; and the whole expense of the drainage, from 1607 to the beginning of the present century, including the various projects commenced, and abandoned when only partially exe-

cuted, the dikes connected with the Desague, and the two canals, which communicate with the lakes of San Crĭstōbăl and Zŭmpāngŏ, is estimated at 6,247,670 dollars, or 1,249,534*l.* sterling. It is supposed that one-third of this sum would have proved sufficient to cover the whole outlay, had Martinez been furnished, in the first instance, with the means of executing his project upon the scale which he had judged necessary; for it is in the reduced dimensions of the gallery of Nŏchĭstōngŏ, which was never equal to the volume of the water, to which, at particular seasons, it afforded an outlet, that all the subsequent expenditure has originated.

The works are now in a very bad state, having been entirely neglected during the Revolution. In a report drawn up by Don Jose Maria Moro, in October 1823, the necessity of immediate repairs is forcibly demonstrated; but as the last few years have been remarkably dry, it is probable that the old Spanish system of procrastination will be adhered to, and that nothing will be done until the dread of an inundation compels the Government to turn its attention to the subject. A few thousand dollars would suffice to clear the Tajo of the accumulations of earth and rocks, by which the passage of the water is at present obstructed; but as these, if suffered to remain, form a sort of dam, in the vicinity of which the water accumulates until it hollows out a basin, or reservoir, by undermining the banks on each side, the consequences will, in a few years, become very serious, and may probably render the work useless, at the moment when its services are most indispensable.

If in an effective state, the canal of Nŏchĭstōngŏ is regarded as fully sufficient to ensure the Capital against any risk of inundation from the North; but to the South, as Humboldt very justly observes, no precautions have been taken; not because there is no danger of a similar visitation, but because that danger has not so frequently occurred. The level of the

lakes of Chālcŏ, and Xŏchĭmīlcŏ, which are distinguished by the peculiarity of their water being sweet, instead of brackish, like that of the other three lakes, is higher by one vara and eleven inches than that of the Plaza Mayor of the Capital, and, consequently, exceeds by two varas and two feet the mean level of the waters of the lake of Tezcuco. A junction between these two lakes would, therefore, be productive of exactly the same effects, as that of the Central and Northern lakes; against which so many precautions have been thought necessary. In the great inundation before the Conquest, the history of which has been preserved by the Aztec historians, the case actually occurred, and the water rose, in the streets of Mexico, to five and six metres above its ordinary level, although not one drop of water from the Northern lakes entered that of Tezcuco. At that time, it is stated that the water issued in torrents from the sides of the mountains, and that in it were found fishes peculiar to the *Tierra Caliente*, and unknown, either before or since, upon the Table-land. It is not probable that similar phenomena should be of frequent recurrence; but causes much less extraordinary in their effect, would be sufficient to endanger the town. Should the snows of Pŏpŏcătēpĕtl, for instance, be melted by a violent eruption,* (an event by no means improbable, since that volcano has been very recently ascertained to be in a state of activity,) an immediate inundation from the lakes of Chālcŏ and Xŏchĭmīlcŏ would take place; nor is there any channel, through which their waters could now find an issue. In the rainy years of 1768, and 1764, Mexico was in the greatest danger, and formed an island for several months: in 1772 it would have been reduced to a similar state, had not a

* Humboldt proves the possibility of such an event, by stating, that when at Guyaquil, on the coast of the Province of Quito, in 1802, he himself saw the cone of the mountain of Cotopaxi, (superior in height to Popocatepetl) so thoroughly heated in a single night as to be entirely divested of its enormous coating of snow, (*son énorme calotte de neige.*)

water-spout, (*una mangua de agua*,) which traversed the valley, fortunately burst near the Northern, instead of the Southern extremity, where its effect was diminished by the vicinity of the Canal of Hŭehŭetōcă.

The Viceroy Don José Iturrigaray, was induced, by these repeated warnings to resume the project of a canal, so traced as to effect a communication between the Northern extremity of the lake of Tĕzcūcŏ and the tunnel of Nŏchĭstōngŏ, the length of which, from the Calzada of San Cristobal to the sluice of Los Vertideros, would be about 34,888 yards, or 37,978 Mexican varas.

This idea was originally suggested by Martinez, but rejected by the Government on account of the expense, which consists not so much in the length of the canal, as in the necessity of deepening the whole of the cut of Nochistongo, from Los Vertideros to a little beyond the Boveda Real, (a space of 12,280 varas,) in order to bring it to a level with the waters of the lake of Tezcuco. Notwithstanding this circumstance, the undertaking was commenced in 1805, but was suspended upon the imprisonment of Iturrigary in 1808, and entirely lost sight of during the civil war. In the present state of the country, it is improbable that it will be resumed, for some years at least, during which time the Mexicans must entrust their protection to the Virgin of Guădălūpĕ, to whose kind attentions they are already so much indebted.

I visited Hŭehuĕtōcă in February 1826. The village is in a wretched state, and affords no sort of accommodation; but this we were fortunate enough to find at Xālpă, a Hacienda situated about a mile from the bridge, at which the great Northern road of *Tierra adentro* crosses the canal of Nŏchĭstōngŏ. The distance from Mexico to Hŭehŭetōcă is eleven leagues; the road passes through the little towns of Tăcūbă, or Guădălūpĕ, (according to the gate by which you leave the Capital,) Tănĕpāntlă, and Guāutĭtlān; the last of

which, from the number of wooden columns by which a succession of porticoes in the front of the houses is supported, has, at a distance, quite a Grecian look.

The morning after our arrival at Xālpă, we rode along the course of the *desague* to the Hacienda del Sāltŏ, (a distance of nearly four leagues,) below which, at the bottom of a very abrupt natural terrace, the valley of Tula commences. The situation of this Hacienda is very wild and romantic; but, after surveying the gigantic works described in the preceding pages, one cannot repress a feeling of disappointment on seeing the comparative insignificance of the waterfall, (el Salto,) in which they terminate. The height is (as I have already stated) about twenty varas,* or forty-three English feet; but the volume of water, which, during the rainy season, is considerable, was, when we saw it, reduced to a little turbid stream threading its way with difficulty through the masses of rock by which the passage was obstructed.

From Jalpa we returned to Mexico by an entirely new route, which led us through the Indian village of Silcāltĕpēc, along the borders of the Lake of Zŭmpāngŏ, to the town of that name, and from thence, across the mountains, to Săn Juān de Tĕŏtīhŭacān, where we passed the night. On the following morning we visited the pyramids, which lie about two miles from the Pueblo, and afterwards rested for nearly an hour in an avenue of cypresses terminated by a large church. One of these cypresses is of singular beauty: we thought it but little inferior to those of Chăpūltĕpēc.

I can add nothing to the description of the pyramids given by Humboldt, whose work contains infinitely more than is known respecting them by the natives of the present day. The first, (Tonatiuh Ytzaqual,) the House of the Sun, has a base of 682 feet in length; its height is 180 feet. The second, (Metzli Itzaqual,) the House of the Moon, is thirty-

* The Mexican Vara is equal to 2 feet 2 inches 0.46 lines English.

six feet lower than the other, and its base is much smaller. Both are truncated, like the pyramid of Chŏlūlă, and are of Toltec origin: they are composed of stones, and clay intermixed, and, although the form of the exterior is now almost lost amidst the aloes, cactuses, and thorny brush-wood, by which it is covered, there are parts where the steps, or terraces, which rose gradually to the summit, can be still distinctly traced.

A group, or (as Humboldt calls it) a *system* of little pyramids, symmetrically arranged, extends for some distance around the Houses of the Sun and Moon; and amongst them are found continually knives and arrow heads of obsidian, which denote how much the place must have been frequented by the priests and warriors of the tribe. I am not aware that the interior of any of these pyramids has been examined, although from their Aztec name, Micoatl, (the plain of death,) it is probable that they were used as burying-places, either for the chiefs, or the victims sacrificed in their religious rites.

From Tĕŏtĭhŭacān we proceeded to Tĕzcūcŏ, a town formerly the residence of a tributary Indian prince, but now almost in ruins. Traces of its former importance are, however, still evident in the remains of fortifications, which must have been formidable to enemies armed only with arrows and slings.

There is a curious bridge, too, near the town, of a date anterior to the Conquest, although it is in a perfect state of preservation at the present day. From the Hacienda of Chăpīngŏ, about a league beyond Tĕzcūcŏ, where we were most hospitably received by the Marquis of Vibanco, to whom it belongs, we visited both this bridge, which is thrown over the river of Tezcuco, and the pretended bath of Montezuma, of which Mr. Bullock's book contains so singular an account. What it may have been, it is not easy to determine; I think it may safely be pronounced never to have been as a bath, from the smallness of the size, and the ex-

treme inconvenience of the position, to which the Imperial bather must necessarily have been confined during his ablutions. It seems more probable that it may have served to receive the waters of a spring, since dried up, as its depth is considerable, while the edge on one side is formed into a spout.

Chapingo is one of the finest specimens of Mexican Haciendas. The house was built by the Jesuits, to whom the estate originally belonged, and purchased of the Government, on the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, by the ancestor of the present Marchioness of Vibāncŏ, out of the proceeds of the Mine of Bărrāncŏ, at Bŏlāñŏs. The lands about it are exceedingly rich, as an abundant supply of water for irrigation is drawn from a reservoir, into which a number of little streams from the neighbouring mountains are conducted. The vicinity of the Capital ensures a ready market, and this gives so great a value to the crops, that the income derived from the estate seldom falls short of 60,000 dollars, (12,000*l.*) per annum. The Trōgĕs, or buildings erected to receive the grain, are very magnificently constructed; they are high, airy, and paved with large flat stones, varying in length from seventy to ninety feet. The accompanying drawing will convey an idea of the style of building, which is, however, much superior to that of the generality of country houses in New Spain, and must not be taken as a criterion for others. Chăpīngo lies about nine leagues from Mexico, and nearly as far from San Juan de Tĕŏtĭhŭacān. The road to this last place runs between the lake of Tĕzcūcŏ and the range of hills which form the Eastern boundary of the valley: that to the Capital passes near the Southern extremity of the lake, and joins the great La Puebla road four leagues from the gates of the town. We returned to Mexico by this route after an absence of six days, during which time we had made the tour of the whole valley, with the exception of the portion lying between Chalco and San Ăgŭstīn dĕ lăs Cūēvăs, which I

visited subsequently on my way to and from Cūĕrnăvācă and Cūāūtlă.

As the season was advancing, and the heat increasing daily in the *Terra Caliente*, I resolved not to defer my expedition to that place, and commenced my journey within a very few days after returning from Chăpīngŏ. The distance from Mexico to Cūĕrnăvācă does not exceed twenty leagues, (fifty miles,) but it is difficult to perform it in a single day on account of the passage of the mountains to the South of the valley, both the ascent and descent being exceedingly rocky and precipitous; I therefore left the Capital on the evening of the 25th of February, and slept at the village of San Agustin de las Cuevas, about four leagues off, where I was again indebted for lodgings to the hospitality of the Marquis of Vibanco. San Agustin was formerly the favourite residence of the nobility and great merchants of the Capital, whose houses and gardens formed, by degrees, a village, the appearance of which, in 1803, Humboldt describes as singularly beautiful. It was abandoned during the Revolution, being exposed to the attacks of Insurgent parties from the mountains, and is now only frequented during the great fair, which is held there annually, in the month of May. The object of this fair being merely amusement, it is attended by every creature in Mexico that can save, beg, or borrow a dollar for the occasion. The houses at San Agustin are taken many months beforehand, and from three to five hundred dollars rent is frequently paid for the three days. Amongst the ladies it is the etiquette to change their dresses four or five times in the course of the day; once, for the early promenade before breakfast; again for the cockpit, which opens at ten o'clock; a third time for dinner; a fourth for the Calvario, where a circle is usually formed for dancing; and a fifth for the public ball, which commences at eight o'clock, and lasts till twelve. Immense sums of money are won and

lost, in the course of the day, by the men, both in betting upon their cocks, and at the Monte tables, one of which is to be found in almost every house. There are silver Montes for the lower classes, but at all the respectable tables nothing but gold is seen, and no smaller stake than a doubloon, (an onza, about 3*l.* 4*s.* English money,) allowed. The bank at these varies from 1,500 to 3,000 doubloons. Fifty or sixty of these, (about 200*l.*) are an ordinary stake upon the turn of a card; but I have seen as many as six hundred and twenty risked and won. There is no limit whatever to the stake, and unfair play is out of the question, but the chances are so much in favour of the table, that few persons continue winners for any length of time.

During the whole fair the streets and squares of San Agustin are filled by day and by night, with crowds of people, who sleep *à la belle étoile*, or take shelter under the carriages, with which the Plaza is crowded. Provisions of all kinds are to be found in booths erected for the occasion; horses and mules are picketed in every direction round the town; temporary huts are raised with boughs and mats, and as a profusion of flowers is used in all these structures, nothing can be more variegated than the appearance of this motley scene. In the evening, the cockpit is carpeted, and lighted up with chandeliers; cushions are placed upon the benches, looking-glasses suspended from the wooden pillars, and, as the roof, which is of shingles, is concealed, in part, by a quantity of green boughs, the whole forms a pretty, circular ball-room, in which the *élite*, and the refuse, of Mexican society may be seen assembled at the same time. The lower classes, however, are excluded from the centre of the house, into which no one improperly dressed is admitted, and forced to take their seats upon the higher tiers of benches. Here they exercise the usual privilege of the one-shilling gallery, by applauding most vociferously the performances of any lady, whose style of dancing

happens to please them, and by calling occasionally for the Jărāvē, the Pĕtĭnēră, or other dances of the country, with an exhibition of which they are not unfrequently gratified.

On the 26th of February I left San Ăgŭstīn at a very early hour. The ascent commences almost immediately, and is rendered doubly toilsome by the Ărenāl, a bed of deep blue sand, that extends over a space of about two leagues, and exhausts both the horses and mules, by the treacherous nature of the footing which it affords them. The road passes by the village of Ăjusco, and the Venta del Guārdă, from whence it winds its way through a succession of rocks, and pine-woods, to the Cruz del Mărqūēs, a point 2,360 feet above the level of the Capital. Here the descent to Cūērnăvācă begins and continues uninterruptedly for nearly four leagues to the Pueblo of Jŭchĭlāc, where the first indications of an approach to the *Tierra Caliente* appear. These increase rapidly in the direction of Cūērnăvācă, until, in the plains immediately below the town, the climate and the productions of the Coast replace, at once, those of the Table-land.

The transition is the more sudden, because, on the Pacific side, the valleys are sheltered from the North winds, which have so extraordinary an effect upon the vegetation upon the Eastern slope of the Cordillera. Thus Cūērnăvācă, although 1,093 feet higher than Jălāpă, possesses all the characteristics of the country about Plan del Rio, or Puente del Rey. The inhabitants have the same dark tint; the sky the same glowing aspect; and although the vomito is unknown, in the rainy season agues prevail, of so violent a nature, as almost to partake of the character of the typhus, and to be hardly less injurious in their effects upon the constitution.

The town of Cuernavaca lies 2,040 feet lower than Mexico, and 4,400 feet below the Cruz del Mărqūēs, which is the highest point of the intervening ridge. It is a place of no great importance in itself, and only derives interest from the richness of the surrounding district. During the two days

which I passed there, I visited two of the principal Haciendas de Azucar, (Sugar Estates,) mentioned in the first Book, San Gäbrïël and Ätlăcŏmūlcŏ, the first of which belongs to the family of Yērmō, the second to that of the Duke of Monteleone, the present representative of the house of Cortez. I found in both the same exuberant fertility of soil, the same abundance of water for irrigation, and the same inattention to comfort, or cleanliness, in the vicinity of the house, which, in the valleys of Cūāūtlă and Cūērnăvācă, seldom denotes by its appearance the value of the estate. The average produce of San Gäbriël is calculated at forty thousand Arrobas of sugar (each of 25lbs.); that of Ätlăcŏmūlcŏ does not exceed thirty thousand; in addition to which, however, there is a Coffee plantation containing about fifty thousand young plants in a very thriving state. The distance of these Haciendas from Cuernavaca varies from two to three leagues. We found the heat very oppressive after ten o'clock, and it prevented me from extending my excursions farther, although the beauty of the country, and the abundance of game, (particularly hares and quails,) would have induced me, at any other time, to prolong my stay.

The valley of Cŭērnăvācă is separated from that of Cūāūtlă by a ridge of elevated ground, commencing a little beyond Ätlăcŏmūlcŏ, and extending four leagues to the South-east, where it terminates in two singular hills, called Las Tĕtīllăs. From these you descend at once to a lower terrace, which begins at the foot of the ridge with the village of Yaŭtĕpēc, one of the most beautiful spots that I recollect having ever seen. The riches of the inhabitants consist in the groves of orange-trees, by which their houses are surrounded, and from which both the Capital, and the town of La Puebla, are supplied with this fruit. One of the numerous streams that descend from the Table-land, runs through the Pueblo, dispensing fertility on every side; a little garden is attached to each cottage; and the brilliant whiteness of these dwellings

contrasts in a very pleasing manner, with the dark green of the orange-trees behind, broken at intervals by the bright hue of the fruit. Yaŭtĕpēc is about five leagues from Cuernavaca, and four from Cŏcŏyōc, a Hacienda belonging to Don Antonio Vĕlāscŏ, the father-in-law of General Tĕrān, who had the goodness to allow me to take up my residence there for a few days, as the most convenient spot for visiting both the town of Cūāūtlă, and the neighbouring estates, for most of which I had letters from General Bravo and other friends. With the exception of one league of solid rock, upon which our horses could with difficulty keep their footing, the whole road from Yaŭtĕpēc lay though a richly cultivated country, watered by a hundred rivulets, and studded with Haciendas, the most considerable of which, (Săn Cārlŏs,) we visited on our way. Nothing could be finer than the scenery; and the vigorous growth of the canes, though planted much more closely than is usual in the West Indian Islands, attested the richness of the soil, which, without the aid of manure, seldom fails to yield a most abundant crop. Dr. Wilson, a friend by whom I was accompanied upon this occasion, and who, from a long residence in Jamaica, was better qualified than myself to judge of the relative capabilities of the two countries, was much struck with this circumstance, and pointed it out to me as well worthy of attention.

Notwithstanding the heat, by commencing our excursions at a very early hour, we contrived to visit, during the two days that we passed at Cŏcŏyōc, both the town of Cuāutlă Amīlpăs, (which I was curious to see from its connexion with the history of the Revolution, and the exploits of Mŏrēlŏs,) and the Haciendas of Păntĭtlān, Căsăsānŏ, Săntă Ĭnĕs, Căldĕrōn, and Cŏhăhūīstlă. This was sufficient to give us a very good idea of the mode in which the great sugar plantations of Mexico are conducted, as well as of their extent; but upon both these subjects, all the most essential details will be found in the third section of the first Book, and a reference

to this will render it superfluous for me to enter here into any farther particulars.

The population of the Valley bears evident traces of a recent mixture of African blood. The colour of the skin is darker, and the lank hair, peculiar to the aborigines, is exchanged for curly, or woolly locks. The men are a fine athletic race, but wild, both in their appearance and habits; they delight in glaring colours, as well as in the noisy music of the negroes, and form, when heated with liquor, and dancing after the labours of the day, a striking contrast to the meek and submissive demeanour of the Indians on the Table-land.

Cūāūtlă Ămīlpăs, which is four leagues from Cŏcŏyōc, and thirteen from Cūērnăvācă, has recovered entirely from the ravages of the first years of the Civil War. The Indian suburb is exceedingly pretty, but the town itself, from the lowness of the houses, which are mostly of tĕpĕtātĕ, and the breadth of the streets, seems very little calculated to resist the attack of a regular force. The defence made there by Morelos, with a few hundred men, against the Viceregal army, commanded by Cāllējă in person, is hardly a greater proof of determination on his part, than of incapacity on that of his adversaries.

On the 4th of March, I quitted Cŏcŏyōc; not without regret, for although the house is bad, nothing can be more striking than the view of Pŏpŏcătēpĕtl from the balcony, where we used to sit, and enjoy the evening breeze, after the fatigue of our morning's ride. A coffee plantation, too, intersected by walks of orange trees, and kept in the nicest order, is a beautiful object; and to an eye accustomed to the stunted vegetation of the Table-land, the foliage even of the more ordinary trees, in which the *Tierra Caliente* abounds, must always be a relief.

The ascent towards the Capital commences very abruptly. On the outskirts of the Valley of Cūāūtla, are two little

Ranchos, near which most of the bananas are grown with which the Mexican market is supplied. The change from the cane huts of these Indians, buried amongst the leaves of the Platano Arton, to the pine forests, that occupy the region immediately above, is extremely sudden. Through these you labour on for about eight leagues, in the course of which two or three uninteresting Pueblos are passed, when you commence a very gradual descent into the valley of Mexico, which we entered to the South of the town of Chalco, where we passed the night. It would not have been impossible to reach the Capital the same evening, as the distance did not exceed nine leagues; but our horses had been feasting upon the green tops of the sugar cane during their visit to *Tierra Caliente*, and were so weakened by this heating food, that they were quite exhausted before we arrived at Chālcŏ, although that town is not more than eleven leagues from Cŏcŏyōc. We were therefore compelled to give them a night of repose and hard food, after which we reached Mexico at an early hour on the following morning. (March 5.)

SECTION IV

PREPARATIONS FOR TRAVELLING IN MEXICO—JOURNEY TO THE MINING DISTRICTS OF TLALPUJAHUA.

So little was known in the city of Mexico of the manner in which the affairs of the great English Mining Companies were conducted, and such contradictory reports prevailed with regard to the system pursued by them, that I determined to seek, by personal observation, that information which I found it impossible to draw from any other source. In this I was influenced not merely by the interest that I naturally felt in the issue of enterprises, in which British capital to so large an amount was invested, but by a wish not to render myself responsible, in the reports which I might be called upon to transmit to His Majesty's Government upon the subject, for any errors but my own.

In the Capital, the opinions of most people seemed to be influenced by feelings of merely a personal nature. There were so many prepossessions in favour of particular districts, so many prejudices against others, and such rivalities amongst the agents or friends of the different Companies, that I found it hopeless to attempt to arrive at any reasonable conclusion with regard to their prospects while at a distance from the scene of action; and, under this impression, I resolved, in any of those inaccuracies into which the want of data might betray me, to ensure to myself the satisfaction of knowing that I had, at least, done all that in me lay to avoid them.

In preparing for the execution of a plan, which rendered it necessary for me to undertake a series of journeys amounting in their aggregate to nearly three thousand English miles, I endeavoured to lessen, as much as possible, the inconveniences with which travelling in Mexico is attended, by taking beforehand all those little precautions, the neglect of which in the first instance is sure to occasion so much subsequent vexation and delay. I accordingly procured the very best horses that were to be obtained, both for myself and my servants, and took equal care in the selection of my baggage, or carga, mules, upon which, in fact, the whole comfort of a journey depends.

A Mexican inn, or even a second-rate Hacienda, contains little or nothing besides the bare walls. If the traveller be very much fatigued, he may stretch himself at full length upon the floor, or perhaps he may obtain the luxury of a table, which, as presenting a less uneven surface, forms a better substitute for a couch. To any thing beyond this he must not aspire, nor must he expect to find, except in the towns, any other provisions than tortillas and chile. He therefore depends, both for rest and food, upon his own supplies, and of these he ought never to lose sight. In order to accomplish this, the carga-mules should be of the best Durango breed, light and active, and able to continue at a trot before the horses thirty or forty miles, with a load of 150, or 160lbs. The Mexicans attach this load to the animal in a most slovenly manner, by merely balancing the packages upon a pad, composed of skins, and sackcloth stuffed with straw, and then girting them with such violence as frequently to injure the mule, by creating swellings either under the girths, or upon the withers, on which the whole load rests in going down hill. The packages too, require constant attention, and alteration, as the balance is destroyed by the roughness of the motion when travelling at a quick pace, although at a walk, fewer changes are necessary. I found that so much

inconvenience arose from the frequency of these stoppages on my way to Cuautla, that I determined on my return home to introduce an innovation, against which all my Mexican servants protested, until they were taught by experience how much it tended to diminish their own trouble.

I employed a French saddler recently established in the capital to make me four English packsaddles, upon the model of one which had gone through the Peninsular war, each furnished with a tree, so as to prevent the load from resting immediately upon the mule's back, and these again provided with iron hooks on each side, to which a portmanteau or bed is attached by corresponding rings and straps. In the rainy season, an oilskin cover, or tarpaulin, is thrown over the whole, and secured by a broad leather girth; this serves to keep the load steady, while breechings and a breast-piece prevent the packsaddle itself from slipping, even in the most precipitous roads. One of the trees was fitted up in a different manner from the rest, being provided with iron brackets, made to fit a canteen, which was slipped in between them, and secured by a single strap. From the moment that I adopted this system, I discarded all the clumsy Mexican "aparejos," and I had the satisfaction both of never having a mule afterwards with a sore back, and of seeing them perform their journeys with ease and convenience. My luggage generally consisted of a canteen, which contained cooking utensils, as well as a small breakfast and dinner set for four people, and formed a light load for one mule: one of Thompson's small brass camp beds, with a portmanteau to balance it, was allotted to a second mule: the third carried two boxes for wine, provisions, and other necessaries, of which we laid in a stock in the larger towns; and the fourth the beds of Dr. Wilson and Mr. Carrington, a young friend by whom I was generally accompanied. A single muleteer, duly provided with his sabre and lasso, took charge of this detachment, which preceded the rest of the party; and in addition to him we were

usually accompanied by three men servants, two Mexicans, and an English groom, who, being all armed as well as ourselves, with pistols and sabres, besides two or three double-barrelled fowling-pieces, formed a party sufficiently strong to secure us against any danger of an attack from robbers. When once trained to European wants, I know no better travelling servants in the world than the Mexicans. They are a fine manly race, excellent horsemen, adepts in the use of that indispensable instrument the lasso, and capable of enduring every sort of fatigue. They eat any thing, always look respectably, if provided, as mine were, with the leather (Payo) dress of the country, and sleep upon the ground, wrapped in the manga, which each man carries behind his saddle, round your bed if you bivouac, or stretched across your room door at the Ventas, where, as every thing is open, you have seldom any other security than what the presence of your own attendants may give. In mine I used to feel the most perfect confidence, for, when treated well, I have found them capable of great attachment, and although I had not occasion to put them to any severe trial, I am convinced that in an emergency they would not have deserted me.

I know few sensations more pleasing in life than those which I have experienced when starting, thus accompanied, upon one of my long expeditions, with all my party well mounted, a few spare mules and horses driven before us, and the certainty of finding, after traversing a new country, in the principal object of the journey, enough to gratify curiosity, and often to remove unpleasant doubts. There is something so wild and independent in the whole thing, that there are few people with stamina enough to support the fatigue, who do not learn to enjoy it. You forget Europe and all the mingled advantages and restraints of civilization, and trusting to your horse for carrying you to the place of your destination, and often to your gun for a meal upon the way, you care neither for mountains nor rivers, but take at once

the shortest and the most picturesque road, or branch off to the east or the west, at pleasure, should there be any thing, on either side, to attract attention. The Mexican horses are admirably adapted to this sort of travelling. They are small, but active, and full of spirit; extremely light in hand, and ready to spring off at full speed upon the slighest motion of the rider. Many of them possess in addition to these good qualities that most invaluable requisite for the road, a "passo," of the advantages of which no one, who has not tried it, can form an idea. The passo consists in a peculiar motion of the horse, by which the hind legs are drawn along the ground, sustaining nearly the whole weight of the body, while the fore are raised in high and graceful action; the rider, from the gentle movement of the hind quarter, is hardly moved in his seat, while the horse before appears to be going at a trot, and does in fact move at nearly the same rate. A good passo horse will perform, with ease to himself, six miles in the hour, and will hold his pace over good ground for several successive leagues. I had one, known in Mexico by the name of the Mascarillo, (from a peculiar white mark on one side of the head,) whose passo was so rapid as to keep any other horse nearly at a gallop: when at his full speed he was thought to move at the rate of ten or eleven miles in the hour, but this was an exertion which he could not sustain for any length of time. A more ordinary passo varies from four to six miles in the hour, seldom exceeding the one, or falling much short of the other. I never had above two of the second kind, one of which was a little brown horse which Mrs. Ward used to ride, the other a favourite of my own, a Rosillo, (or Roan) very fast, and with legs like a deer, but with such courage that he performed all my journeys with less injury to himself than others apparently of three times his strength. Dr. Wilson had a third of clumsier make, but equally remarkable for his passo, and it was curious to see with what ease these three creatures went over the ground,

while the rest of the horses were wearied out with their efforts to keep up with them. Passo horses of this description are valuable, and will sell, in any part of the country, for one hundred and fifty, or two hundred dollars, (30*l.* or 40*l.*) while a trŏtōn, or trotting horse of the very best kind, may be bought for fifty dollars, (10*l.*) and might have been purchased for half the money in 1823, before the influx of English raised the prices, as it always does. Many people prefer mules to horses for a long journey, and, in a very mountainous country, they certainly answer best; they are useful, too, for servants; but for my own riding I should never employ them, for it was my delight to stop, wherever there was game in the vicinity of the road, and, after shooting for half an hour, to rejoin my party at a canter, which would spoil a passo mule, although it does no sort of harm to a horse. When kept at their regular pace, however, mules are most extraordinary animals, and seem capable of continuing to travel at the rate of thirty miles a day, from January to December, without fatigue or inconvenience. I had one little chesnut macho, which had been with Mr. Hervey to the Interior, and afterwards both with him and Mr. Morier to the coast. It was then transferred to Mr. Baring, with whom it went to Tĕpīc, from whence it returned just in time for me to repurchase it at the commencement of my own travels. In all these it carried my muleteer, a very heavy man; and when, in April 1827, I transferred the two together to Mr. Stokes, to go over no inconsiderable portion of the same ground again, there was as little in the mule, as in the rider, to indicate the fatigues which it had undergone. I may say the same of a little black terrier, one of the only two dogs that survived the journey from the coast. Four greyhounds and another terrier died mad upon the sands, within a league of Veracruz; but this little creature being younger, suffered less from the sun; and, from the moment that we reached the Table-land, formed an attachment to the mules, which

continued unchanged during the whole of my stay. In defiance of heat and dust, the dog always accompanied the leading mule; at night he slept amongst the packsaddles, where his vigilance was of great use; and except to be fed, nothing ever induced him to enter a house. He still, I believe, continues the same career, as I thought it a pity, on my departure, to separate him from his friends, with whom he has since been to Catorce, and Tĕpāntitlan.

I shall finish this general outline of travelling in Mexico, by saying that in the hot months of May, July, and August, in the course of which, from the extreme dryness of the season in 1826, I was enabled to visit Tlălpŭjāhŭa, Tĕmăscāltĕpēc, Real del Monte, and Zĭmăpān, we used to set off long before day-break in the morning; so that our day's journey was generally finished by twelve or one o'clock. In Mexico, you never stop upon the road to bait, but perform the whole distance, whatever it may be, without a halt. It is better for the horses and mules, as they have a longer time together for rest and food, which, in so hot a climate, they do not enjoy without water, and this cannot be given them, in any quantity, until the day's work is done. Nor is there any thing in the arrangement inconvenient for the traveller, as it enables him to dress and bathe before dinner, and afterwards to stroll about in the cool of the evening, where there is any thing to be seen, until the approach of darkness summons him to bed. It is then that the luxuries of musquito curtains and portable bedsteads are really felt, particularly if the length of the legs is calculated, (as it always should be) so as just to raise you beyond the maximum of a flea's leap. Sheltered from all annoyances of this kind, and extended in peace and comfort upon your elastic stretcher, you soon forget the fatigues of the past day, and are awakened at three the next morning, by your muleteers, ready to meet those of the day to come. It always required an hour to saddle, and load the mules, make up the beds, and prepare a little stock of cold provi-

sions, which we stopped to eat, at eight or nine o'clock, wherever water or Pulque was to be procured. If we got in extremely early, we had usually some books with us to pass the time, and for those who were not thus disposed, the kitchen, or the care of the animals, afforded occupation, as in both, constant superintendence was necessary. On the whole, I found my journeys a most agreeable relaxation, after the confinement of the Capital. I ended them with regret; I look back to them with pleasure, and I should recommence them again to-morrow, with great satisfaction, were my profession to lead me again to a country as little known as Mexico, and offering as much to excite attention, and recompense curiosity.

The first Mining district that I visited, after my return from Cuautla, was that of Tlălpŭjāhuă, which is situated upon the confines of the State of Valladolid, 38 leagues, or 95 English miles, from the Capital. The road traverses the mountains that bound the Valley of Mexico to the West, and passes through Tăcŭbāyă and Săntă Fē to Lās Crūcĕs, where the battle between the Insurgents, under Hidalgo, and the Viceregal troops, commanded by Truxillo, was fought in 1810. From this high ridge, (it is 10,882 feet above the level of the sea,) where a number of crosses and piles of stones still mark out the burying-places of the Indians who fell in the action, the descent towards the valley of Toluca commences, which is 785 feet more elevated than that of Mexico. The town of Lerma lies about a league from the foot of the mountains, upon the borders of the lake, from which the Rio Grande de Santiago takes its rise. This river assumes a different name, at first, in every village near which it passes, but is the same which, after fertilizing the Băxĭō, and traversing the extremity of the Lake of Chăpālă, runs through a large portion of the State of Guădălājără, and finally discharges itself at San Blas into the Pacific. It contains a very considerable body of water, and is not fordable,

even during the dry season, within a very few miles from its source.

Lerma possesses nothing remarkable as a town, except an inn, where, from the frequent visits of foreigners, both beds and provisions may be obtained, and where some attention to cleanliness is shown.

The place contains about 4000 inhabitants, and is surrounded by Maguey plantations, which produce most excellent Pulque. The distance from the Capital is twelve leagues.

From Lerma there are two roads to Tlălpŭjāhŭa; one of which passes through the city of Tŏlūcă, while the other, which is four leagues shorter, branches off to the North-west, and runs in a direct line to the town of Ĭstlăhūācă, (twelve leagues from Lerma, and fourteen from Tlalpujahua,) where we slept. For nearly eight leagues we followed a bridle road called El camino de los Cajones, through a country covered with Haciendas of corn, or maize, and large grazing estates, over which immense herds of cattle are scattered. The plain is intersected with canals for irrigation, while the view, which is diversified by a number of villages rising in the distance, and bounded by the Nevada, or Snowy mountains, of Toluca to the extreme South, conveys a pleasing impression of fertility and abundance. For about four leagues before we reached Ĭstlăhūācă, we travelled over an elevated and barren ridge; but cultivation re-appears in the vicinity of the town, (which stands on a little elevation upon the banks of the river Lerma,) and continues across the plains of Tĕpētĭtlān, to the Hacienda of that name, (five leagues from Istlahuaca,) where the mountains of El Oro and Tlălpŭjāhŭa commence. Of the remaining nine leagues, the first four are barren and desolate; the five last extend through a succession of Pine forests, in the midst of which the Real of Tlălpŭjāhŭa stands.

The ancient village of San Pedro and San Pablo, now called Tlalpujahua, where the officers of the Company formed in England, under that name reside, is situated in North lati-

tude 19° 17′ 30″, West longitude 100°, 1′.15″, upon the borders of a little stream, which winds down the valley of Tlălpŭjāhŭa into that of Tĕpĕtōngŏ, where it joins the river of Tepetongo, which subsequently unites with that of Lerma. The town is environed by mountains covered with pines, the most considerable of which are Lă Sŏmēră, to the North-east, Săn Lŏrēnzŏ to the South, and the Cerro del Gallo to the East of the town: the first of these is 1,430 feet, the second 1,160 feet, and the third 851 feet, above the level of the bridge of Tlălpŭjāhŭa, which, again, is 822 feet higher than the town of Mexico, and 8,581 feet above the level of the sea.

It is upon the slope of the mountains by which the valley of Tlalpujahua is formed that the principal mines of the Company are situated, in the hollows, (cañadas,) of Las Animas, Los Zăpătērōs, and Lăbōrdă. Their position is extremely favourable for drainage by adits; and the shafts are neither difficult of access, nor at an inconvenient distance from the town, most of them being contained in a circle of two English miles.

The metalliferous veins of this district are found principally in the Phyllade, (Thonschiefer, or Clay Slate,) which contains in subordinate strata, 1. Le traumate, (Grauwacke;) 2. Le traumate schisteux, (Schieffrige Grauwacke, or Grey-wacke Slate;) 3. Le Calcaire, (Transition Limestone;) 4. Le Talcschisteux, (Talkschiefer;) 5. Le Feldspath Compacte, (Prismatic Feldspar of Jameson;) 6. Le Diabase, (principally composed of Prismatic Feldspar, and straight-edged Augit of Jameson; and 7. Quartz.

The veins of Laborda and Coronas vary in dimensions from 16½ to 5½, and 8¼ English feet: that of Las Virgenes attains in some parts, a width of 27½, and even 33 English feet; nor has any diminution, or falling off, been observed at the greatest depth, to which these veins have yet been explored.

The ores contain Native Gold, (Hexahedral Gold of Jameson,) and Native Silver, (Hexahedral Silver;) which are found in small quantities. The Rhomboidal Silverglance (*l'argent antimonié sulfuré noir*) is most abundant; and next to it the Hexahedral Silverglance, or Argent Sulfuré. The Red Silver, or Argent Antimonié Sulfuré *rouge*, is less common, but may frequently be found.*

Of the former produce of the district of Tlălpujāhua nothing certain is known. The great Cŏrōnăs vein was discovered at a very early period, and has been worked, with occasional intermissions, for upwards of two hundred years. The Cañada bearing La Borde's name, and to which he was indebted for his fortune, was only discovered in 1743: there are no returns of the silver raised from it during the great Bonanza, which gave it celebrity; but in stating it at twelve millions of dollars, in the eight years, during which the mines were worked, I take only half the estimate usually formed in Mexico of its amount. Tlălpŭjāhŭa lost much of its importance upon La Borde's removal to Tāscŏ, but the mines of the district were worked without interruption until the commencement of the Civil War, at which time, according to a Statistical account of the State of Valladolid published in 1822, by Don Juan, José, Martinez de Lizarra, from eighteen to twenty thousand dollars were expended weekly in the purchase of ores, and in the payment of the mining labourers.

In 1824, it has likewise been ascertained, that ores to the amount of 100,000 dollars, were raised by the Buscones (Searchers); and in 1825, before the arrival of the Company,

* Having professed my ignorance of mineralogy, I must state that I am indebted for these details to a manuscript report drawn up by Mr. Burkart, Principal Miner of the Tlalpujahua Company, from which I should venture to make further extracts for the information of mineralogists, did I not conceive that the results of Mr. Burkart's investigations will, in the course of time, be laid before the world by himself.

60,000 dollars more were laid out in a similar way by the only miner who had a command of capital in the district.

But it was not by the insulated efforts of an individual that the injuries done by the Revolution could be repaired. The State of Valladolid was constantly the scene of action between the contending parties; and as one of the Insurgent chiefs (Răyōn) occupied two fortified camps in the immediate vicinity of Tlălpŭjāhŭa, (the Cerro del Gallo, and Coporo,) this district was exposed, for several years, to all the horrors of the war. To escape from these, its inhabitants abandoned their homes; and, in June 1825, Mr. de Rivafinoli found, upon his arrival, most of the houses in ruins, and the mines without a building of any kind to denote their existence.* The population was so reduced, that one hundred and fifty workmen were procured with difficulty, and although the surrounding country is remarkably fertile, supplies of every kind were scarce from the total ruin of the neighbouring Haciendas.

It was gratifying to behold the change which ten months had produced in all these respects. In May 1826, Tlălpŭjāhŭa presented one of the busiest scenes that it is possible to imagine: the population had increased from one to five thousand; above eighty houses had been repaired, or rebuilt; shops for the sale of English manufactures were opened in the Plaza; there was a market most abundantly supplied with all the necessaries of life four days in the week; and twelve hundred labourers found constant employment in the mines. Twenty-seven of the principal shafts had been already put into a thorough state of repair, and surrounded

* The shaft of a mine is surrounded by a *Galera*, in which the tools, candles, powder, &c. are kept, and an account taken of the labourers, who enter or quit the mine, as well as of the ores raised by them. In the Galera the Mălăcătčs (horse-whims) are likewise placed; so that where two or more of these are at work, the space covered in is very considerable.

with the necessary buildings. In the Mines of Săn Ĕstēvăn, Cŏlŏrădīllă, Los Olīvos, Căpŭlīn, Concepciōn, Săntŏs Mārtĭrĕs, and Ŏcōtĕs, the works had already reached the vein, and ore was raised in considerable quantities. In the others, Malacates had been fitted up upon the most improved plan, and the drainage was conducted with the utmost activity.

Of the extent to which the works of the Company are carried, some account has been given in the second section of the preceding Book: it is, however, necessary to add, that their contracts are mostly for the terms of thirty and thirty-five years; that in all their mines they have a full half share, or twelve Barras; that the Alimentos (or allowance made by the Company to the proprietors) are small, and are in every instance to be discontinued if a mine does not become productive within three years; and that although amongst the many contracts held by the Company, there are undoubtedly some, from which no advantage can ever be derived, the command of all the mines in the district was indispensable in order to exclude competition, the ruinous effects of which, in other parts of Mexico, have been very severely felt.

Tlălpŭjāhŭa enjoys many advantages as a mining district. It is situated at a moderate distance both from the Capital, and the Coast, in the midst of a country so fertile, that maize, which in Guanajuato and Mexico, sells for four and a half or five dollars the carga, (of 300lbs.) seldom rises there above two and a half or three dollars. Wood is equally abundant and cheap. Mining labour of all kinds is lower than in any of the neighbouring States. Few of the mines exceed one hundred and fifty varas in depth, and almost all are so situated as to facilitate their drainage by a single Adit, for a very considerable space below the deepest of their present workings. The ores of some contain a Ley de Oro, so considerable as to raise the value of the Marc to twelve and sixteen dollars; and in reducing these ores, the assistance of water power is almost always to be obtained.

At the period of my first visit, two Haciendas de beneficio (Santa Rosa and el Chimal) were completed, in each of which twelve stamps were at work, capable of pulverizing twenty-five cargas of ore, (of twelve Arrobas, or 300lbs.) in the twenty-four hours. Another large Hacienda (San Rafael) was in progress, with forty-eight stamps, and twenty-four Arastres, (crushing mills,) which it was thought would reduce from 600 to 800 cargas of ore in the week. I was very much struck with the appearance of these works, which were planned by Mr. Moro, the engineer to the Company, and executed entirely by Mexican workmen, under the superintendence of another officer, (Mr. Enrico,) whose patience and assiduity triumphed over the obstacles which the inexperience of the natives at first created. The water-wheel of San Rafael is twenty-seven feet in diameter, yet not a single European has been employed upon it, or upon the machinery connected with it, which now sets in motion forty-eight stamps, with a power that was thought insufficient in former times, to work more than six.

But both in this and in every other respect the Tlalpujahua Company has been admirably served. The director, Monsieur de Rivafinoli, possesses not only an active and indefatigable spirit himself, but the art of communicating a portion of this spirit to those by whom he is surrounded. I never saw more order and regularity than is shown in every part of his system; and although the gentlemen employed in superintending the works are natives of many different countries, there is an *esprit de corps* amongst them, which it is really pleasing to witness.* The Mexican proprietors, many of whom are entrusted with the superintendence of the works in their own mines, have become most useful assistants; and

* The only place where I have ever seen any confusion at Tlalpujahua is at Mr. Rivafinoli's most hospitable table, where Spanish, English, French, German, and Italian are spoken in such rapid succession as to convey a lively idea of the tower of Babel.

as the authority of the church is employed wherever a change of machinery is contemplated, a solemn blessing being pronounced by the Cura, (a man of great talent and influence) upon the new machine, before it begins to work, each innovation is looked forward to by the natives as a *fête*, at which those who have been employed in the construction of the new works, receive a public reward.

Some of these details may be thought trifling; but as long as human nature remains constituted as it now is, more may be effected by attention to such trifles, than by the most beneficial projects when introduced without it. The conciliatory system adopted by Monsieur de Rivafinoli has given him an almost absolute authority in his district, and this, as long as the prospects of a Company are liable to be affected, (as they always must be) by the power which its agents possess of carrying into execution their projects, may always be regarded as an essential step towards success.

Doubts have been expressed with regard to the goodness of the mines of Tlalpujahua, and these, as there are no records of former produce, it is impossible for me to remove. It is difficult, however, to suppose, that in a district abounding in metalliferous veins, none of which have been worked to any considerable depth, whilst all are known to have been productive in earlier times, a Company which is in possession of every mine of any importance in the Real, and which is about to push its workings through a great extent of virgin ground, should not be amply repaid for its present advances. Its chances of success increase in proportion to the extent of its operations, as the veins are explored upon all the most essential points at once; while the mining works, which are under the direction of an active, cautious, and scientific man, Mr. Burkart, are sure to be conducted with economy, and executed with the greatest possible precision. With regard to time, a few months more or less are of little importance in an enterprise of such magnitude; and I should think even more

highly than I now do of the prospects of the Tlalpujahua Company, were the Directors in England to forego for a year the hope of immediate returns, and to devote the whole of that time to the completion of the great Adit, by which the drainage of two-thirds of the district would be effected at once, and an immense saving made in the ultimate expenses of the Association.

I remained at Tlalpujahua nearly a week, during which I visited all the mines which had been brought into activity up to that time, as well as the Haciendas, the most distant of which, San Rafael, is situated about three leagues from the town. It was at that time unfinished, but in one of my subsequent visits I had the pleasure of seeing it completed, for I returned to Tlalpujahua both in September 1826, and January 1827, on my way from other districts to the Capital.

SECTION V.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE MINING DISTRICTS OF ZIMAPAN—SAN JOSÉ DEL ORO—LA ENCARNACION—EL CHICO—CAPULA, AND REAL DEL MONTE.

On the morning of the 12th of July, I left Mexico, and proceeded by the great Northern road to Huĕhuĕtōcă, about eleven leagues from the Capital.

On the 13th, after following the same road three leagues in the direction of Tula, we struck off towards the East, over five leagues of wretchedly barren and stony country, which extends to the plains of San Pedro, in the centre of which, on a very fertile spot, are situated the Hacienda and village of that name, where we arrived after five hours' travelling.

The plains of San Pedro led us to another Pedregal, or stony district, of still greater extent than the first, in the midst of which, five leagues from the Hacienda, stands a solitary venta, where we had been informed that we could pass the night, but where we found that no sort of accommodation was to be obtained. We were therefore compelled to proceed, at a very late hour, towards Ĭtzmĭquīlpăn, a town seven leagues farther on, there not being a single Pueblo, or Hacienda, between it and the Venta del Pĕdrĕgāl. The road continued to be stony and bad, with the exception of a few miles

of sand covered with a thin brushwood. About two leagues from Itzmiquilpan there is an abrupt descent of nearly two English miles, covered with masses of rock, amongst which it is hardly possible for horses to keep their footing. We did not reach the town till half-past eight o'clock, having left the Venta at half-past three in the afternoon.

Itzmiquilpan is remarkable for the beauty of its situation, and the richness of the vegetation in the district immediately around it. The town stands upon the banks of the river Tula, and is so completely sheltered by the neighbouring mountains, that it is almost a *Tierra Caliente*, in which every thing seems to partake of the luxuriancy peculiar to that climate. The inclosures are composed of Peruvian pepper-trees intermixed with roses, and covered with vines, which produce fruit in great abundance, as clusters of grapes are seen amidst the highest branches of the trees. By the side of the river, there are some magnificent cypresses, almost equal in size to those of Chapultepec: parasitic plants too are found in every direction, and even the plumage of the birds appears more variegated. Itzmiquilpan was once a place of considerable importance, as a manufacture of Pita* was carried on there, from which most of the great mining districts were supplied with ropes: since the Revolution the demand for this article has diminished, and the inhabitants have turned their attention almost entirely to agriculture, for which they possess great local advantages, from the facility of irrigation and the mildness of the climate. The towns contain at present about three thousand Vecinos,† or a population of between nine and ten thousand souls: should the mines in the neighbouring districts recover their former importance, Itzmiquilpan will participate in the advantages of the change, as it is the great line of communication between Zĭmăpān, El Cărdŏnāl, Lă Pĕchūgă, and the Capital.

* Pita is the thread made from the fibre of the Maguey.

† Vecin means householder.

We passed the whole of the 14th at Itzmiquilpan, in order to rest our horses, which were much fatigued with the exertions of the preceding day. On the 15th we proceeded to Zĭmăpān.

From the moment that we quitted the immediate vicinity of Ĭtzmĭqūĭlpăn, we began to ascend, and continued to do so almost uninterruptedly for nearly five leagues. The chain of mountains which it is necessary to cross, is rugged and barren. There is hardly a tree of moderate size to be seen. A sort of low prickly bush, interspersed with an immense variety of the Cactus, of all shapes and sizes, filled with Censontlis, and other singing birds, growing alternately on a sandy or stony soil,—such are the characteristics of the vegetation, where any vegetation is to be found. Nor is the descent on the Zimapan side less monotonous or fatiguing. It is very steep, and the path, which is covered with loose stones, is so narrow that it will seldom admit of two persons abreast. On the whole road we only crossed two small streams, at one of which we halted to breakfast.

The town of Zĭmăpān is situated twelve leagues from Ĭtzmĭqūĭlpăn, and forty-two from the Capital: it is the head of a district, the mines of which were formerly very productive. During the Revolution they were suffered to go completely to ruin, having not only been abandoned by the real proprietors, but worked by Buscones, or common miners, who, unwilling to quit a place where they had long resided, have gained a subsistence, during the last sixteen years, by extracting ores from the upper levels, and pillars, of the principal mines, many of which they have destroyed in the course of their operations.

With regard to the maximum of the silver previously raised in the district, I was unable to obtain any information that could be depended upon, most of the registers having been lost during the Revolution, when the town was continually changing masters. I am, however, in possession of a sketch

of the principal mines, by which it appears that several of them produced considerable Bonanzas in earlier times. For instance, Pămplōnă yielded 140,000 dollars in three years; La Iglesia took its name from the church that was built out of its proceeds; and from Cerro Corolado the family of Bustamante derived its fortune. There are many others which it is unnecessary to enumerate.

The only mine regularly worked at the time of my visit was that of Santa Rita, belonging to the German Company. They were driving a level upon the vein, which they had just cut, and were only waiting for the completion of the Hacienda de los Tŏlīmānĕs, situated in a ravine below the mine, in order to reduce seventy cargas of rich ore, which had already been extracted.

This Hacienda was formerly an old convent: it is built upon the banks of a river, in a deep Barranca, two leagues from Zĭmăpān. The situation is beautiful, the command of water great; and there is attached to it a garden and patio, containing some of the finest orange, Ăguăcātĕ, and fig-trees, that I almost ever saw. The climate, from the peculiarity of the situation, is warm.

The repairs necessary at this Hacienda constitute almost the only expense incurred by the Germans at Zĭmăpān.

The mine of Santa Rita cost them nothing, and they were induced to select it from finding that it would begin almost immediately to pay its own expenses.

Their director, Mr. Spangenberg, who superintends likewise the neighbouring districts of San José del Oro, and el Cărdŏnāl, is a clever active man, and seemed to entertain great hopes of success in the works placed under his inspection.

The Real del Monte Company has no silver mines at Zĭmăpān; they are forced, however, to keep up an establishment there, in order to superintend the works at the lead mine of Lomo del Toro, (the Bull's Side,) so called probably

from the shape of the mountain upon which it lies. It is about four leagues from Zimapan, and very difficult of access. From the top of a high mountain, a zig-zag path, very narrow, and bordering on one side upon a precipice of from two to three thousand feet, conducts you to the mouth of the mine. The descent is so steep, that a great part of it is cut into steps; it is, however, possible to go down on horseback, as far as the entrance to the mine, but from thence to the river below, (about 1,700 feet,) no animal was ever known to descend.

The ore of Lomo del Toro is used as a flux in smelting, and twenty thousand cargas of it were consumed annually in the smelting establishment at Regla. The produce of the mine is divided into four distinct classes. Pepena, Quajado, Arenillos, and Metales Comunes. *Pepena* is lead ore, which glitters, containing from eight to ten ounces of silver per carga. *Quajado* is *dull* lead ore, but as rich as the Pepena. *Arenillos*, earth sifted, and containing some particles of lead and silver, about one ounce to the carga. *Metales Comunes*, earth, or refuse from the mine, without any metallic particles, but used in smelting. Even this sells at Zimapan for one dollar the mule load. The Pepena is worth fifteen and a half dollars per carga, or five reals per arroba. The costs of extraction, however, leave the Company at present but little profit. The mine has been worked from time immemorial, by Buscones, who search for ore wherever they please, and deliver it at the mouth of the shaft at a certain price. Owing to this total want of system, the mountain has been excavated to an enormous extent, and the lower workings are now so distant, and so difficult of access, that the price paid for each arroba brought up by the Buscones, is two reals and a half, or one half the market price of the ore; in addition to which the Company defray the expenses of mining tools, candles, and powder, and keep an English miner to superintend the works. It is now very difficult to apply a remedy

to this evil, as the side of the mountain is so very precipitous, that to effect a communication with the lower workings, by driving a level some hundred feet below the present entrance to the mine, would be useless, unless the ores could be raised to the summit by a small steam-engine, of about twenty-horse power; and to this the dearth of fuel in the immediate vicinity of Zimapan would present a serious obstacle. It is a pity that a mine of such importance should have been destroyed by being worked in so desultory a manner; but as there was neither method nor restraint amongst the Busconeş, you find, at a very little distance from the surface, proofs of their having consulted nothing but the interest of the moment; as the workings consist of huge excavations, unsupported, and in many places already in ruins; while the galleries by which they are connected, are so narrow that it is often nearly impossible to force a passage through them.

There is one other mine, similar to that of Lomo del Toro, at Zĭmăpān, but of an inferior quality. The Germans have a third at El Cărdŏnāl, from which they are supplied with a flux for their smelting establishment at Chico.

The mines belonging to the Anglo-Mexican Company at Zĭmăpān, having been subsequently given up, it is only necessary to state that, under the injudicious superintendence of a Cornish miner, the buildings erected by the Company were situated upon the edge of a mountain torrent, and were swept away by the impetuosity of its waters at the commencement of the first rainy season; an event, the probability of which the natives had in vain pointed out.

None of the mines were drained while they remained in the hands of the Company; and, when the effects of the panic of 1826 began to be felt in Mexico, Mr. Williamson determined to abandon them, and to confine himself to more important undertakings in the vicinity of Guanajuato.

On the morning of the 17th of July, we left Zimapan to visit the Iron mines of the Encărnăciōn, situated about twelve

leagues to the North-east of the town, upon the summit of one of the highest peaks of the Eastern branch of the Sierra Madre, or Great Cordillera of the Andes.

Public attention has only recently been directed towards these mines, which were unknown before the Revolution. General Wavell was, I believe, one of the first to feel their importance, and the mines now in the possession of the New Mexican Company were all denounced by him. Since that time, both the German and English Companies have acquired possessions there, for which (as I have already stated) no other formality is required than to open a shaft, which is "denounced," and to keep four men employed upon it for eight days. This gives a legal title to a Pertinencia of two hundred varas in the vicinity of the shaft.

The Real del Monte Company has now the shafts of Las Animas, San Cosme, San Antonio, and El Carmen, which, together, give them a right to eight hundred varas of ground.

The Germans are in possession of Santa Matilda, and nine other shafts, which will give them a command of more iron, than the largest establishment that it is possible for them to form can require.

The Anglo-Mexican Company had likewise denounced several shafts, but will probably give them up with the rest of the establishment at Zimapan.

The mountain upon which these mines are situated, appears to be one mass of Iron ore, so rich as to contain 75, and even 85 per cent. of pure Iron, apparently of a very fine quality, and possessing great magnetic powers.

The rock is principally marble and kalkspath, being (as I am informed), similar, in almost every respect, to the famous Swedish Iron mines at Danemora. The Mexican ore is, however, so rich, that a flux will be required in order to smelt it, and some difficulty is apprehended upon that account. The German Company has sent to Silesia for fifty men acquainted with Iron works, and they intend to establish a foundery near

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of the different ingredients required by their ores, and they added to the Tortas, salt, Magistral, and sometimes lime, with a precision which a scientific man would be glad to attain, although unable to assign any reason for what they did. The only improvements which the Germans have been able hitherto to introduce, consist in preparing the ores, by the concentrating machine,* either for smelting or amalgamation; and in collecting more carefully the quicksilver which may remain in the Tortas after the Amalgamation has taken place. The residue of the Torta is then washed, and carried afterwards, in troughs constructed for the purpose, round the whole Hacienda, until it is deposited in an open yard, where, after the earthy particles have been again separated by water, that which remains is called *Polvillos*, and on being smelted, is often found to produce from two to three Marcs of silver to the hundred weight. The little quicksilver which may remain is lost in this last operation.

The Germans have another mine, between Actopan and Chico, called Santa Rosa, which, although the works are in a very dilapidated state, is free from water, (a circumstance to which they have always paid great attention,) and is producing ore even richer than that of Arevalo.

In their Hacienda they can command a water-power to almost any extent; their smelting furnaces are completed; the country about them abounds in wood, and provisions are not particularly dear.

To set against these advantages, there is the smallness of their capital, which prevents them from acquiring a proper influence over the natives, and obliges them to introduce their

* The concentrating machine (Stossheerd) is an inclined plane or frame work, upon which a quantity of pulverised ore is deposited, and subjected to the action of a small stream of water, which, by the peculiar motion of the machine, is allowed to carry off the earthy particles, and thus to *concentrate* the silver contained in a given quantity of ore, from one to ten or twenty Marcs in the Arroba.

improvements with the utmost caution; and the difficulty of obtaining workmen, except on the unreasonable terms which Revilla was compelled to grant during the Revolution, when one *third* of the Pepena, or rich smelting ore, raised by each barretero, (common miner,) was allotted to him to be sold upon his own account. But these are drawbacks which time and perseverance will enable the Company to surmount; and they have displayed throughout such a thorough knowledge of the business which they have undertaken, so much assiduity, and such extraordinary economy, that I entertain not the slightest doubt as to their success.

Some of the English Companies have mines in the vicinity of Chico, from which, however, but little is to be expected. At Căpūlă, the United Company is working the mines of Las Papas, Santa Ana, and Santi Christi, the last of which, it is thought, may prove productive. In general, the mines both of Capula and Chico (with the exception of Arevalo) are poor; and although, where one good mine has been discovered, others may be found, there are so many districts in which the chances of success are greater, that the investments made by the New Mexican, United Mexican, and Anglo-Mexican Companies, in the inferior mines of Chico and Real del Monte, appear to me to belong to that class of injudicious experiments into which foreign adventurers were betrayed, in the beginning of 1825, by the absurd competition for contracts which the mining mania in England created.

On the morning of the 23rd July, we left Chico, and proceeded to Real del Monte. The distance is not above three leagues and a-half, but the road is one continued ascent, and, in many parts, so very rugged, that it requires as many hours to perform the journey.

There is, perhaps, no British Company to which so little tice has been done by the Mexicans as that of Real del te; a circumstance which is to be attributed entirely to conception of the system pursued there. Many people

imagined that Captain Vetch, the Director, having it in his power to make the mines pay at once, had not done so, in order to allow time for the completion of surface works, which, though highly advantageous at a more advanced stage of the negotiation, were not essential in the first instance. Indeed, I had myself heard this statement so often repeated, that I could not but conceive that there must be some foundation for what so many agreed in affirming. Upon this point my visit to Real del Monte completely undeceived me, by enabling me to convince myself that the delay which had occurred, was owing entirely to the immense scale upon which the undertaking was carried on, and to the impossibility of effecting the drainage of any of the principal mines, before the arrival of the steam-engines, the departure of which from England had been unfortunately retarded.

A reference to the account of the operations of the Company contained in the Second Section of the preceding Book, will sufficiently prove the use which had been made of the interval.

By pursuing steadily one well combined plan, Captain Vetch had brought all the principal works upon Count Regla's grant, including the old Adit, which may be regarded as the key to the whole, into a fit state for the application of the powers of steam; a task which it required the labour of two whole years to complete. On the Santa Brigida vein, the shafts of San José and El Sacramento, and on the Biscaina vein, those of San Juan, San Francisco, Guadalupe, Santa Teresa, San Cayetano, Dolores, and El Zapatero, had been repaired and re-timbered down to the Adit level, (about 213 varas,) in addition to which two new shafts had been sunk (St. George and St. Patrick,) about fifty varas each, in order to render accessible the workings of some old shafts, upon a very rich portion of the vein, (between La Palma and San Ramon,) which it was found impossible to open anew.

One shaft on the Acosta vein had been likewise re-tim-

bered down to the Adit level. The shaft of San Estevan had been cleared, and was beginning to produce very rich ores.

The mine of Mŏrān had been likewise cleared down to the water, (about eighty feet,) and a horizontal steam-engine erected there, which was to begin working on the 12th of August. It is of fifty-horse power, when worked only to a pressure of 45lbs. on the square inch, but it is calculated to bear a pressure of 200lbs.

With regard to its being fully adequate to clear the mine of water, no doubts are entertained. The deepest workings of the Moran mine do not exceed one hundred and sixty varas; and a few weeks would, consequently, suffice to drain it entirely, were it not for the necessity of re-timbering the shaft, as the workmen proceed. There is one curious circumstance with regard to this mine; it has always borne a very high character, and yet, like San José del Oro, no accurate information can now be obtained with regard to the state or extent of its works. About thirty years ago an attempt was made to drain it by some German engineers brought over for the purpose, who constructed a high-pressure engine, planned by Don Andres del Rio. In order to obtain a sufficient command of water, a Presa, or dam, was built, at a great expense, upon the summit of a neighbouring mountain; but the plan failed, because the force of the water having been calculated during the rainy season, it was found insufficient, during the dry, to keep the engine at work for more than six hours out of the twenty-four.

Moran may be regarded as one of the most interesting points at Reāl del Monte. The old Adit, from which the wealth of the first Conde de Regla was derived, commences within one hundred yards of the shaft. The new Adit, the level for which is taken at the Hacienda of Sanchez, (about eight hundred yards distance,) is to be driven exactly in the

same direction, and the new road to Regla passes close to the mouth of the mine.

This road is one of the enterprises for which the Company has been blamed, and yet, without it, not a single steam-engine could have reached Real del Monte. In the time of the old Count Regla, when six hundred mules were employed daily in conveying ore from the mines to the Hacienda of Regla, which is nearly six leagues from the Real, there was no other mode of communication than a very dangerous path across the mountains. This has now been transformed into a road for wheel-carriages, which is beautifully laid down, and upon which timber, of a size never transported before in Mexico, is brought to the mines in the waggons that were originally sent out for the conveyance of the steam-engines from the coast. Another road, equally good, and equally necessary, leads to the farms of Gŭajălōte and Zīmbŏ, from the last of which the largest timber is principally supplied.

When, in addition to the works already enumerated, it is recollected that seven steam-engines have been transported from Veracruz to Real del Monte, the aggregate weight of which amounted to fifteen hundred tons;—that one of these (that of Moran) was already on the point of beginning to work, and that two others (those of Guădălūpĕ and Dŏlōrĕs) were in a state of great forwardness, it is impossible not to confess that the greatest praise is due to those, by whose exertions so much had been effected in the short space of two years.

Disappointed speculators may complain of the want of speedier returns; but their murmurs must be ascribed, as I have already stated, to their ignorance, in the first instance, of the nature of the enterprise in which they engaged. They know neither the hardships which have been endured, nor the difficulties which have been overcome, in their service; many of which, it is my firm conviction that it would have been

impossible to surmount, but for the science and energy displayed by Captain Vetch, and Captain Colquhoun, to whom, most fortunately for the Company, the direction of this arduous enterprize was entrusted. The German Directors, two of whom accompanied me from Chico to Real del Monte, were astonished at the size of the boilers, and other pieces of machinery, brought up from the coast, and confessed that they should neither have regarded the attempt as practicable, nor would have undertaken it themselves on any terms.

I was happy to find that these gentlemen, to whose opinion as miners, from what they have done themselves, I should be inclined to attach great weight, were highly gratified with all that they saw at Real del Monte, and expressed, in the warmest manner, their approbation of the system pursued there.

They were particularly struck with the plans for the new Adit, which is, indeed, a stupendous undertaking. It is to commence 800 yards below the mouth of the old Adit at Moran, and must consequently be driven 3,607 yards before it enters the Biscaina vein at the Dolores shaft. In this space it will cut a number of small veins between Sanchez, Moran, and the Santa Brigida lode, the course of which it will then follow, at 140 varas below the level of the old Adit.

As the quality of the ores was not found to be at all deteriorated in the deepest workings of the old Count Regla, who was only prevented from carrying them farther by the difficulty of keeping down the water, there is every reason to hope that, from the time that the new Adit reaches the Santa Brigida vein, it will not only cover its own expenses, but will become a most lucrative speculation. Indeed, were it not for this expectation, no Company could undertake a work, upon so large a scale, in such unfavourable ground, as part of the Adit must be driven through the porphyry rock, where the expense of each vara will amount to twenty-five dollars.

It is in consideration of this circumstance that the prosecu-

tion of this enterprise has been suspended, until the mines themselves furnish the means of carrying it on, without increasing the outlay of the Adventurers, which already amounts to the whole of the capital originally subscribed. Many are of opinion, however, that had the resources of the Company been devoted to this undertaking in the first instance, the result, at the end of the term of twenty-five years, to which their contracts entitle them to look forward, would have been more advantageous than the partial drainage which the steam-engines will more immediately effect.

This is a question which it is now unnecessary to discuss, as the opposite system has been preferred, and is likely to succeed, in which case the Adit of Sānchĕz, or Ŏmĭtlān, may be resorted to when the goodness of the mines is demonstrated to some extent below the deepest levels which the Mexican proprietors were enabled to reach. These now extend from forty to seventy varas below the old Adit, so that the new one would render accessible from seventy, to one hundred varas, of virgin ground, the value of which, in an extremely rich vein, may be easily appreciated.

The country about Real del Monte abounds in forests. Several of these are included in the Grant to the Company, which likewise comprehends the farms of Guăjălōtĕ, Zimbo, and Ĭztūlă. At the last of these it is intended to introduce the English system of husbandry, with English grass seeds, (unknown at present in Mexico,) and oats, lucern, turnips, and clover; a project which cannot fail to be highly interesting to the Agriculturists of New Spain.

These farms are situated between Real del Monte and the Hacienda of Regla, which is likewise ceded to the Company. I visited on the 25th of July this stupendous monument of the magnificence of the old Mexican miners, which may be regarded also as the best proof of the value of their mines. It is situated in a deep ravine, or Barranca, six leagues to the South-east of Real del Monte; it not having been found

possible to obtain a sufficient command of water at a less distance.

The Hacienda is composed of a vast pile of buildings constructed apparently without plan, or regularity, but comprising every thing that a mining establishment can require; —immense vaulted store-rooms, for the reception of the ores; twenty-four Arrastres, worked by horizontal water-wheels; a number of furnaces for smelting, and two covered Patios, each of about 200 feet in length, in which the process of amalgamation was carried on. The whole is in a tolerable state of repair, with the exception of the stampers, for braying the ore, which are now in ruins. These are to be replaced by a water-wheel constructed by the Company, which is thirty-six feet in diameter, and is to put in motion forty-eight stamps.

The whole Hacienda is supposed to have cost nearly a million of dollars, and this I am not inclined to regard as an exaggerated estimate. In 1795 five thousand cargas of ore were received there weekly. Yet even this enormous establishment was thought insufficient for the mines, and another Hacienda, called San Antonio, was constructed at a little distance from Regla, which is likewise a splendid mass of buildings, although not comparable to Regla in size or importance. San Antonio will be entirely given up by the Company, as, even if the mines were to produce again what they did in 1764, a more methodical system of working them would render it impossible for them to make use of it, and Regla, together. Instead of transporting the ores, as was formerly the case, *en masse*, from the mines to the Hacienda, they will now undergo a previous preparation at Real del Monte, for which purpose a stamping establishment is to be erected there, in a central position, between the Santa Brigida and Biscaina veins.

By the use of the concentrating machine, the poorer ores, when dressed, will be worked up from two or three Marcs, to

thirty and forty Marcs per carga; and will only be sent to Regla when in a fit state to be either smelted, or amalgamated with the greatest advantage.

In addition to this stamping establishment, the Company has at Real del Monte, in the buildings attached to the Dolores shaft, a patent turning-lathe, and an apparatus for sawing, both of which are worked by a small steam-engine of twenty-horse power. They have a foundery likewise, with smiths, carpenters, coopers, fire-brick-makers, rope-makers, and men versed in every trade that can be required in order to render the establishment complete within itself; and although some difficulty has been since experienced in keeping up a proper degree of discipline amongst so numerous a train of dependants, nothing could exceed the activity, and good order, which prevailed in all the different branches at the time of my visit.

The Anglo-Mexican Company was in possession of some very inferior mines at Real del Monte, the contracts for which were taken up in England by the Directors in 1825. As they have all been since abandoned, it is unnecessary for me to say any thing respecting them, except that there was only one, (the mine of the Reunion,) of which the native miners entertained a favourable opinion. The rest were regarded as speculations, in which the Company had become involved from not making a proper distinction between the mines upon the two great veins belonging to the Regla family at Real del Monte, and those situated upon inferior veins in the same district. The mine of La Reunion is indebted for its name, and its existence, to a very curious circumstance. In the two last shafts sunk by the old Count Regla at the extremity of his Pertinencias upon the Biscaina vein, (San Juan, and San José,) the real direction of the lode was lost; and nothing but some small veins, or threads of ore, were cut, which did not repay the cost of working.

It became afterwards a favourite theory amongst the Mexi-

cans to suppose that the great lode had split into various ramifications at this point, and *reunited* again at the place where the shaft of *La Reunion* has been sunk. It has, however, been since suspected that the real direction of the Biscaina vein lies a little to the North of San Juan and San José, almost immediately below the Pachuca road; and should this prove to be the case, the Real del Monte Company will possess a large tract of unexplored ground upon the very richest part of the vein, to which the new shaft of St. Andrew will afford an easy access.

In considering the prospects of the Real del Monte Company, a short history of the mines now in its possession may serve to elucidate the calculations with regard to their future produce, which I have given in the third Section of the preceding Book. This history has been often repeated in England since it was first made known to us by Baron Humboldt, but it has become so much the fashion of late to disbelieve every statement with regard to mines, as emanating from the Stock Exchange, that it may perhaps acquire by confirmation the merit of novelty.

The Biscaina vein had been worked, almost uninterruptedly, from the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the two principal mines, (El Xăcāl and La Biscaina,) which, in 1726, had produced 542,700 marcs of silver, (4,341,600 dollars,) were abandoned by their proprietors in consequence of the difficulty of keeping down the water with the very imperfect machinery employed in those early days. The mines were then only one hundred and twenty varas in depth, and the known richness of the ores in the lower levels induced an enterprising individual, Don José Alexandro Bustamante, to denounce them anew, and to attempt the drainage by the Adit of Moran, a part only of which he lived to complete. On his death-bed he bequeathed his hopes, and his works, to Don Pedro Tereros, a small capitalist, who had supplied him with

funds to continue his operations, and who, sharing in all Bustamante's anticipations of success, immediately removed to Real del Monte, and devoted his whole remaining fortune to the prosecution of the enterprise. From the smallness of the capital invested, the work advanced but slowly, and was not completed until the year 1762; but in the twelve succeeding years Tereros drew from his mines a clear profit of 6,000,000 of dollars, or about 1,200,000*l.* sterling. He obtained the title of Count by the munificence of his donations to the Court of Madrid; and never was title more dearly bought; for he presented Charles III. with two ships of the line, (one of 112 guns,) constructed at the Havana, of the most costly materials, entirely at his own expense; and accommodated him besides with a loan of one million of dollars, no part of which has yet been repaid. He likewise built the two great Haciendas of San Antonio and Regla, which cannot, together, have cost less than 1,200,000 dollars, (240,000*l.*); and he purchased landed property to such an extent, that even in the present depressed state of the agricultural interests of Mexico, the revenue of the present Count exceeds one hundred thousand dollars, and ought, in more favourable times, to amount to nearly two. (40,000*l.*)

From the year 1774, the produce of the Regla mines began to decrease, not because there was any change either in the quantity or the quality of the ores, but because the workings having been carried, upon some points, ninety varas below the level of the Moran Adit, the expenses of the drainage, which was effected by twenty-eight Malacates, each requiring forty horses in the twenty-four hours, became so considerable as to leave little or no profit to the proprietor. In 1783 the weekly cost of extraction alone exceeded nine thousand dollars, and the works were suspended in consequence. In 1794 they were re-opened, and the mines continued in activity till 1801; when, although the produce in the seven years had amounted to six millions of dollars, the undertaking

was given up, as not affording sufficient profit to compensate the risk.

Since then no attempt has been made to reach the deeper levels, the works, which have been partially carried on, having been confined to portions of the vein which had been previously neglected. Even these were abandoned during the Revolution, when the amount of silver raised, (as has been shown,) did not exceed 200,000 dollars.

The Company now stands, with regard to Count Regla, exactly in the position in which Bustamante and Don Pedro Tereros, (the ancestor of Count Regla,) stood with regard to the original proprietors of the Biscaina vein. The value of the mines is known, and the abundance of the ores in the lower levels ascertained, but these levels have become inaccessible, in consequence of a defective system of drainage; and the application of the powers of steam is now to effect what was attained, in the first instance, by the gallery of Moran. It is immaterial whether the necessity for a change of system occurs at one hundred and twenty, or at two hundred and seventy yards below the surface, provided the powers of the machinery are equal to the increasing difficulty of the task. In 1727, the enterprise was upon a comparatively small scale, and was accomplished by the persevering efforts of an individual. In 1827, when all the vast works, to which the success of those efforts had given rise, came to be comprehended in the negotiation, it required the capital of a Company to undertake the Herculean task of putting them again into repair. This has been effected at an expense of two millions of dollars.

The money, in as far as my own means of observation have extended, has been laid out in a manner, which does credit both to England, and to the gentlemen entrusted with the direction of the Company's affairs. The only question is, therefore, whether the importance of the enterprise bears a fair proportion to that of the means employed, or, in

other words, whether the former produce of the mines was such as to justify the expectations entertained by the Company of a profitable investment; knowing, as they do know, that, upon reaching a given point, they will find an abundance of ores, equal in richness to those which gave to the former proprietors of the Biscaina vein their enormous wealth.

Upon this subject the facts stated in the Fourth Book, and in the present Section, will enable my readers to form their own opinions. Mine are not changed by the delay which has occurred in the realization of Captain Vetch's expectations; and although it is undoubtedly in the power of the proprietors here, by frequent changes in the management, very materially to effect their own prospects of success, I am still inclined to believe that, if the system hitherto pursued be adhered to, the present year, (1829,) will place the result of the enterprise beyond all doubt.

On the 27th of July I returned from Real del Monte to the Capital, where I arrived after an absence of sixteen days. My party had been unusually numerous, Mr. Ball, Dr. Wilson, and Mr. Carrington, having all accompanied me upon this tour, which was not accomplished without a number of little vicissitudes. There was not a single person in Mexico able to give us a correct idea either of the distance, or of the route to Zĭmăpān, and it was in consequence of this want of information that we found ourselves involved, the second day, in the fatiguing journey to Ĭtzmĭquīlpan, which the heat and drought together rendered almost insupportable. From the Hacienda de San Pedro to the river below the town, (a distance of twelve leagues,) we did not cross a single stream of water. One of Mr. Ball's horses, (which left Mexico too fat for travelling) sickened and died in consequence; and one of mine, towards the latter part of the day, was effected by the sun in a very extraordinary manner. He became perfectly mad, and rushed with the utmost fury not only upon

the persons who approached him, but upon his companions, amongst whom we tried to drive him loose before us. As a last resource we were forced to lasso him with two lassos, and thus to drag him along between two other horses. Even in this state the utmost caution was requisite; for, in the steeper parts of the road, where the ropes were necessarily relaxed, he endeavoured to throw himself over the precipices, and in more than one instance very nearly succeeded. On reaching Itzmiquilpan, he was bled almost to exhaustion, and finally recovered, although weak and unserviceable for many weeks.

It was nearly nine in the evening when we entered Itzmiquilpan, in consequence of the delay which this accident occasioned; and we must have gone supperless to bed, as all the shops were closed, had we not been provided with a case of preserved meat, which furnished us with an excellent meal. There is no country in which the advantage of provisions in this shape is so frequently experienced as in Mexico. They keep for any length of time without being affected by the heat; and, as the cases are made of solid block-tin, they support the motion of the mule without injury. When opened, a three-pound case, with an allowance of bread, a few potatoes, if they are to be procured, and charcoal enough to make the canteen kettle boil for a quarter of an hour, furnishes a supper for six or eight people; and the certainty of this is duly appreciated after a ride of fifty miles beneath a vertical sun.

It happened to be the fête of the Patron Saint of the town on the night of our arrival, and nothing could be more curious than the appearance of the principal street, which was lighted up, in honour of the occasion, with a number of large paper lanterns, covered with the figures of Saints and Angels, most brilliantly coloured, and suspended by ropes at equal distances from each other. They were all waving gently in the

wind, and the streets were crowded with people, either seated quietly before their own doors, or flocking in from the neighbouring villages, the population of which was attracted by the unusual sight. The temperature of Itzmiquilpan is much milder than that of Mexico, the town being situated 1,205 feet below the level of the Capital. Zĭmăpān, which is 1,680 feet lower than Mexico, from its extremely sheltered position, approaches more to the atmosphere of *Tierra Caliente*. The intervening ridge of mountains is nearly 9,000 feet in height.

From Zĭmăpān to San José del Oro, there is an ascent of 3,477 feet; and from thence to the little Hacienda of the Encarnacion, where we passed the night after visiting the Iron mines, you rise about 1,000 feet more. In the neighbourhood of Zimapan the mountains have been entirely stripped of their timber, with that wasteful and improvident spirit, which characterised the proceedings of the old Mexican miners wherever the Mining laws were not most strictly enforced. Not a tree is now to be found within seven leagues of the town, although, from its situation in the centre of the great chain of the Sierra Madre, there can be no doubt that the site which it occupies was formerly part of the vast forest, which commences about four leagues below San José del Oro.

When once you reach this point, nothing can be more magnificent than the scenery; woods follow woods in endless succession, and wherever there is a break in the mountains, the eye wanders over a wilderness of timber of the most luxuriant growth. With the exception of a few huts in the neighbourhood of San José, and the German amalgamation works at the Encarnacion, there is not a vestige of the hand of man throughout the district. The village which formerly existed near San José has disappeared, and the clearings, which afforded a subsistence to the miners, are overgrown

with brushwood. Great, indeed, will be the transition, in the course of a few years, if the Iron mines are brought into activity, and an European establishment formed, with all the din of restless activity, where nature now reigns in solitude and silence.

From the extreme badness of the roads between Zimapan and the Encarnacion, we did not attempt to take up beds or provisions. Mr. Spangenberg undertook to procure us a sheep upon the spot, with abundance of tortillas, and we trusted to cloaks and a buffalo's skin for a bed. The house was extremely small, and the family of the proprietor large, for it consisted of a wife and four daughters, besides two or three sons. The last were disposed of in the stables, in order to make room for us; but I believe that not less than fourteen persons took up their quarters in the sala, stretched in a double tier upon the floor, with their feet meeting in the centre. Nothing but the extreme coldness of the air at such a height preserved us from suffocation, for the columns of mist which were driven occasionally past the house, rendered it impossible to leave either door or windows open. It was curious to observe the rapidity with which these clouds came sweeping down from the higher ridges, enveloping us suddenly in a cold, chilling vapour, accompanied by a strong current of air, and to feel the contrast between the temperature of the region subject to their influence, and the glowing sky of Zĭmăpān, which opened upon us after three hours of an almost precipitous descent.

Between Zĭmăpān and Ăctōpăn there is little worthy of remark, with the exception of a dangerous pass which terminates the ascent from the village of Yolo to the Valley of Actopan, the level of which is 320 feet below that of the Capital. At the very summit of the hill which leads to this valley, there is a sheet of smooth and solid rock, which it is impossible to avoid, from the precipitous nature of the road,

and which, with shod horses, is almost impassable. We dismounted, and took every precaution in order to assist ours in crossing it; but notwithstanding this, three of them were very seriously injured in the attempt.

On reaching the Table-land beyond this ridge, the singular mountain called Los Organos de Actopan, is immediately in sight, and continues so for several leagues. It rises 2,426 feet above the level of the plain, and resembles the spires of a cathedral, or the twisted growth of a large species of cactus (whence the name is taken) in its appearance. This cactus runs up in columns to a great height, and is much used by the Indians for enclosures. On the road from Real del Monte to Mexico, there is one village, every house in which is so completely fenced in by it, that nothing else is visible. You pass through avenues of cactus, which constitute the streets, and as none of these habitations communicate with the road by a door in front, there is nothing except the barking of the dogs, and the occasional squalling of a child within, to indicate the abode of man.

The neighbourhood of Chĭcŏ is not less remarkable than that of Actōpăn for the singular configuration of the surrounding rocks. I regret much not having obtained a drawing of this wild spot, or of a natural column, which rises suddenly out of the ground in the middle of the forest between Chico and Real del Monte, and towers up at once to the height of near 200 feet. The Barranca of Regla, too, with the beautiful waterfall a little above the Hacienda, and the row of basaltic columns which support the ledge of rock from which the stream descends, is a magnificent subject for the pencil, and one to which no drawing that I have yet seen does justice. But I was not accompanied upon any of my first journeys by Mrs. Ward, and was consequently unable to ascertain whether her efforts would have been attended with more success.

After our return from the Interior, it was my intention to have visited Real del Monte again; but it was so late in the season before we quitted Mexico, and the vomito was already so prevalent upon the Coast, that we did not think it prudent to allow the beauties of the scenery to tempt us into a delay, the risk of which every day tended to increase.

SECTION VI.

VISIT TO THE MINES OF TEMASCALTEPEC, ANGANGEO, TLALPUJAHUA, AND EL RANCHO DEL ORO.

On the 22nd of August I again left Mexico, and proceeded, through Lerma, Toluca, the Hacienda de la Huerta, and the village of San Miguel, to Tĕmăscāltĕpēe, where I arrived on the evening of the 23rd.

The little town, in the vicinity of which the mines are found, is situated in the State of Mexico, thirty-two leagues to the South-west of the Capital, on the declivity of the Cordillera towards the Pacific, into which some of the rivers, that rise in the neighbourhood of Tĕmăscāltĕpēc, actually flow. The mines of this district enjoyed formerly a great reputation for the richness of their ores; (the finest specimen in the King of Spain's collection was brought from the mine of San José;) but as the works increased in depth, the difficulty of draining them augmented so much, that they were gradually abandoned; and, for some time before the Revolution, their produce was very inconsiderable.

By a sort of fatality, Temascaltepec, although it could never rank higher than a sixth-rate district, appears to have possessed peculiar attractions for the foreigners, whom mining speculations have brought to Mexico. The beauty of the climate, and the advantages of the vicinity to the Capital, have probably tended more to influence their choice, than the character of the mines themselves, which, I fear, will be

found to present very uncertain prospects. But whatever be the cause, in 1826 five Companies were established there, two English, two American, and one German: not a single mine was worked by a Mexican, although Mr. Seption, (of the Tribunal of Mineria,) is the proprietor of one, San Francisco de Paula, for which he is still seeking an Aviador.

The two English Companies, are the United Mexican, and that formed by Mr. Bullock.

The United Mexican Company possesses three mines, Los Santos Reyes de la Sierra, La Magdalena, and La Guitarra.

They have likewise two Haciendas de beneficio, Guădălūpĕ and San José. Of the mines, the Magdalena alone was producing ore at the period of my visit. It is situated to the East of the town, upon a hill, the lower part and centre of which is occupied by the mines of the North American Companies; the shaft was undergoing considerable repairs, and when they were completed, the quantity of ore was expected to increase; but I should not think it likely to do so in a ratio sufficient to cover the expense of keeping up an establishment, with haciendas, horses, and a responsible officer, for the sake of working this mine alone. The two others have been subsequently abandoned.

The Company likewise possessed two mines at the Real del Cristo, twelve leagues South of Tĕmăscāltĕpēc, (San Diego and San Antonio,) and was about to contract for another, La Golondrina. All these are known to produce rich ore; but the veins are small, and the system of multiplying and subdividing establishments in a country where personal inspection is so necessary, can hardly be made to answer. The Cristo is too far from Temascaltepec for the ores raised there to be reduced in the Haciendas of Guadalupe or San José, and a new Hacienda must consequently be built, at an expense which few isolated mines, if small, can support.

About 150,000 dollars have been sunk in these enter-

prises, from which it is generally thought that very little is to be expected.

Mr. Bullock's Company, which has since been dissolved, was denominated "The Mexican Mine Company," and was formed by Mr. Baring and Sir John Lubbock, in order to work the Mina del Vado, denounced in 1823 by Mr. Bullock, as a Mexican citizen, with all the formalities described in the account of his Visit to Mexico, which is already before the public. The only circumstances which he has not given to the world, are the data by which he was first induced to direct his attention to this unfortunate speculation. Some there must have been, for Mr. Bullock was a real enthusiast about his mine; but upon this subject I have never been able to obtain any authentic information.

Had the mine been really valuable, there would have been nothing injudicious in the manner in which the gentlemen, to whom Mr. Bullock transferred his rights as proprietor, proposed to work it; but in August 1826, the state of their affairs was very unpromising. Mr. Bullock had been appointed Director of the works of the Company, with a salary of 700*l*. The expense of his journey to Mexico, with his family, fourteen Irish miners, a smelter, a gardener, and every thing necessary for a large establishment, had been defrayed in the most liberal manner, and he had been allowed to build a house in a very beautiful situation, with a Hacienda de beneficio, and a garden *à l'Angloise*, attached to it; but in the mine itself there were not only no vestiges of a vein, but no appearance of its ever having been of any sort of importance.

In order to ascertain its situation, a new shaft was sunk at about ninety yards from the old one, upon much lower ground, at which a very ingenious water-wheel was erected by an American engineer, in order to drain the upper levels: from this a cross-cut was driven in the supposed direction of the vein, which, however, only demonstrated its non-existence,

by traversing the whole distance between the two shafts without cutting it. Upon this the enterprise was abandoned; but not until fifteen or twenty thousand pounds had been thrown away upon a mine, from which the natives had all pronounced, at the very outset, that not one ounce of silver would ever be extracted. The loss, fortunately, fell upon persons to whom it was of little consequence; but it is much to be regretted, that in a country where, by the judicious application of the same capital, so much might have been effected, the choice of the managing agent should have been influenced rather by the beauties of the scenery, than by the intrinsic value of the mine which it was intended to work. All Mr. Bullock's preparations seemed to be calculated upon a certainty of success, that not even the command of a whole district can give, although its probability increases in proportion to the number of different points upon which a vein is explored. Where the vein is of known goodness, and the possibility of draining it, by the application of a given mechanical power, ascertained, the interval may be employed usefully, as it has been in most of the great negotiations, in the completion of surface-works; but where the very existence of the vein is questionable, to commence operations by a large investment in these, is, to say the least, contrary to the practice, which an experience of three centuries has induced the Mexican miners to adopt.

The two North American Companies established at Temascaltepec, are those of Baltimore, and New York.

Of the first, Mr. Keating is director; a gentleman who has studied at Freiberg, and was Professor of Mineralogy in the United States.

The Company possesses the Mines of San José, San Luis, and Santa Brigida, situated, one above the other, at small intervals, upon the slope of the mountain, with six Pertinencias extending laterally from the last. In August 1826, very little had been done at any of these mines; and Mr. Keating

was living in a wretched hovel close to San José, where a water-wheel, thirty-four feet in diameter, was constructing by American millwrights, by which the drainage was to be effected. This wheel commenced working about a year after the date of my visit (July 1827); up to which time Mr. Keating had seen no reason to change the opinion that he had originally formed respecting the mines under his inspection, namely, that they would pay an interest of from fifteen to twenty per cent. upon the very small capital invested in them. This opinion was founded upon the returns of produce for several years before the Revolution; and as no expense whatever has been incurred in surface-works, with the exception of a leat, or water-course, by which the wheel is to be supplied from a spring at a considerable distance, there is no reason to suppose that these expectations will be disappointed.

The New York Company cannot yet be said to exist, none of its agents having reached Mexico during my residence in that country. Of the four mines, the contracts for which have been assigned to it by Mr. Wilcox, the American Consul-General, but little is known, and that little is by no means of a favourable character. The importance of San Juan de las Quebradillas, is inferred from the fact, that, fifty years ago, when the upper levels fell in, one hundred and fifty men were buried in the ruins; and the Mina de Aguas is, in like manner, supposed to be valuable, because 200,000 dollars have been recently expended, by the Tribunal de Mineria, in a fruitless attempt to drain it.

The Germans hold at Temascaltepec, in the Real de Arriba, or upper town, the mines called Del Rincon, which were ceded to them by the same Revilla from whom they purchased the Arevalo mine at Chico.

These mines are ten in number, or rather, there are ten shafts upon the same vein, drained by one adit, driven at the depth of 120 varas, and upwards of 2,000 varas in length.

Their former produce is known to have been considerable,* but the works below the adit are full of water, and the adit itself is inaccessible from the extreme foulness of the air. A new shaft must be sunk in order to create a free circulation, before the possibility of draining the mines, at all, can be ascertained; so that it is probable, that the enterprize, if persevered in, will, for some years, rather increase the outlay than augment the receipts of the Company.

I was deterred by the little interest which the mines of Temascaltepec possessed, from visiting the neighbouring districts of El Cristo and Sŭltĕpēc, in which some mines have been taken up, both by the Germans, and the United Mexican Company, as a sort of dependency upon those of Temascaltepec. Both places are situated in the *Tierra Caliente;* and at El Cristo, which is a narrow valley, shut in, on all sides, by lofty mountains, the heat is said to equal that of Veracruz.

The mines of Tĕpāntĭtlān, which lie far to the South, in the vicinity of the Rio Balsas, were at much too great a distance for me to think of reaching them. They are held by the Catorce Company, and are celebrated for having given to the Conde de Contramina his title and fortune. The road to this district lies through the very heart of the Western branch of the Sierra Madre; the climate is unhealthy, and there is a great want of timber in the immediate vicinity of the mines. But these disadvantages are compensated by the extreme richness of the ores, some of which produce five and six marcs of silver per carga, while the *metales comunes*, (inferior ores,) average one marc and a half. The principal shafts, upon the two great veins of Guadalupe and Santa Ana, contain little or no water, (from eight to ten varas;) and it is known that the works were only suspended during the Revolution, in consequence of the seizure, by General Guerrero, of ores, to the amount of 500,000 dollars, (which were undergoing the process of reduction in the Hacienda,)

* Twelve Bars of Silver were raised weekly before the Revolution.

in order to pay his troops. A splendid Adit, six hundred and thirty varas in length, and four varas broad, by three high, likewise attests the former importance of the mines; and notwithstanding the drawbacks of climate and distance, and the difficulty of effecting even the most ordinary repairs, there can be little doubt that, if properly conducted, this negotiation may become highly advantageous.

It now only remains for me to add, that the mining terms in use at Temascaltepec differ considerably from those adopted in other districts, and explained in the preceding Section.

In the Haciendas, the quantity of ores submitted to the process of amalgamation, is estimated by *Tareas*. The Tarea consists of one hundred Quintals, or five Montones, of twenty Quintals each. This is inconvenient, both because the terms differ from those more generally in use, and because the *Tarea* does not contain an exact number of *Cargas*, as is the case with the *Tortas* and *Montones* in other districts.*

With regard to the process of amalgamation, there seems to be no general rule. The mines vary, not only in the quantity of quicksilver which their ores require, but in the time necessary for the process, and in the loss of quicksilver during the course of it. For instance, the ores of Santa Ana (a small mine worked by the Administrador of the United Company,) can be reduced by amalgamation in ten days; but with a loss of twenty-five per cent. of quicksilver.

The ores of San Bernabé require sixty days.

Those of La Guitarra and La Magdalena vary from twenty to twenty-eight days, with a loss of only eight per cent. of quicksilver.

The costs of the process may be estimated in the following manner:—

The Tarea requires 30lbs. Quicksilver.

Magistral, thirty Quartillos. (Six to the Arroba.)

* Torta, fifteen Montones of ten Cargas, each of three Quintals, or twelve Arrobas—four hundred and fifty Quintals in all.

Salt from Ăhăhuīstlăn, fifteen Arrobas, or ordinary Salt, twenty-two Arrobas.

The Mexican amalgamators explain this difference by their favourite terms of Minerales frios, (cold or sluggish Minerals,) and Minerales calientes, (hot ores, easily acted upon,) and they attempt no more scientific solution of the changes which occur. Nor is it probable that any will be given, until, by analyzing all the different ores of Mexico, some general principles are established, upon which a theory may hereafter be founded, and improvements successively introduced. I mention these facts merely, in order to demonstrate the necessity of subjecting to the test of experience, upon a large scale, those secrets for expediting the process of amalgamation, which have been offered to the Companies as invaluable discoveries, in London, but by which I am not aware that any beneficial effect has yet been produced in New Spain. Where so great a difference exists between the ores of two mines belonging to the same district, and situated sometimes upon the same vein, there is little reason to suppose that any general system can be adopted. At all events it should be tried by the inventor upon the spot; for an experiment made with chymical nicety upon a very small quantity of ore, may not prove successful when applied to the masses, upon which the Amalgamator must act in Mexico, where it is in the abundance, and not in the quality of the ores, that the riches of the mines consist.

Road to Angangeo.

From Temascaltepec I proceeded on the morning of the 26th of August to Ăngăngēŏ, a Mining district in the State of Valladolid, seven leagues from Tlālpŭjāhŭa, and twenty-seven from Tĕmăscāltĕpēc.

The road is excessively varied from the circumstance of its bordering constantly upon *Tierra Caliente*, into which almost every deep ravine or valley conducts you. In these you find

sugar-plantations, Bananas, Chirimoyas, and all the tropical fruits; while the sides of the adjacent hills are covered with a fine growth of Northern forest trees. The luxuriancy of the vegetation surpasses even that which I remarked between Zĭmăpān and the Encarnacion, and the variety is certainly greater.

Yet this magnificent tract of country is, with the exception of a few farms and villages, uninhabited, from the total want of a market for the produce.

From the Hacienda of Hoconusco, where I slept on the night of the 26th, and which is fourteen leagues from Temascaltepec, and forty-six from Mexico, wheat, which might be raised to almost any extent, must be sent to the Capital in order to be disposed of. The revival of the Mines at Temascaltepec can alone give importance to the agriculture of this district, and this may account for the eagerness with which their progress is watched by the inhabitants.

From Hoconusco the road passes through Zĭtācŭarŏ, which was formerly a flourishing town, but was destroyed entirely by the King's troops, under General Căllējă, during the Revolution; having acquired a fatal distinction by being selected as the residence of the first Independent Junta. It is now nearly in ruins, and will probably never recover its former importance.

Angangeo is eight leagues from Zitacuaro. The greatest part of the road consists of a steep ascent. I never saw a town that presented more thoroughly the appearance of a mining district than Angangeo. For upwards of a league, the ravine which leads to it is full of Arrastres, (mills for grinding ore,) worked by horizontal water-wheels, and little Patios, (open sheds,) wretchedly constructed, it is true, in which the process of amalgamation is carried on.

The German Company is the only Foreign establishment in the Real; but there are several Mexicans who work mines in a small way, with capitals, (if they may be called so,) of

from five hundred to two or three thousand dollars each, with which, by constant personal inspection, they manage to earn a sufficiency to support themselves and their families.

Angangeo contains four principal veins, running nearly parallel to each other, and separated by valleys or ravines, in one of which the town is situated. The direction of the veins is from North to South. Two only of the four have names,—the Veta del Carmen, and the Veta Descubridora, (so called from the principal mines upon each,) which vary in breadth from two, to five, and even nine, varas.

On these veins there is a multitude of mines, worked, as I have already observed, by small Mexican proprietors, who contrive to earn by them a scanty subsistence.

Few exceed one hundred, or one hundred and twenty varas in depth, the oldest mine in the place not having been worked above sixty years.

The German Company has three mines, Nuestra Señora del Carmen, (on the vein of that name,) San Antenogenes, (on another vein, which is from six to twenty varas wide,) and La Purisima, in a valley above the town, to the North.

The mine of El Carmen was the only one, from which ores were raised, at the time of my visit. These averaged from six to ten marcs per monton, and, as they were found in great abundance, the produce would have covered all the expenses, had not an establishment of two hundred and fifty horses been required for the drainage.

A water-wheel has been since substituted for the malacates, in which these animals were employed, and it is probable that, at the present day, the Company derives a considerable profit from this undertaking.

Two small Haciendas were attached to the German establishment; one, La Trinidad, with six arrastres, and the other, San Juan Nepomuceno, with a stamping machine of ten stampers.

The Raya, or weekly payments, did not exceed 1,000 dol-

lars; and was nearly covered by the produce, one hundred marcs, (equal to eight hundred dollars.)

Angangeo was said to have been in a much more flourishing state two years before my visit: forty-six Arrastres, or mills, and four Morteros (stampers) were then at work, which had been reduced to twelve by the increasing difficulty of obtaining ores. These were found, at first, in abundance, in the upper levels of the old mines, abandoned during the Revolution. But when it became necessary to work the deeper levels, few had capital enough to enable them to keep down the water, although with very moderate resources it might be easily effected.

Angangeo may, however, be considered, as a rising district, and one in which with very little risk a great deal might be done. The largest mines there would not require a capital of above thirty or forty thousand dollars; and the metallic riches of the surrounding mountains have been so little explored, that they may be regarded as quite a new field. Labour is cheap; water abundant, and with a fall sufficient for any kind of machinery;—wood, and provisions, are plentiful, and the climate good, though cold.

There are some local peculiarities, however, to counterbalance these advantages. In the first place, the ores are seldom found in a pure state, but present, on the contrary, a most extraordinary mixture of metals, which vary with the different veins.

In the Veta del Carmen, the silver ores contain a large proportion of arsenic, with which the whole mass is so impregnated that, when brayed in the arrastres, it is of a dull greyish blue, or slate colour, by which the montones of ore from this vein are easily distinguishable, while undergoing the process of amalgamation.

These ores are reduced in less time than any others, seldom requiring more than eight days for the completion of the process.

The vein of the Descubridora, as well as that upon which the German Mine of San Atenogenes is situated, produce a large quantity of bleierze, or silver mixed with lead. In all, there is a considerable mixture of zinc (*blende, estoraque*), and native antimony (*spiesglaserz*), which are very troublesome, as they must be separated by the *pepenadores* (ore-dressers), before the ores are stamped, both being unfavourable to the action of the quicksilver. Besides these, there is much acaporosa (carbonate of iron).

In order to get rid of a part of these extraneous substances, it becomes necessary to roast the ores after they are dressed; the process lasts three days, and is continued until fourteen cargas of ore are reduced to ten. The expense is from five to six dollars per monton.

The ores called Colorados may be reckoned also amongst the peculiarities of Angangeo. They are generally found in the levels nearest the surface, and are, in fact, metals in a state of decomposition, strongly impregnated with a reddish oxyd of iron. They are usually rich, containing as much as sixteen, eighteen, and even twenty, marcs of silver in the monton (of thirty hundred weight). When amalgamated, they require more time, and more quicksilver, than the other ores of this district, but no magistral. In all the mines it is observed that the silver mixed with arsenic is found only in the deepest workings.

Iron pyrites (*schwefelkies*) abound in the higher levels, and it is to them that the red colour of the ores extracted from these levels is to be attributed; they are prepared by fire for the arrastres, when the sulphur evaporates, and leaves a red oxyd of iron; which distinguishes these montones, as the blue colour does those in which arsenic predominates.

The Colorados, as I have already observed, only occur at a certain distance from the surface.

In a new mine, worked by the Cura of Angangeo (San Severiano), the transition from the Colorados to the ordinary

metals, is effected within a space of twenty varas from the mouth of the shaft; and from the moment that this line is passed, magistral becomes necessary for the amalgamation of the ores, although a little higher it is not required.

The following is a fair estimate of the expenses of extraction and amalgamation at Angangeo, per monton, of ten cargas, (each of three quintals):—

Extraction.

	Dollars.	Reals.
Ten Barreteros	5	0
Peones	1	0
Powder and Candles	1	2
Tools, &c.	1	0
	8	2

Amalgamation.

	Dollars.	Reals.
Hacienda	3	4
Repasadores	2	4
Azoguero	1	0
Salt	2	0
Magistral	0	4
Quicksilver lost	5	0
Separation of Quicksilver from Amalgam	0	4
	15	0

In all, twenty-three dollars and two reals; while the value of the ores contained in the Monton, taking them at an average of six marcs, (some are much richer, and few, or none, poorer,) is forty-eight dollars; which leaves a clear profit of twenty-four dollars and six reals upon each monton.

There are few districts in which the use of Arrastres, in lieu of stampers, is so general as at Angangeo.

They are more economical in some respects than Morteros, (stampers,) as they require much less attendance; but they also do less work: for an arrastre cannot bray more than three montones of ore in the week; while a twelve stamp Mortero will pulverize the same quantity in twenty-four hours. They have, however, the advantage of reducing the ore at once to a fine impalpable powder, free from all gritty substances, and perfectly ready to be submitted to the action of the quicksilver; a state to which it is seldom brought by passing once, or even twice, under the Mortero. But then their powers are limited, and would prove of no avail with the hard ores of some districts, where quartz or porphyry predominates, and for which the powerful blow of the mortero is absolutely requisite.

With regard to the former produce of Angangeo, I found it impossible to procure any exact information, the records being lost, and the mine-owners having long been in the habit of remitting their silver, in the first instance, to Tlalpujahua, from which place many of them were furnished, before the Revolution, with the means of continuing their works. It is, however, generally thought that a Company with a small capital might do well there, and the favourable prospects of the Germans seem likely to confirm this supposition.

The road from Angăngēŏ to Tlālpŭjāhŭa traverses one steep and rugged mountain, with an ascent of nearly two leagues, through a forest of magnificent pines. From the summit to the Hacienda of San Rafael, the descent is gradual, but constant, and the distance about four leagues. I had not the pleasure of seeing this establishment completed, the labours of Messrs. Moro and Enrico having been a little retarded by the rainy season; but the progress which had been made since my first visit was surprising, and, on my arrival at Tlalpujahua, where I again passed some days, I

found, both in the town and in its vicinity, abundant cause to admire the diligence which had been displayed. A number of additional mines had been brought into activity, in order to explore the veins upon the greatest possible number of points at once; and on the lode of Las Virgenes, an entirely new shaft, called the mine of Arevalo, from its proprietor, the Cura, had been sunk, the ores of which appeared to be very promising. In the town, improvements were proceeding with equal rapidity, and the market was thronged with well-dressed natives; many of whom, a few months before, had no other attire than a Queretaro blanket of the commonest kind.

From Tlalpujahua I returned to the capital, by the Rancho del Oro, which is situated just within the confines of the State of Mexico. The United Mexican Company is in possession of nineteen Mines there, the former produce of which is known to have been very considerable. Nine of these Mines are situated upon the Veta Descubridora,* and may be considered as one work; five other shafts are sunk upon the lodes of San Rafael and San Acasio.

The state of the whole, at the period of my visit, afforded a striking exemplification of the evils with which the absence of the master's eye must always be attended. Under the injudicious management of a Mexican Administrador, (steward,) 130,000 dollars had been spent in two years, without the drainage of any one of the shafts having been effected, although none of them exceeded 155 varas in depth. A visit from Mr. Alaman, the principal Director of the Company, had led to the dismissal of this unprofitable servant, and an Englishman, Mr. Walkinshaw, was associated with a Mex-

* This name is common to all the Mining Districts, and means merely the vein, or lode, to the discovery of which the establishment of the Real is due. Thus the Coronas Vein was the "Descubridora" of Tlalpujahua; the Milagros Vein of Catorce; and the Vein of San Bernabé, of Zacatecas.

ican miner of some reputation, in the management. But time was requisite in order to do away with the effects of the slothful and dilatory system which had been fostered by their predecessor; and the same men, who, at Tlalpujahua, under the eye of Mr. Rivafinoli, worked with an energy which could not easily be surpassed, seemed to lose their activity on entering the district of El Oro, and performed their several duties with a sluggishness which it was painful to witness.

In August, 1826, the mine of El Rosario was the only shaft from which ore was raised. The vein appeared to be rich, but small. The gold is found in particles, imperceptible to the naked eye, in a matrix of quartz, which contains sulphuret of silver, disseminated throughout the mass in such narrow stripes, that unless the dimensions of the vein increase, they will hardly repay the expenses of working.

Gold mines in Mexico generally diminish in value, as they increase in depth, and it is to be apprehended that the district of El Oro will not form an exception to this rule. The mines, however, were worked to advantage as late as 1810, and it is upon record that, in 1805, a single carga of ore was sold at the mouth of the shaft for eleven thousand dollars. A very few montones of ore, of a quality much inferior to this, would repay the Company for all its advances: although these are likely to be increased by the construction of a Hacienda, which is indispensable, if the enterprise of working the mines is persevered in; every building connected with them having been destroyed in 1811, in order to furnish palisades for Rayon's camp upon the Cerro del Gallo.

The plans for this Hacienda were not completed when I was at El Oro; but I have been since informed, that it is to be situated in the valley of Tĕpĕtōngŏ, where a Presa, or dam, has been constructed, during the last year, of sufficient size to form a reservoir of water in the rainy season, for the supply of the machinery during the dry months. This Presa is built across a ravine, and is seventeen varas in thickness at

the foundation, terminating, at the height of sixty feet, in a wall three varas thick, and 200 feet in length, from side to side. The whole is solid masonry; so that the cost, in addition to the other expenses connected with the construction of a Hacienda, must be very considerable.

I took my former road, on my return to Mexico, through Ixtlăhūācă and Lerma, the rainy season being too far advanced to render it advisable to explore any new path across the mountains. By setting out very early in the morning we succeeded, during the whole expedition, in avoiding the rains; although they rendered many parts of the road nearly impassable, particularly in the neighbourhood of Temascaltepec, where there is a great deal of red clay, upon which neither horse nor mule could preserve its footing. With the exception of a few falls, however, on our way to the least accessible of the mines, and the misfortunes of a Carga mule, that was nearly drowned in crossing a torrent, we met with no adventures; and the freshness of the country around us made ample amends for the additional difficulties with which our progress was attended, in consequence of the rains.

I never saw, in any part of the world, a greater variety of beautiful scenery than is to be met with between Tĕmăscāltĕpēc and Zĭtācŭarŏ, but particularly in the vicinity of the Valle de Temascaltepec, where the road winds repeatedly up and down a Cañada, of just sufficient depth to produce, in alternate layers, the vegetation of every different climate.

I likewise recollect with pleasure the Barranca of Hŏcŏnūscŏ, which, on one side, led us by a slope of nearly a league, to the foot of a precipitous ridge of rocks, to climb which, with our tired animals, seemed almost impracticable. Upon the summit there is a sort of Table-land, upon which the Hacienda stands; and from this another long and sweeping descent leads to Zitacuaro, through a succession of woods, with occasional openings, so natural, and yet so varied, that you can hardly conceive them not to have been made to orna-

ment some stupendous park. At Zitacuaro, where we arrived on a market-day, we found provisions of all kinds in the greatest abundance, and made a most delicious breakfast, on new milk, the finest wheaten bread, and eggs, with oranges, pines, and sugar-cane, all the produce of the surrounding district. From thence to Ăngăngēŏ, the country assumes a more rugged character, and pine-forests, similar to those about Tlālpŭjāhŭa and El Oro, mark the transition from the *Tierra Templada* below, to the less genial atmosphere of the higher regions.

I arrived in Mexico on the 5th of September, and immediately commenced my preparations for my great journey into the Interior, which did not, however, take place until the beginning of November; my plans having been deranged by the illness of my eldest little girl, who was very nearly killed by a *coup de soleil*, which brought on a brain fever, and left us, at one time, very little hope of her surviving. To the skill and unremitting attentions of Doctor Wilson we were indebted for her recovery, but she was long in too weak a state to bear the fatigue of travelling; and as Mrs. Ward had resolved upon accompanying me, and could not reconcile herself to the idea of leaving her children for two whole months, our departure was put off from day to day, in order to allow time for our little invalid to gather strength.

BOOK VI.

BOOK VI.

SECTION I.

COMMENCEMENT OF JOURNEY TO THE INTERIOR.—STATE OF QUERETARO.—ZELAYA, THE BAXIO, GUANAJUATO; MINES OF THE TWO COMPANIES ESTABLISHED THERE. —REVENUES AND RESOURCES OF THE STATE.

On the morning of the 3d of November, 1826, having taken leave of our Mexican friends, most of whom predicted that we should not extend our journey North beyond Guănă-juătŏ, we bade adieu to San Cosme, and proceeded by the great *Tierra Adentro* road to Huĕhŭetōcă, where we slept. It was long since the inn there had opened its gates to such a cavalcade as ours; but, bad as the accommodations were, we determined always to stop at the Ventas, in lieu of private houses, except in places where we intended to pass some days, on account of the inconvenience with which the reception of so numerous a party must have been attended anywhere else. The inns mostly contain four or five small rooms opening into the Patio; but in the Haciendas, where the accommodations consist of one large sala, which is the only spare room, it is impossible to attempt a subdivision of apartments; and al-

though we had provided for desperate cases, by carrying with us a large canvass curtain, so contrived as to be easily suspended across a room, and thus, in fact, to make it two, still the number of females rendered it desirable to have recourse to this expedient as seldom as possible.

Mrs. Ward was accompanied by two Mexican maids, who, with the children, occupied a large coach, drawn by eight mules, which I purchased for the purpose, of a gentleman recently arrived from Durango. As we shut up house altogether in the Capital, our whole Mexican establishment attended us, although with some changes of character, in order the better to suit them to our purposes upon the road. For instance, one of the footmen acted as postilion, and, with the coachman, took entire charge of the coach; while a lad who had been employed for some time in the kitchen in Mexico, appeared in the double capacity of mule-driver, and cook; in the first of which occupations he displayed such activity, and flew about so rapidly in pursuit of the scattered animals entrusted to his charge, that he soon acquired from his fellow servants the name of El Cŏhētĕ, (the Rocket,) by which he was ever afterwards distinguished.

In addition to these, we had three other servants for house work upon the road; two Arrieros, with the baggage-mules, and two stable-men to take charge of the horses; and although the number may appear large, yet such were the complicated wants of the party, the various beds to put up, and unmake, and the difficulty in collecting provisions, that it was as much as our united efforts could accomplish to get into marching order at seven o'clock in the morning, before which time we seldom found it possible to set out. One man was generally sent in advance to secure rooms, and to act as purveyor: this duty devolved upon a fine athletic fellow called Hilario, who had served as an artilleryman during the war of Independence, and who retained enough of his old military habits to make a most invaluable *avant-courier*.

Mounted on an excellent horse, he scoured the country in every direction, and if milk, meat, or vegetables, were to be found, we always had them for our evening meal. The first was of the greatest importance to us, as both the children were too young to live upon anything else; the eldest being only a year and a half old, and the second, whom her mother was still suckling, hardly five months. As to ourselves, a large box of preserved meats, and our guns, ensured us against starvation; nor did a day pass, I believe, without our having hares, quail, or waterfowl of some kind, to add to the mutton cutlets, and broth, which the principal towns afforded us.

The party consisted of Mrs. Ward, Mr. Martin, the French Consul General in Mexico, with whom I had been long on terms of intimacy, and whose agreeable society it was delightful to secure, Dr. Wilson, Mr. Carrington, and myself. We were afterwards joined by the messenger to the Mission, Don Rafael Beraza, and formed, with our servants, a squadron of sixteen men, well mounted and armed, with eight baggage-mules, and as many loose horses, which composed the advanced-guard, driven by the Cohete and the muleteers. The great Mexican coach followed, of which, when loaded for the road, the annexed drawing will give a tolerable idea.

The servants rode next, with their sabres, guns, and Lassos, all dressed in the leather Rānchĕrŏ costume; which, in addi-

tion to its convenience in other respects, had the recommendation of being the cheapest possible travelling-dress;* and we ourselves brought up the rear, to pick up stragglers, and to keep the party together. In very bad ground, the order of march was reversed, and we took the lead ourselves, in order to examine the Barrancas, (ravines,) and to ascertain the spot where the carriage could cross with least damage. In this too Hilario was of the greatest use, for he had the eye of a hawk, and having been accustomed to travel with artillery, he had some idea of the powers of wood and iron, and knew that there were things which it was absolutely impossible for them to bear. His countrymen in general drive over, or through, every thing, and look excessively surprised when an unfortunate wheel gives way, (as it usually does,) with a crash, after surviving trials, any one of which an English coachmaker would contemplate with dismay. I could not imagine, at first, to what the toughness of Mexican wheels was due, for they are clumsily put together, and the iron part is composed of separate pieces, instead of forming one compact circle. But then the whole is so bound up with strips of raw hide, which contract in the sun, that it will rather bend than break, and can hardly fall to pieces under any circumstances. It sometimes indeed assumes rather an oval than a circular form, but this fault corrects itself: the projecting parts are worn down by the rough and rocky roads; and as to any little additional motion during the process, it so seldom falls to the lot of a Mexican traveller to glide over the country with the sort of even movement to which Mr. Mac Adam's labours have accustomed people in England, that a few jolts more or less are really not perceptible.

After this description, my readers will not be surprised to hear that none of our party ever entered the coach as long as they were able to sit a horse; and that Mrs. Ward, far from

* I paid ten or twelve dollars each for these leather dresses; a cloth coat, or jacket alone would have cost twenty.

finding it a relief, endeavoured, from the first, to extend her daily rides until she was enabled to perform nearly the whole distance on horseback; which she so far accomplished that she must, I think, have ridden fourteen hundred miles out of the two thousand, to which the aggregate of our journey amounted. Between a passo horse and a carriage, on such roads, it is impossible to hesitate, except when the sun is so powerful as to render the protection of a roof desirable, and this, in the winter months, on the Table-land, is not often the case. The dust, which is at times exceedingly distressing when riding, cannot be avoided: it had the effect of making us extend our line of march considerably; and, on a windy day, there was often a space of nearly half a mile between the head and rear of the column: the necessity for this increased as our live-stock augmented, which it did prodigiously upon the road; for when we got into the breeding countries, where horses and mules were cheap, we made new purchases in order to relieve our tired animals, and entered Mexico on our return with fifty-six beasts of different kinds. We often amused ourselves with fancying the sensation which the appearance of our caravan would have excited in Hyde Park, or Longchamps; where the wild horses and mules, and the servants driving them at a gallop with the lassos whirling round their heads,—the guns, and pistols, canteens, and camp-beds, carga-mules, and coach, in size like a Noah's ark, perambulating, by some accident, the land, instead of the waters, with festoons of tasajo, (dried strips of beef sold by the yard,) and handkerchiefs full of onions and tortillas, attached to different parts of it by the servants,—would have formed a curious contrast to the neat chariot and four, with patent lamps and liveried attendants, in which the preparations for a journey in Europe usually consist. Nor would the night-scenes have appeared less singular, with the pack-saddles and the horse-accoutrements arranged in rows under the corridor; the arms of the servants suspended near them;

the horses picketed around, and the muleteers stretched on the ground by the side of a large fire, cooking their mess for the night in a common kettle, or preparing their beds under the coach, which served as a general place of rendezvous. Chăpītă, the Indian nurse, used to superintend the culinary operations of this group; and often have I seen her, before daylight, bending over the fire, and concocting a kettle of Attolli, or Champorada,* with the child slung to her back in the Indian fashion, and exposed to the bracing cold of the morning air, which is not dispelled until the sun gets well above the horizon, at nine or ten o'clock. The little creature seemed to thrive upon this system, and as all was confusion within at that hour, the servants being busy in making up the loads, and her mother occupied with the care of her less healthy sister, we usually let her take her chance.

At nine or ten o'clock, according to the distance, we stopped at some Rancho to breakfast, or sate down wherever there was shade, and pulque, or a little water, to eat the provisions which we had brought with us. Milk we often obtained at this hour, when we laid in the provision for the day, which kept admirably, notwithstanding the sun and the motion of the coach, in bottles filled till they overflowed, and then corked up. I did not find this to be the case with the milk and cream which I had brought with me from England;† for the cases not being quite full, we generally found, on opening them, that their contents had been converted, by the trot of the mules, into butter; in which state, however, they furnished, occasionally, a very agreeable addition to our fare. After breakfast, which lasted but a short time, we proceeded, without farther interruption, to our resting-place, wherever that might be. The mules and horses were then relieved from their loads, and driven to water, and to bathe, where

* A composition prepared with chocolate, maize, and water.

† It is made up in little tin cases hermetically sealed, and is very useful on a voyage.

there was any river near, after which they enjoyed their rest and food during the remainder of the day. At four in the morning, the lassoing and saddling began; for as the beasts were all loose in the patio, or in some immense stable, (where stabling was to be procured,) there was no other mode of securing them. This operation, in which my young companion Carrington, (who became very expert in the use of his lasso,) generally distinguished himself, occupied a couple of hours, after which the cargas were assigned to the different mules, the rest of the luggage affixed to the coach, and the whole party gradually put into motion. We lost a great deal of time during the first two or three days, from the want of a systematic mode of proceeding, the servants being new to their work; but as soon as they learned how to distribute it most conveniently, each took his own line; and, as we all assisted in making up the packages, it was curious to see the rapidity with which the rooms re-assumed their desolate appearance after being enlivened for a time with a few symptoms of European civilization. I have seen a bed dismounted, rolled up, and transferred to a mule's back in less than five minutes, so that our little comforts, in fact, created no material delay. There are few ladies, however, who would have had strength and resolution enough to give so good an example in this respect as Mrs. Ward; for it was dreary work getting up, day after day, two hours before sunrise, and sitting for one hour at least in a cold room, wrapped up in a manga or a buffalo-skin, with a poor little sick child to take care of, while all the complicated arrangements of packing and loading were going on. In December we had a hard frost almost every night; and as there was no possibility of getting a fire of any kind within doors, there was little warmth or comfort to be obtained before the sun rose; and though we knew that we should be scorched afterwards, we have often hailed its appearance as a real relief. From the scarcity of rooms, Mrs. Ward, the two children, and the

maids, were usually quartered together; Mr. Martin and I slept in another apartment; the rest of the party in a third; while if a fourth could be procured, which was not often the case, it served to hold the canteen and supper apparatus, after which the servants crowded into it for the night, with a saddle and a Sĕrāpĕ* each for a bed. The muleteers and Chance, (the terrier, of whom honourable mention has been already made,) were most luxuriously provided for amongst the packsaddles: the coach was confided to the guardianship of a large bull-dog, with whose ferocious looks the natives were much alarmed; while in the interior of the rooms, a white terrier of my own, who accompanied me in all my travels, supplied the place of the fastening, with which no Mexican door is ever provided. We generally found, when Hilario had been successful in his catering, a large mess of meat stewing down upon our arrival. To this we added the game collected upon the road, which was usually sufficient to furnish not only ourselves, but the servants, with an ample meal. At six or seven o'clock we sate down, where seats could be procured or manufactured, to our homely repast, and at eight we were glad to take refuge from the cold in bed.

After this general outline of our proceedings, I shall give an account of our route, with some of our little difficulties and distresses, the nature of which may be more clearly understood by a reference to the Map of Routes annexed to this volume, in which the whole journey is laid down, with the mountains and other obstacles by which our progress through some parts of the country was impeded. It contains, likewise, the *States* through which we passed; and although it does not include the towns in those States that we did not actually visit, still it conveys an idea of their relative position and extent, (the boundaries being correctly traced,) and will

* The Serape is the woollen blanket (of home manufacture) worn by the lower orders as a "manga" for riding.

therefore form a necessary addition to any statistical information that it may be in my power to communicate.

On the 4th of November, we proceeded over ten leagues of desert and barren country to Tula, a small town, in the vicinity of which there is a bridge over the river Tula, or Moctezuma, and some fine fields of maize. The Church is curious, having been constructed at the time of the Conquest as a military position, with lofty walls, unbroken by windows, and surmounted by little turrets, which give it more the appearance of an old castle, than of a building consecrated to Divine worship. There is another church of a similar appearance at Jălāpă, and Mr. Martin thought that they both resembled some of the old churches built by the order of the Templars, in France.

Nov. 5.—We reached Ărrōyŏ Sārcŏ after travelling ten hours over a road covered with lava, and rocks of volcanic origin: parts of it were so rugged as to make the progress of the coach exceedingly slow, and we did not arrive at the Meson till after dusk in the evening. We found it so very small and bad, that we were compelled to seek a night's lodging in a neighbouring Hacienda belonging to Revilla, the proprietor of the German mines at Chico. His steward received us with much civility, and made over to us the two only disposable rooms. One of them was nearly full of maize, but Mr. Martin and I found a vacant spot to erect our beds, while our companions spread their mattresses upon the Indian corn, which they assured us, in the morning, formed a most comfortable couch, as it accommodated itself to the shape of the body. The lands belonging to the Hacienda are nine leagues in extent, and are very valuable, from their vicinity to the Capital. The crops had fallen off considerably in consequence of the destruction of the Presas, (reservoirs of water,) during the Revolution; but the proprietor having been enabled by his contract with the German Company to

repair them, it is expected that the returns from the estate will again be very large.

Nov. 6.—The road to Săn Jūān dĕl Riŏ is one continued descent from Ărrōyŏ Sārcŏ, for about three leagues, when you reach the Llano del Căzădērŏ, so called from a great hunting-party given there by one of the Viceroys, (Don Antonio de Mĕndōză,) in which hundreds of deer, hares, and rabbits were killed. Our coachmen descended the hill, as Mexicans always do, at full gallop, and drove on at the same pace across the plain, until they were stopped by discovering that one of the fore-wheels had been on fire so long that the whole nave was gone, and the wheel itself rendered utterly useless. We were five leagues from Arrōyŏ Sārcŏ when this happened, and seven leagues from Săn Juān: the sun was excessively powerful, and there was neither Hacienda nor Rancho within a reasonable distance at which we could hope either to deposit the children, or to get our damages repaired. We were therefore forced to leave them with the coach in the middle of the plain, and to ride on to Săn Juan, from whence we despatched a mule with a new wheel, which we succeeded with some difficulty in procuring. We reached the town, where we fortunately found an excellent Venta, about four o'clock, and waited with great anxiety for the appearance of the coach, which was expected to arrive before ten. Midnight came, but nothing was heard of it; and at three in the morning Mrs. Ward became so uneasy for want of her child, which was still at the breast, that I resolved to go myself in search of it on horseback. I accordingly set off with one servant, well armed, (for our host had been alarming us with stories of robbers,) and after a gallop of twenty miles I found our unfortunate coach just where we had left it on the preceding morning. The wheel sent from San Juan did not fit the axle, and they had been forced to carry the old wheel to a Hacienda five leagues off, where there was a carpenter's shop, in order to get it repaired. As there was little hope

that this would be speedily effected, I took the youngest child from its nurse, and making a sort of scarf with a Tapalo, or long Indian shawl that she lent me, I deposited in it my little charge, and having secured it still farther with a silk sash, I put my horse into a gentle canter, and took once more the road to the town. The child was a good deal astonished at first with the novelty of its situation, but the motion put it to sleep, and, with an occasional squall or two, we reached Săn Jūān in perfect safety about nine o'clock, after a ride rather longer than it often falls to the lot of a little creature of five months old to undertake. The carriage did not come in till two in the afternoon, the poor mules being quite exhausted after passing thirty hours without food or water. The servants fortunately had provisions with them, and procured some milk from a man who was conveying an ass-load of it to a neighbouring Rancho.

We did not leave San Juan till the morning of the 8th. The vicinity of the town abounds in gardens and fruit-trees, which give a cheerful air to the scene when viewed from the top of a steep descent on the Mexico side, called La Băjādă de Săn Jūān: it consists of nearly two leagues of abominable road, covered with loose rocks and stones, and sufficiently dangerous, even on horseback, to make me feel uneasy when coming down it in the morning with the child in my arms. After crossing a river, which runs to the North of the town, (from whence the name, *Del Rio*,) although not laid down in any map, we breakfasted at the Hacienda de Sāūs, three and a half leagues from San Juan, where the abundance of the Baxio, so justly celebrated for its agricultural riches, seemed to commence. We found in a Rancho, of very ordinary appearance, provisions of all kinds; milk and eggs, excellent bread, tortillas of course, with chile for those who liked it, and large plates of frijoles, a sort of black bean, of which the Mexicans make an extremely palatable dish. In an enclosure opposite the Hacienda hares were very numerous: they got

up two at a time in every direction under my feet, and I might have shot fifty, had I wanted them, with as much ease as I did five.

From Saus the character of the country improved at every step; cultivation increased rapidly: we saw vast plains of maize, and groups of Indian huts at each turn in the road. After passing the Hacienda del Căzădērŏ, a valuable estate belonging to Don Pedro Acĕvēdŏ, we crossed a Pĕdrĕgāl, or stony tract, of about two leagues in extent, and afterwards pursued our course through a succession of immense Pŏtrērŏs,* until we came in sight of Quĕrētărŏ, of which there is a beautiful view from an opening between two hills. The first appearance of the aqueduct, by which the town is supplied with water from a spring in the mountains, at a distance of nearly three leagues, is very picturesque. Its arches are lofty, light, and bold, and its extent gives it an air of great magnificence as it stretches across the plain.

Quĕrētărŏ is the capital of the State of that name, the territories of which were formerly comprehended in the neighbouring "Intendancies" of Mexĭcŏ, Lă Pūēblă, and Guănăjūatŏ. They are now divided into the six "Părtĭdŏs," or districts, of Ămĕālcŏ, Cădĕreītă, Săn Jūān dĕl Rīŏ, Săn Pedrŏ Tŏlīmān, Qŭerētărŏ, and Xālpăn, and contain a population of 200,000 souls. The Constitution of the State is a copy in miniature of that of the Federation, from which it has taken all the mechanism of government, and all the religious intolerance. The inhabitants, with the exception of those of the capital, are mostly employed in agriculture. The district of Cădĕreită, however, contains the mines of El Dŏctōr, Măcŏnī, and San Crĭstōvăl; and the Government entertains so high an opinion of their future importance, that a contract has been concluded with the Anglo-Mexican Company for the establishment of a Mint, on very favourable

* A Pŏtrērŏ means strictly an enclosure for "Potros" (young horses), but is applied generally to enclosures for any kind of cattle.

terms. The State abounds in Haciendas, both of cattle and sheep, (Gănādŏ Măyōr, y Mĕnōr,) and of wheat, (trigo,) maize, (maiz,) and beans, (frĭjōlĕs.) The population of the Capital, by the last census, appears to be 32,000; but the town is supposed to contain at least 40,000 inhabitants. During the Revolution, 90,000 souls were often assembled in it, the proprietors of the neighbouring Haciendas being frequently compelled to take refuge there with their families, and farming servants, while their property was laid waste by the contending parties.

Quĕrĕtărŏ is divided into five parishes, or Cŭrātŏs, four in the body of the town, and one, (San Sebastian,) in the suburbs, being separated from the rest by a little dirty stream, which is dignified with the title of El Rio, the river. Some of the churches are fine, particularly that of Guădălūpe; as are the convents of San Frăncīscŏ, and Sāntă Clără, the last of which contains a population of two hundred and fifty females, composed of seventy nuns and as many young ladies sent there for their education, with lay-sisters and attendants. It is an immense building, and is said to resemble a little town in the interior, with streets and Plazas regularly laid out; but this we had no opportunity of observing ourselves, as not even Mexicans are allowed to enter the walls.

We were much struck with the busy look of Quĕrĕtărŏ, which has quite the air of a manufacturing district. More than half the houses contain shops, and the population is engaged either in small trades, or in the wool manufactories, which are still very numerous. They are divided into two classes, Obrāgĕs, and Trăpīchĕs. The first comprise the establishments that can employ from ten to thirty looms; the last, those in which only one or two are in activity. In both, coarse cloths, Tāpălŏs and Māngăs of different patterns and sizes are manufactured, part of which are retailed upon the spot in the great Plaza, where a market is held every evening

by torchlight, and part sent to the Capital, or other great towns of the Federation. The demand for these manufactures has decreased very much since the ports were opened to European imports; indeed the woollen trade is now principally kept up by a Government contract for supplying the army with clothing; which has afforded a temporary relief to one part of the population by imposing a general tax upon the remainder. The price paid for scarlet, green, and yellow cloths of the very coarsest texture, varies from twenty-four reals (twelve shillings) to eighteen reals (nine shillings), and fifteen reals (seven and sixpence) per vara, according to the colour; and there is no doubt that they might be obtained of a better quality at a much lower price from abroad. The wool used is brought principally from *Tierra Adentro* (the Northern States), San Luis Pŏtŏsī, and Zăcătĕcās: its price fluctuates from sixteen to twenty-four reals the Arroba (of twenty-five pounds), including carriage, (about five pence three farthings, or three pence three farthings English money per pound;) but the wool most esteemed is the produce of the State itself, (called Lana de Chĭnchōrrŏ.) It acquires its value not from any superiority in the breed of the Qŭerētărŏ sheep, but from the circumstance of the flocks being so much smaller than those of the North that they can be better attended to, fed in richer pastures, and kept more clear from Ăbrōjŏs, and other thorns, which deteriorate the fleece. This wool sells for three dollars and a half per Arroba, (thirty reals), and is expected to rise in value. In 1824 the wool of San Luis was only worth fourteen reals.

I was promised by the Governor of the State, Don José Mărīnă, who is himself proprietor of the large Hacienda of Mĭrāndă, a return of the amount of wool consumed in the Obrages of Queretaro during a period of five years before and after the Revolution; but this document never reached me, and I am consequently unable to state the extent of the

change which the new system has produced. Agriculture, at the period of my visit, was only beginning to recover from the effects of the Civil War: the crop of maize had been lost in consequence of the extreme dryness of the season, and the price had risen from two to five dollars the carga (of 300 lbs.) In abundant years it is seldom worth more than twelve reals per fanega. There were, however, no apprehensions of a scarcity, as 300,000 fanegas were known to be on hand within the territories of the State.

We passed the whole of the 9th of November at Quĕrētărŏ, in order to visit the Governor and some of the principal merchants, for whom we had letters. In the evening we made an excursion to the Căñadă, or great ravine, about two leagues from the town, which, like the Bărrānca of Rēglă, sinks suddenly below the level of the Table-land, and assumes, in the course of a few hundred yards, all the appearances of *Tierra Caliente*. It is inhabited by a race of Indians who have resided there since the Conquest; and abounds in gardens and magnificent trees, with some hot baths, which are said to possess medicinal virtues.

We left Quĕrētărŏ on the 10th of November, and breakfasted at a Rancho, called El Păsĕŏ, six leagues from the gates. From thence to Zĕlāyă there are four leagues more. At a little distance from the town we crossed a magnificent bridge over the river Laxa, which, in the rainy season, forms an impetuous stream. When we saw it, its waters were very low: it joins the great river of Lerma, or Santiago, near Sălămāncă, in conjunction with which it pursues its course towards the Pacific.

Zĕlāyă, by the census of 1825, contains only 9,571 inhabitants; the streets are drawn, as usual, at right angles, and the houses in the centre of the town are well built; the suburbs are poor and miserable; but the great Plaza, one side of which is occupied by the church of El Carmen, and

the other by the convent of San Francisco, is really fine, and does credit to the taste of the architect (a native Mexican) by whom it was designed.

The Băxĭŏ, so celebrated in Mexico, both as the seat of the principal agricultural resources of the Republic, and the scene of the most cruel ravages of the Civil War, commences between Qŭerĕtărŏ, and Zĕlāyă. I saw it under great disadvantages, for the country was parched up by long continued drought, and it is probably owing to this that it was so far from answering my expectations. I had pictured to myself a succession of Haciendas, abundantly supplied with water for irrigation, and consequently smiling with verdure; and I was not a little disappointed at finding that the masses of cultivation, however considerable in their aggregate, were still lost in the immensity of the surrounding space; and that the country wore the same dull livery of dust which gives so monotonous a character to the scenery throughout the Table-land. Between each Hacienda there was a large tract of ground covered with Mimosas, and abounding in hares, but without any symptoms of the labour of the agriculturist having been ever employed upon it. I was assured, however, that a great part of this land had only been thrown out of cultivation since the Revolution, when the failure of the mines at Guănājūāto deprived the farmers of their market.

11th.—From Zĕlăyă to Irăpŭātŏ, the distance is fourteen leagues. We breakfasted at El Rancho de los Hūāgĕs, about six leagues from Zĕlāyă, and reached Sălămāncă at three in the afternoon. The town, like most of the smaller towns in the Băxĭŏ, is half in ruins, but the situation is pretty, and the ground about it rich. A violent storm came on shortly after we had quitted Salamanca, and converted, in a moment, the fine loam over which we were passing, into a mass of mud, through which we ploughed our way with great dif-

ficulty. We did not reach Irăpūātŏ till half-past eight o'clock, although the distance from Salamanca does not exceed five leagues. Our beds had fortunately been kept tolerably dry by their oil-skin covers, but we were glad to take refuge in them immediately, as the Meson afforded no facilities for drying, or even changing our wet clothes, the rooms being entirely lumbered up with the saddles, and other packages, which we were forced to shelter there from the rain.

The town of Irăpūātŏ contains, according to the census of 1825, 16,054 inhabitants; by that of 1823, the number appeared to be 21,030. Some of the public buildings are fine, particularly the convent of Nuns, called de la Enseñanza. There are a few cotton-spinners and weavers, but the bulk of the population consists of "Lăbrădōrĕs," (agriculturists,) who reside in the town, and have estates near. Of these there are 971 "Vecinos," (heads of families.)

Salamanca contains 485 "Lăbrădōrĕs," and 1,091 "Artesanos," on a population of 15,053 souls. In the district of Irăpūātŏ there are thirty Haciendas de Campo and sixteen Ranchos; in that of Salamanca, twenty-nine Haciendas and sixty-nine Ranchos; many of which, however, are very small. From Zĕlāyă there are no similar returns.

12th Nov.—From Irăpūātŏ to Gŭanăjūātŏ eleven leagues. We commenced our journey late, having been assured that the distance did not exceed seven leagues. After breakfasting at the Rancho of La Călĕră, we reached Bŭrrăs, a village belonging to the Marquis of Răyăs, seven leagues from Irapuato, and found, to our great surprise, that we had still four leagues to go. The situation of Bŭrrăs is extremely picturesque. In the middle of a country almost desert, you come suddenly upon the borders of a Bărrăncă, the whole of which is a mass of verdure. Vegetation follows the course of a small stream that runs down the centre of the ravine, and extends for some distance on either side. The effect

reminded me of some of the drawings in Denham's African travels, where a little spot, with something like water and freshness is represented in the midst of a scene of desolation.

The country between Bŭrrăs and Guănăjūāto is uninteresting, and of the town itself nothing is seen until you reach the Gate of Mărfil, where you enter the suburb of that name. The houses follow for nearly a league the direction of a Cañada, or ravine, on each side of which there is a long line of Haciendas de Plata, (amalgamation works,) intermixed with houses, varying in height and shape according to the nature of the ground. On one side there is a raised trottoir for foot passengers; but coaches, and animals of all kinds, proceed up the bed of the river, down which, in the rainy season, a torrent occasionally flows with dangerous impetuosity.

Few years pass without some accident occurring; yet no part of the immense mineral wealth that Guanajuato has produced, was ever devoted to the improvement of the present entrance to the town, and you cross the torrent thirty times between the gate and the principal street.

We were met at some distance from Marfil by Mr. Williamson and Mr. Jones, the Directors of the works of the Anglo-Mexican Mining Association, who kindly undertook to lodge our whole party in a house belonging to the Company, where we were happy to find ourselves restored to the luxuries of space and cleanliness, after having been so long reduced to the confined and dirty rooms of the Ventas upon the road.

As it is not the object of this work to give a geological description of the Mining Districts, I shall beg to refer my readers to Baron Humboldt's scientific researches for any information that they may desire upon this point; and merely state here a few facts, without a knowledge of which, any account of the operations of the Companies established in Guănăjuātŏ must prove unintelligible.

The Veta Madre, or great Mother Vein of Guanajuato,

has produced, since the year 1766, (before which time I have no returns,) 225,935,736 dollars.* It is composed of several parallel veins, running in the direction of N. W. and S. E., and varying in width, where they combine into one mass, from five to eighty varas. The miners distinguish the three principal branches of the Vein by designating them as El Cuerpo Alto, El Medio, and El Baxo; and it is observed, that the points where the three Cuerpos have been found to approach each other most nearly, and to be richest in silver, correspond with the valleys that intersect the direction of the Vein, in which the rich mines of Sĕrēnă, Rāyăs, and Cātă, are situated. The town has been entirely created by the mines, and is very irregularly built; the houses and streets being distributed rather according to the vacancies left by the surrounding mountains, than by any rules of art. This is particularly the case with the amalgamation works, one of which sometimes occupies a whole ravine, the spaces above, on either side, being crowded with miners' huts. The streets are full of ascents and descents, many of which are so steep as to render the use of four mules in the carriages of the more wealthy inhabitants almost universal. The churches, and some of the houses, are fine, and the Ălhōndĭgă, a large square building used as a public granary, forms a remarkable object, and is visible from every side.

The mines are scattered in different directions round the town; and in the vicinity of some of them, little "Pueblos" have been formed, which may be considered as the suburbs of Guănăjūātŏ. This is the case with Vălĕncĭāna, (where the population formerly amounted to 7,000 souls,) and Rāyăs; and, in a less degree, with Sĕrēnă, and Vīllălpāndŏ. The Haciendas are mostly close to Guănăjūātŏ, and though now in ruins, their number and extent attest both the former importance of the mines, and the opulence of the Rescata-

* This is the amount given by Humboldt's Tables of Produce, in conjunction with the returns from 1804 to the present day.

dores, (amalgamators,) by whom these expensive buildings were raised. Few or none of them possessed a sufficiency of water to work their machinery, for which purpose mules were employed; and fourteen thousand of these animals were in daily use before the Revolution. The Rescatadores purchased their ores at the mouth of the shaft, relying entirely upon their own powers of estimating by the eye the value of the montones exposed for sale, in such a manner as not to make a disadvantageous bargain. In this science they attained great perfection; for more fortunes were made in Guănăjūātŏ by the proprietors of Amalgamation works, than by the miners themselves; while the extent to which the system was carried afforded to the successful adventurer the means of realizing instantly to almost any amount. During the great Bonanza of the Valenciana mine, sales were effected to the amount of eighty thousand dollars in one day; and it is to this facility in obtaining supplies, that the rapid progress of the works in that mine, after its first discovery, may be ascribed. Had it been necessary to erect private amalgamation works, in order to turn his new-born riches to account, many years must have elapsed before the first Count Valenciana could have derived any advantage from his labours; for when fortune began to smile upon them, the man who was destined in a few years to rank as one of the richest individuals in the world, did not possess a single dollar.

The system of "Rescatadores" still exists at Guănăjūātŏ, but upon a very small scale; most of the capitals formerly employed in this way having been lost, or withdrawn, during the Revolution. The sales at the mines, in 1826, seldom exceeded 1,500, or 2,000 dollars in the week. The Foreign Companies wish to unite the profits of the amalgamator with those of the miner, and have consequently fitted up extensive Haciendas of their own. The Anglo-Mexican Company possesses eight of these Amalgamation works; the United Mexican four; and this new plan, should it be found to answer

will undoubtedly tend to discourage, for some time, the re-establishment of the independent Haciendas.

On the morning of the 13th of November, we visited the mine of Villălpāndŏ, situated in the mountains to the East of Gŭănājuātŏ, about four leagues from the town, upon a separate vein, totally unconnected with the Veta Madre. A number of small mines are united in the "Negotiation" of Villalpando, but the depth of the deepest levels does not exceed two hundred varas: the ores are rich in gold, and in appearance resemble those of the Rancho del Oro: picked stones have been found to contain as much as two ounces of silver, to one pound of ore; and the Ley de Oro, or proportion of gold combined with this silver sometimes amounts to five hundred and fifty Grains in the marc, the value of which at the Mint is raised, in these cases, from eight and a half, to thirty, and thirty-five, dollars. The principal proprietors of the mine are the Conde Vălēnciănă, the Countess Rūhl, and the Conde de Pērĕz Gālvĕz. The Anglo-Mexican Company, to which it belongs, was in possession of eight *Barras*, or one-third of the mine; but the whole outlay was to be repaid out of the first produce, and a fund of reserve of 150,000 dollars for future contingencies, to be set aside, before any division of profits could take place. The drainage was conducted by four mălăcātĕs, (three English and one Mexican,) and had been effected, in three months, to within twenty yards of the bottom of the shaft, at an expense of 84,000 dollars. The buildings connected with the mine had been all brought into a state of complete repair, and as the weekly produce already amounted to three hundred Cargas of ore, the prospects of the Adventurers were thought to be highly favourable. The mine was worked principally by Būscōnĕs, (Searchers,) whom the hope of a rich prize, (from the value of the gold in some of the ores,) attracted in great numbers. Each man received in payment one-half of the ores which he had raised; and at

the weekly sales it was curious to observe the e
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or principal Overseer of the mine; and as
heap to heap, the "Rescatadores" make thei
per, and the name of the highest bidder, wi
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Tuesday, Nov. 14.—W
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raised in sufficient quantities to cover the expenses, and to leave a surplus of from 1,000 to 1,400 dollars weekly. Sirena lies about a league from Gŭanăjuātŏ: the road out, which has been repaired by the Company, is good; and the mine itself, being situated in one of those hollows in which, as I have already observed, Nature seems to have deposited the great mineral riches of the district, and not having been worked hitherto to any thing like the same extent as the other mines upon the Vĕtă Mādrĕ, is considered by the natives as one of great promise. The outlay upon it, (including the purchase money of ten Barras,) was, in September 1826, 255,201 dollars.

From Sirena we proceeded to the Hacienda of Păstītă, an amalgamation work entirely fitted up by the Company, with twenty-eight arrastres, and a water wheel for the stampers, which is expected to work six months in the twelve: 42,860 dollars have been expended upon this Hacienda by the Company, but it is now held at a nominal rent of five hundred dollars per annum, until the outlay be repaid, so that they have, in fact, the use of it for eighty years rent free.

The Hacienda of San Ăgŭstīn, which we next visited, is the property of the Association, and has cost altogether 116,365 dollars. The purchase money was trifling, but a great additional outlay was occasioned by the preparations for the introduction of the Cornish system of washing and reducing ores,—the new smelting establishment, which proved so complete a failure under the superintendence of Mr. Lucas,* and the Freiberg revolving-barrels, which it has not

* Having mentioned this gentleman's name inadvertently in my first Edition, I beg to state here most distinctly that nothing could be farther from my intention than to reflect in any way upon his scientific acquirements, or to impute to him, individually, the failure of an experiment, which could not succeed unless carried into execution in all its parts. By explanations which I have subsequently received, and which the parties interested are prevented by a feeling of delicacy towards their employers

yet been found possible to apply to the immense mass of ores that are subjected to the process of amalgamation in New Spain. Sān Ăgŭstīn was the residence of the Cornish miners, and for the credit of England it must be hoped that those who sought their fortune in Mexico are not to be regarded as a fair specimen of the population of that part of the British dominions. There were some good and useful men amongst them, who have continued in the service of the Association, and are now amongst its most efficient agents; but the generality of the Cornish have left behind them a character for ignorance, low debauchery, insubordination and insolence, which has very materially diminished the respect which the Mexicans were inclined to entertain for the supposed superiority in intellectual acquirements of the inhabitants of the Old World. Nothing could exceed the indulgence shown by the authorities of Gŭanăjūātŏ towards these men, six or seven of whom were often picked up in the streets drunk, and conveyed to the Hacienda of San Agustin by the very watchmen, who, if they had been natives, would have lodged them in gaol; but their patience, as well as that of the mine-owners, who were compelled to pay enormous salaries, and to see their work badly done,* was nearly exhausted, when the

from laying before the public,—I am taught to believe that the portion of the management, for which alone Mr. Lucas rendered himself responsible, was entirely and absolutely dependant upon the preliminary parts of the process, over which he exercised no control; and that consequently, no blame can attach to him for the unsatisfactory results of the smelting operations, since the system of preparing the materials upon which he was to act, was abandoned, before he could make a trial of its effects.

* It must always be borne in mind, that although the outlay is made in the first instance by the Company, it is carried by them as a debt to the account of the Mine, and is to be paid out of the first proceeds. It therefore becomes the interest of the owners to see that the work is properly performed; and to refuse to pass accounts whenever unnecessary expenses are incurred by those entrusted with the management. For

Directors in England were fortunately induced to abandon the system, and to employ natives in the operative parts of their principal undertakings. The management alone is now European, and the persons entrusted with it having shown a proper disposition to conciliate the natives by acquiring their language, and only varying their mode of working in cases where some positive and evident advantage accrued from the change, the Mine-owners and the Company proceed towards the attainment of the common object with a mutual good understanding, and, consequently, with an increased probability of success.

There is a small steam-engine erected at San Ăgŭstīn, which is intended to be used both for sawing timber, and for braying ores: it puts in motion twenty-four stampers of three hundred weight each, and has likewise been applied with very good effect to the Freiberg revolving barrels. It consumes one carga (300lbs.) of wood in the hour, which, at three reals (of eight to the dollar) per carga, makes a total expense of nine dollars in the twenty-four hours. Another engine of fourteen horse power had been applied to the little mine of La Purisima, at Santa Rosa; but as it was not at work during my visit to Guanajuato, I did not think it necessary to ride three leagues across the mountains in order to see it.

After returning from San Ăgŭstīn, I passed the afternoon at the Hacienda of Sălgādŏ, where the ores of the Valenciana mine are reduced. The Hacienda contains forty-two arrastres, or crushing-mills, with thirty-six stampers, and the works are under the direction of a young Mexican, Don Pedro Bĕlāzārān, celebrated for his skill as an amalgamator, which he appears to have inherited from his father, who was one of the most distinguished miners, and "Rescatadores," of Gua-

instance, machinery sent out and not used, or mining works badly executed by foreigners, who are paid for executing them better than the natives, cannot, in reason or justice, be charged against a mine.

najuato before the Revolution. Under his tuition I endeavoured to acquire an idea of this complicated process, which I shall proceed to lay before my readers, never having myself found in any work a description calculated to convey all the information which I wished to obtain respecting it.

The ore, on being extracted from the mine, is placed in the hands of "Pĕpĕnădōrĕs," men and women, who break the larger pieces with hammers, and, after rejecting those in which no metallic particles are contained, divide the rest into three classes, called, in mining language, "Ăzōguĕs," and "Ăpŏlvĭllādŏs," "Buenos," or "Ordinarios." The "Ăzōguĕs" are the inferior ores, in which the matrix contains but a thin sprinkling of silver. As this increases, it becomes "Apolvillado ordinario," and "Apolvillado bueno" when very rich. Sulphuret of silver, where it occurs but little intermixed with other substances, is designated as "Polvillos;" (probably because when reduced to "polvo," dust, this dust is found to be richly impregnated with silver;") and "Molonques," or "Petanques," are the names given to the masses or crystallizations of pure silver, which are not unfrequently met with. The three last are too rich to be submitted to the ordinary process of amalgamation; but the "Azogues" and "Apolvillados" are transmitted in *costales*, (miner's sack,) weighing 150lbs. each, to the Hacienda, where they are delivered to the Administrador, (overseer,) who gives a receipt for the amount. They are then submitted to the action of the Morteros, (stamps,) one of which, of eight stampers, (Mazos,) is capable of reducing to powder ten cargas of ore, (each of 350lbs.) in twenty-four hours. This powder not being thought sufficiently fine for the quicksilver to act upon it with proper effect, it is transferred from the Morteros to the Arrastres, (crushing-mills,) in which water is used. Each of these reduces to a fine, impalpable, metalliferous mud, six quintals of powder in twenty-four hours. At Guănăjuātō, where water-power cannot be obtained, the ar-

Drawn by Mr. Ward

rastres are worked by mules, which are kept constantly in motion at a slow pace, and are changed every six hours. The grinding-stones, as well as the sides and bottom of the mill itself, are composed of granite, four blocks of which revolve in each arrastre, attached to cross-bars of wood. This part of the operation is thought of great importance, for it is upon the perfection of the *Molienda*, (literally, the grinding,) that the loss of quicksilver is supposed in a great measure to depend. It is performed usually in a covered shed, or "Galera," which, in a large Hacienda like Salgado, from the number of arrastres at work at the same time, is necessarily of considerable extent. From the arrastres the ore is again removed to the *Patio*, (amalgamation court,) where it is disposed in *Tortas*, the size of which varies according to the dimensions of the Patio, or the fancy of the Administrador, (overseer.) The number of Montones, (heaps,) contained in each Torta, is consequently uncertain; but the Monton of Guanajuato consists of nine Cargas, and two arrobas, or thirty-two quintals of ore; each carga containing fourteen arrobas of 25lbs.

The Monton requires three arrobas of salt, (from Colima,) at one dollar, or nine reals, the arroba. This is added to the mass three days before any other ingredient.

One arroba of ordinary Magistral, (from Tĕpĕsălār, near Aguăs Călĭentĕs,) or 7lbs. of the very best quality, (Pepena.)

Quicksilver, in the proportion of 3lbs. for every marc of silver that the ores of the Monton are supposed by the amalgamator to contain, and varying, consequently, according to the quality of the Monton, which is determined by the eye.

In the amalgamation of a large Torta, the same proportions are always observed; and the mass is repeatedly worked up by men and mules, (repasadores,) in order to promote the incorporation of the silver with the mercury, which it requires six weeks in winter, and one month in summer, to effect. When the amalgamator supposes the Torta to have

"rendido," i. e. to have yielded all the silver that it contains, it is washed in large vats, (Tinas,) until the earthy particles are got rid of, when the amalgam, which remains at the bottom of the vat, is strained in leather bags until no more quicksilver can be separated from the silver by pressure. The remainder is cut into wedges, which are conveyed to the Quĕmădērŏ, (burning-house,) and arranged in a circular pile round a copper-plate called the Vaso, with a hole in the centre, and a receptacle for water beneath, care being taken to make the hollow left in the centre of the pile of amalgam correspond exactly with the hole in the Vaso below. The whole is then covered by a large iron bell, called Capella, or Capellina, which is strongly luted down; a wall of mud bricks is raised round it, and the intervening space filled with charcoal. The fire is kept up for twelve hours, in which time the quicksilver is sublimed, and afterwards condensed in the water, where it is subsequently collected. The pure silver (Plata quemada) is then cut again into wedges, or melted down into bars, (containing 135 marcs each,) in either of which shapes it may be transmitted to the mints.

The loss of quicksilver at Salgado in the whole process, in the year 1825, amounted to nine ounces on each marc of silver; but this was thought to be an instance of very successful management on the part of Mr. Bĕlaūzărān, as the proportion is, in other Haciendas, from ten to eleven ounces. He attributed the difference to the excellence of the "Molienda," which he always caused to be continued until there was nothing harsh, or gritty, in the mass upon which the mercury was to act. He added, that the residuo of the Torta, when washed, might contain some small portion of silver, but it had not been found that the quantity was sufficient to repay the cost of any farther process, as at Chico; (*Vide* Section IV. of preceding Book,) and it was consequently thrown away.

The best of the "mŏntōnĕs" which I saw at Salgādŏ, were

expected to produce fourteen marcs of silver; and those of an inferior quality, eight marcs. Two marcs and a half pay the costs of reduction, which amount to twenty dollars on the mŏntōn. Allowing as much more for raising the ore, and the share in the general expenses, there would remain a profit of three marcs, or twenty-five and a half dollars, on each monton of the poor "Azogue" ores; while on the richer "montones" it would amount to seventy-six and a half dollars, including the loss of quicksilver, which, in 1826, was worth six reals per pound.

Nov. 15.—We devoted the whole of this day to the Valenciana mine, it being impossible to form an idea, in less time, of the extent and importance of this vast undertaking. The history of the Valenciana, like that of the Biscaina Vein, was first made known to us by Humboldt, and is now almost forgotten; it may be advisable therefore to state that the mine is situated to the North of the town of Guănăjuātŏ, upon a part of the Vĕtă Mādrĕ, which, after being slightly worked towards the end of the sixteenth century, had been neglected as unpromising until the year 1760, when Mr. Ŏbrĕgōn, a young Spaniard of very small fortune, resolved to explore the vein upon one of those points where it was believed to be "*emborrascada*," or destitute of mineral riches. For six whole years he continued to work upon this spot, with a perseverance which nothing but a presentiment that he was to make his fortune there can account for; and in 1767, having exhausted his own means, as well as the patience of those from whom he had occasionally obtained supplies, (Avios,) he entered into partnership with a shopkeeper of Rāyăs, called Ŏtērŏ, wielding with his own hands, it is said, the tools of the miner, until the year 1768, when the works having attained the depth of eighty metres, the vein suddenly began to produce enormous masses of rich ore; which continued to increase in value and extent to such a degree, that the profits of the proprietors amounted, in seve-

ral successive years, to one million and a half of dollars. From 1788 to 1810, the produce averaged 1,383,195 dollars, and the profits 527,701 dollars, as may be seen by a reference to the Tables annexed to the Third Section of the Fourth Book. A town of 7,000 inhabitants was formed in the vicinity of the mine, in which 3,100 individuals found daily employment, under the immediate inspection of an Administrador, to whom the proprietors paid a salary of 12,000 dollars, (2,500*l.*) conceiving, very properly, that the value of the situation was the best security for the good conduct of him by whom it was held.

A number of different "Pertinencias" are united at Văl̆ēncĭānă, the works in the interior occupying nearly half an English mile in extent. In order to give access to the different levels, various shafts have been sunk, the first of which, called the Tiro Viejo de San Antonio, is said to have cost 396,000 dollars. Through this the first "Bonanza" was raised. The Tiro de Burgos, and the Boca de San Ramon, were next purchased, and incorporated with the great mine, (they cost 82,000 dollars;) and the Hexagon shaft of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was afterwards sunk at an expense of 700,000 dollars. All these being deemed insufficient, the great Octagon shaft, called El Tiro General, was begun in 1801, and carried on until the commencement of the Revolution, when it had cost nearly one million of dollars, and attained the depth of six hundred and thirty-five Mexican varas. When the Company took possession of the mine, the interior was filled with water to within one hundred and eighty-five varas of the mouth of the great shaft: there were consequently four hundred and fifty varas to drain, and this not merely in perpendicular depth, but disseminated throughout the whole of the workings, most of which had been so long under water that the communications were destroyed, the timbering falling to pieces, and many of the lower levels filled up with masses of rock, or tĕpĕtātĕ, detached by the action of the

water from those above. Had this volume of water proceeded from internal springs, the attempt to carry it off by any power of machinery would have been hopeless; but up to a very late period, the mine of Valenciana was distinguished by its extreme dryness, which was such that the workmen were at times much incommoded by the dust. The water was first admitted by an injudicious communication with the neighbouring mine of Tĕpĕyāc, and it was allowed to accumulate during the Revolution, the machinery having been much injured by Hidalgo's troops in 1810, and subsequently destroyed by Mina's followers, after his unsuccessful attempt upon Guanajuato in 1818. The effect of such an accumulation in a country where a river is often formed in an hour by the Tropical rains, can hardly be conceived by those who are not acquainted with their violence. It was such that no individual could have undertaken the task of repairing the ruin, which this long season of abandonment had occasioned. Even for a Company it may be regarded as one of the boldest mining speculations ever yet attempted.

The drainage commenced on the 1st of February 1825. Steam-engines were not employed upon it, on account of the scarcity of fuel; but eight Malacates (horse-whims) of the largest kind were erected round the Tiro General, and kept at work day and night without intermission for twenty-one months, in which time they lowered the water 185 varas. As it descended, the levels which became accessible were repaired, and ores raised wherever veins of any promise appeared; and such was the vigour and activity with which these operations were carried on, that, (as I have already stated) a "Barra," or share in the Valenciana, which, in 1824, would not have sold for 20,000 dollars, was thought by the natives to be worth 100,000 dollars at the time of my visit. It is indeed true, that the difficulties of the drainage increase in proportion to the depth from which the water must be raised; but then they diminish in other respects, be-

cause the mine contracts below the level of La Soledad, towards which the water was gradually descending, and the volume of water to be raised consequently decreases. Upon the whole, I saw no reason to question the probability of a favourable result, and the natives were very sanguine in their anticipations of it, fixing for the completion of the drainage the term of eighteen months. Long before this period arrives many valuable levels will be opened, which will prevent the prosecution of the enterprise from being, as it has hitherto proved, a drain upon the Association; for it is not so much in the deepest levels, (which are supposed to have exceeded the limits within which the Veta Madre of Guanajuato has proved hitherto most productive,) as in the extension of the lateral workings, that the value of the Valenciana as a mine is thought to consist. The outlay in September 1826 was 672,264 dollars, including the alimentos to the proprietors, which amount to 24,000 dollars annually.

We entered the Valenciana by the Boca de Sān Cāyĕtānŏ, at which the old Count Valenciana began his operations: a flight of steps, which even ladies can descend without difficulty, leads to the Capilla, about sixty varas from the surface, where passages branch off, in different directions, to the interior of the mine. Here a prayer is usually recited by the chief miner before a large picture of the Virgin, and after this the more fatiguing part of the excursion commences. We passed nearly five hours in exploring the different workings, the extent of which exceeds all that a person acquainted only with ordinary mines can imagine. I found the ventilation in general good, except in some "labores" where no communication with the shafts had been yet established. In these the thermometer rose to 90° and to 94° of Farenheit; and the heat was very oppressive; but even close to the water's edge there was nothing like foul air. The operation of retimbering, and, in many parts, of digging out the communications anew, was proceeding rapidly, and from some

levels ores were raised which produced at times silver enough very nearly to cover the weekly expenses of the mine. These amounted to six thousand dollars, including both the mining operations and the malacate horses employed for the drainage, which were upwards of three hundred in number; each malacate requiring thirty horses in the twenty-four hours.

On re-ascending from the lower levels, we visited the Tiro General, which is both a wonderful and an imposing sight. Its dimensions are unnecessarily large, but it is sunk with a magnificence unparalleled in the annals of European mining, the diameter being eleven Varas. The whole of the Tiro is sunk in solid masonry, and the sixteen cueros, or leather buckets, by which the water is raised, though composed each of two bullock's hides, are lost in the immense dimensions of the shaft.

The greatest praise is due to Mr. Williamson, the principal commissioner of the Anglo-Mexican Association, for the constancy which he has displayed in carrying on the drainage of the Valenciana with the means within his reach. Public opinion was unfavourable to the undertaking, until he demonstrated its practicability; and although in the deeper levels the application of steam may be necessary, yet in a contract limited with regard to time, there can be no doubt that he has rendered the most essential service to the adventurers, by turning to all possible account the powers of the native machinery, which have been much underrated in Europe. What he has been enabled to effect by a proper application of them both at Valenciana, and in the mines of Sirena and Villalpando, may serve as an encouragement to those who are engaged in speculations in districts, where, either from the scarcity of fuel, or the difficulty of access, European machinery never can be introduced. The absurdity of the indiscriminate use of it, contemplated in 1824, has been already demonstrated. Many mines may be made to produce a reasonable profit for a given time by the use of

the Malacate, that would never repay the costs of a steam-engine, doubled, as they always must be, by the expense of conveying it from the coast. There is a point indeed beyond which the Malacates cease to act; yet even then, with so many obstacles to be overcome, it is only on mines the richness of which is well ascertained, (as at Real del Monte, or Bolaños,) that it would be prudent, or advisable, to hazard the substitution of European machinery, with its attendant train of workmen and artificers.

Besides the mines already enumerated, the Anglo-Mexican Company possesses that of Mĕllādŏ, belonging to the family of Rūhl. The contract and Alimentos are the same as those of Villalpando. The mine was almost paying its own expenses in 1826, the weekly sales being about seven hundred dollars; but the drainage was proceeding very slowly in consequence of the difficulty of coming to an arrangement with the proprietors of the neighbouring mines. The works in Tĕpĕyūc were likewise suspended, the contract with the proprietor, Colonel Chico, being considered disadvantageous; it was thought, however, that more favourable terms would be obtained. In 1826 the Alimentos were 16,000 dollars; making a yearly disbursement of 88,000 dollars in all on the part of the Company, the periodical recurrence of which, in conjunction with the very large investment required by some of the mines, has proved a burthen heavier than many of the shareholders are inclined to bear.

That they might have commenced their operations on more favourable terms, had they possessed the knowledge of the country which they have since acquired, there can be little doubt; but even now, deducting from their future profits all their unnecessary expenditure in salaries, and machinery, and confining their works entirely to their principal mines, it is the opinion of their agents, that their whole outlay may be repaid in three years, and that their profits will amount sub-

sequently to twenty-six and a half per cent. upon their nominal Capital.

I do not vouch for the correctness of this calculation, but I give it as the opinion of a gentleman extremely temperate in his views, much looked up to and respected by the natives, and indefatigable in his efforts to promote the interests of those, by whom he has been entrusted with the conduct of an enterprise of greater magnitude than any in which British capital has been employed hitherto beyond the limits of the British dominions.

Both Mr. Williamson and Mr. Jones do justice to the liberality and good faith displayed by the Mexican proprietors in their transactions with the Company. The accounts of each mine are balanced and finally wound up at the end of the year; and nothing has yet occurred to interrupt this good understanding, by which the interests of both parties are so effectually promoted.

17th and 18th of November.—I passed both these days in visiting the mines worked by the United Mexican Company at Guanajuato, the most important of which are Rāyăs, Sĕchō, and Cātă.

The first of these "San Juan de Rāyăs," (so called from its original proprietor,) is one of the most valuable mines upon the Veta Madre; and the most ancient document in the archives of Guanajuato is the certificate of its denunciation. It is situated in one of those Cañadas, or ravines, in which the great riches of the vein have been usually found concentrated, immediately below the mines of Santa Anita, and San Vicente, both of which are prevented from pushing their works downward by levels extending from the mine of Rayas below their "Pertinencias," as marked out upon the surface. The right of thus intercepting the workings of another mine is conceded by the Mining Code, according to which the "Pertinencia" only extends two hundred varas in perpendicular depth. Below this the ground is free, and the

desire to secure it in the richer portions of the vein often occasions a trial of activity between the proprietors of two neighbouring shafts. The one who succeeds is said to "encampanar" his rival; and as the evil cannot be remedied, he enjoys afterwards undisturbed possession of the vein, from immediately below the pertinencia of his adversary, down to any depth to which he may find it convenient to work.

The extraordinary richness of the ores of Santa Anīta, some of which were sold during the great Bonānza of that mine in 1740 for their weight in silver, in consequence of the large proportion of gold contained in them, first induced the grandfather of the present Marquis of Rayas, (Don José Sardanēta,) who had acquired ten bars in the mine as "Aviador," to endeavour to "encampanar" the "pertinencias" on the upper part of the ravine, by carrying his own works below them. After several years spent in the attempt, which was prosecuted slowly from the want of funds, he died without having attained his object, bequeathing his projects to his son, and assuring him with his last breath that, although he ended his life in poverty himself, a little perseverance in his plans would ensure opulence to his descendants.

This prophecy was fulfilled. The vein of Santa Ana was found to increase in richness as it increased in depth, and Rāyăs having obtained exclusive possession of it, the shaft of Santa Rosa was sunk, through which the first great Bonanza was obtained.

This rich mass of ores (clavo rico) being exhausted, new workings were tried in a S.E. direction, and the shaft of San Miguel was sunk by the father of the present proprietor, at an expense of 700,000 dollars: through this the family of Sardaneta obtained a second Bonanza, which lasted several years, and produced a net profit of eleven millions of dollars, clear of all expenses.

From 1760 till 1780 the mine continued to be worked with considerable profit; but in that year an accident occur-

red, which very nearly caused it to be entirely given up. A torrent, formed suddenly in the mountains, took its course down the Cañada of Rayas, and entered the mouth of the mine, which had no protection against so unforeseen a danger, filling in a moment the lower levels, and destroying almost all the workmen employed at the time. So great was the volume of water admitted, that nineteen years were consumed in the drainage, which was not completed till 1799, when the mine was again rendered productive, and yielded, in each of the four succeeding years, a clear profit of 400,000 dollars. Since then, the greatest part of the produce has been absorbed by the construction of the new Tiro General, commenced by the present Marquis in 1805. It is a stupendous undertaking, the shaft being an octagon, like that of the Valenciana, but exceeding it in diameter by two varas and a half. The depth, however, is only 450 varas, in lieu of 635.

When the Civil War broke out, 318 varas of this shaft had been sunk, but the Marquis was too much impoverished by the Revolution to carry on so Herculean a labour out of his own resources, after the declaration of Independence in 1821; and was consequently compelled to apply for assistance to the British United Company, of which his cousin, Don Lucas Alaman, is the principal director. The Company, finding it impossible to attempt the drainage of the mine by the shaft of Santa Rosa, or by that of San Mĭgūēl, which has now fallen entirely in, agreed to undertake the continuation of the Tiro General, which, when concluded, will lay open the rich levels called La Sangre de Cristo, and render accessible a large portion of the vein never hitherto explored.

In November, 1826, forty-nine varas had been added by the Company to the 318 sunk by the Marquis: eighty varas still remained; but the work was proceeding at the rate of one vara and a half weekly, and it was expected that as soon as the number of malacates, which it was intended to apply, could be increased from six to eight, half a vara more might

be accomplished. It is in the erection of these malacates that the principal expense of the enterprise has consisted; for the mouth of the great shaft of Rayas being situated upon a steep slope, it has been found necessary to excavate the mountain on one side, and to raise a platform upon the other, in order to command a sufficient space for the action of the machinery. One of the Mălăcātĕs of Rayas is the largest ever built in America, the cylinder, or drum, being eight and a half varas in diameter, and the palanca, or beam, by which it is moved, twenty-four varas in length; it is worked by eight horses, which are changed every three hours, and occupies the whole of an enormous "Galera," built in the vicinity of the shaft.

When the Company commenced its operations, the Tiro General was inaccessible from the quantity of water contained in it. This was supposed to proceed from some internal communication with the mine, and it consequently became requisite to carry on the drainage of the two simultaneously, for which purpose three Malacates were erected at the shaft of Santa Rosa. By their operation, the water was gradually lowered eighty-one varas and three-quarters, and the bottom of the new shaft laid open; but it was not until October 1825, that it was rendered sufficiently accessible for the work of deepening it to recommence. Even then it was only with difficulty that workmen were found willing to undertake the task, for of all mining labours there are none so dangerous as those which are carried on in an open shaft of such enormous depth, that the smallest stone detached from above, might prove fatal in its descent to some one of those engaged beneath. In addition to this, the water oozes continually from the sides of the shaft, loosening the earth, and keeping the miners below constantly wet; and as there is no "Partido," or share in the ore raised, to compensate these disadvantages, it is only by giving additional wages that a supply of hands can be procured.

I know few sights more interesting than the operation of blasting in the shaft of Rayas. After each "barretero" has undermined the portion of rock allotted to him, he ascends to the surface; the ropes belonging to the different malacates are coiled up, so as to leave every thing clear below, and a man called the "Pĕgădōr" descends, whose business it is to fire the slow matches communicating with the mines beneath.

As his chance of escaping the effects of the explosion consists in being drawn up with such rapidity as to be placed beyond the reach of the fragments of rock that are projected into the air, the lightest malacate is prepared for his use, and two horses are attached to it, selected for their swiftness and courage, and called Caballos del Pegador, from being reserved for this particular purpose. The man is let down slowly, carrying with him a light, and a small rope, one end of which is held by the overseer, who is stationed in person at the mouth of the shaft. A breathless silence is observed until the signal is given from below by pulling the cord of communication, when the two men by whom the horses are previously held, release their heads, and they dash off at full speed until they are stopped, either by the noise of the first explosion, or by seeing from the quantity of cord wound round the cylinder of the malacate, that the Pegador is already raised to a height of sixty or seventy varas, and is consequently beyond the reach of danger.

It often happens that the matches do not ignite, in which case the Pegador is lowered down again, and the operation repeated, until all the mines have exploded. But in spite of every precaution, accidents will frequently occur, and there are more Pegadores maimed, or destroyed, than any other kind of mining servants. They acquire, however, great presence of mind in the course of their arduous business, for the Marquis of Rayas told me that, a few weeks before my visit, the man whom I saw descend, after lighting all the matches,

found himself abandoned at the bottom of the mine from the over anxiety of those above, who, mistaking a mere vibration of the cord for the signal, ordered the horses to start, and drew up the malacate rope far beyond his reach, before either he or they became aware of the mistake. Instead of losing courage, or wasting time in fruitless efforts to make himself heard above, the Pegador instantly tore out the matches, and was fortunate enough to extinguish them all (seven in number) in time to prevent an explosion.

After dining at the Tiro General, where we were most magnificently entertained by the Marquis of Rayas, we proceeded to visit the mine itself, in company with Don Domingo Lazo de la Vega, the managing agent of the United Company in the district of Guanajuato. The descent into the mine of Rayas, is by a flight of steps, down which ladies may be carried by Indians in a chair with poles attached to it; Mrs. Ward adopted this mode of conveyance, and found it by no means disagreeable. There was, however, but little to be seen of any interest, except the huge excavations from which the "*Clavos ricos*" of the first Bonanza are said to have been extracted, all the best levels being still under water. From those which have been drained, ores to the amount of 75,000 dollars had been raised in November 1826, at which time the total outlay of the Association upon the mine amounted to 412,000 dollars. Of its repayment, and of the probability of very large ultimate profits, no reasonable doubt can be entertained; for Rayas is regarded as one of the richest mines in the world; its ores being, in the deeper levels, both abundant, and of such quality, from the Ley de Oro which they contain, that a very few cargas are equivalent to a much more copious extraction from any other mine. The proportion of gold has been found to amount, in some of the richest stones, to 2,100 grains in the marc; and in the ores called "Guija de Oro," native gold is found disseminated in considerable quantities in the Quartz. I had an

opportunity of observing in this mine, as well as in the Valenciana, the weight of the loads of ore brought up to the mouth of the shaft by the Tenateros, (carriers;) I saw myself loads of thirteen, fifteen, and one of sixteen and a half Arrobas, (325, 375, and 412½ English pounds,) delivered at the *despacho*, or receiving-rooms, by Indians, not distinguished by any appearance of extraordinary muscular strength, but inured from their infancy to this species of exertion, by which the muscles of the neck and back acquire a strength much beyond that possessed by any other member of the body.

Since its first discovery in 1556, Rayas appears, by the books of the proprietors, to have paid to the Provincial Treasury, as the King's fifth, the sum of 17,363,000 dollars. It has not yet nearly approached the depth at which the produce of the Veta Madre is supposed by Humboldt to become less valuable; and as a large tract of virgin ground will be laid open by the Tiro General, it may be considered almost as a new mine, with all the security for its future productiveness that an experience of three centuries can give. In the course of the present year, the works may be expected to be completed, and the company may then look for immediate and valuable returns.

The mine of Sĕchō was worked formerly without profit, and subsequently abandoned. The adventurers, who denounced it anew, and from whom the United Company has obtained a share as "Aviador," discovered almost at the surface a "*clavo rico*," or rich mass of ores, which had been overlooked by the former proprietors, but which proved sufficient to repay, at once, a great part of the advances made by the Company; as the best ores (Polvillos) sold for one hundred and eighty dollars the Quintal, or six hundred dollars the Carga of fourteen arrobas. This little Bonanza was interrupted by what is termed a Cavallo de Bronze, or mass of rock, of almost incredible hardness, which it required

much time to cut through. This being effected, the vein was again found to produce excellent ores, and when I saw it, two hundred Cargas were raised weekly from different "*labores*," which were bought up eagerly by the "Rescatadores," at thirty-five and thirty-seven dollars the carga, for the Azogues, or ordinary ores, and forty-five dollars the quintal, for the Polvillos.

From all appearances, there is reason to expect that Sĕchō may prove a most valuable mine, for it is situated upon a part of the Veta Madre which, in every direction around, has produced immense wealth; but there is no certainty, in the opinion of the old miners, until the workings reach one hundred varas in depth, that being the line at which the great riches of the vein have been hitherto found to commence. In the mean time, the speculation is attended with no risk, as the mine pays its own expenses; and should it turn out well, the net profits will consequently be in the same proportion as the additional produce.

The third mine habilitated by the United Company in Guanajūato, is one of the oldest in the district, Cata. It did not attain any great celebrity until the commencement of the last century, when it was worked, in conjunction with Mellado, by Don Francisco Matias de Būstŏ, afterwards created Marquis of San Clĕmēntĕ, and celebrated as the richest man of his age. Cātă occupies the whole of the valley of that name; its extreme depth is three hundred and sixty varas; yet the mine has been drained, and put into complete repair, by the application of Mexican machinery, in fourteen months, with an outlay not exceeding 255,000 dollars. As to the future produce, very different opinions are entertained. Mr. Alaman, and the managing agent, Mr. Lazo de la Vega, are sanguine in their expectations of success, but the public in general regard the mine as exhausted, and think the attempt to work it anew injudicious. From this, however, no conclusion can be drawn, a similar sentence having been pro-

nounced against many other celebrated mines at the close of their first great Bonanzas, which, when taken up anew after a lapse of several years, were found amply to repay their new proprietors. Such was the case with the mine of La Quebradílla at Zacatēcas, when its management was undertaken by La Borde; with the Pāvĕllōn at Sombrerete, when denounced by the Făgŏāgă family; and with the famous mine of Bărrāncŏ at Bŏlānŏs, which, after being given up by its first proprietor, (Barranco,) gave immense wealth and his title to the second, (the Marquis of Vibanco,) and afterwards yielded an enormous mass of silver when worked by a Company formed for the purpose, although with little profit to the adventurers, on account of the expenses of the drainage.

It is to be hoped that the name of Cata may be added to this list, although, in 1826, the amount of silver raised did not exceed 19,000 dollars.

The United Company possesses four Haciendas de beneficio, containing in all seventy-two arrastres. That of San Matias, which I visited, belongs to the Marquis of Rāyas, and is rented by the Association. It was exceedingly well fitted up in all its parts, but the process of amalgamation being nearly the same there as at Sălgādŏ, any farther description of it would be superfluous.

The necessity of repairing these Haciendas, and of bringing the larger timber employed in them from the Sierra of Mărăvātīŏ, (in the vicinity of Tlālpŭjāhŭa,) a distance of nearly forty-eight leagues, has been one of the great drains upon the Companies; this has now ceased, and, the works having been well executed, they will require but few additions during the remainder of the term for which the contracts are held.

The town of Guănajūātŏ, in the immediate vicinity of which all the mines mentioned in this sketch are situated, contains many splendid memorials of the former wealth of its inhabitants. The houses of the families of ŏtērŏ, Vălĕncĭānă, Rūhl, and Pērĕz Gālvĕz, are magnificent, as are the Church,

formerly belonging to the Jesuits, built by the Marquis of Rayas, the rich ornaments presented by the family of San Clemente to the Parroquia, the road to the Valenciana, and the numerous chapels, and religious edifices, constructed in different directions, in the surrounding district. Many of these are still in an unfinished state, for the piety of the miners usually commenced with a Bonanza, and this did not always last long enough to enable them to complete the works, which it prompted them to undertake.

A great part of the landed property both in Guanajuato and in the neighbouring States, likewise belongs to mining families. The Countess Ruhl has large possessions near Aguas Calientes. The estates of the Pĕrĕz Gālvĕz family occupy no inconsiderable portion of San Luis Pŏtŏsī; and the Ŏbrĕgōnĕs, (descendants of the first Conde de Valenciana), possess some beautiful Haciendas near Leon, with many others of less importance, which it is needless to enumerate.

From the Governor of the State, Don Carlos Montesdeoca, a man of liberal and enlightened views, the Foreign Companies have received every encouragement and protection; and it is principally in consequence of his exertions that they have been enabled so soon to overcome those national prejudices against strangers, with which all our Companies had to contend upon their first establishment. In November 1826, not a trace of this feeling seemed to remain. The Marquis of Rayas, indeed, whose family is celebrated for its piety, was still intractable enough to object to the employment of heretics in his mine, but he proved by his courtesy towards my party that he did not consider a friendly intercourse with us as at all objectionable. In this respect the clergy of Guanajuato have shown an admirable example, many of them having advocated from the pulpit the cause of foreigners, and endeavoured to convince their countrymen of the advantages to be derived from an unreserved communication with them.

The State of Gŭanăjŭatŏ contains, according to the census

of 1825, a registered population of 382,829 souls, or 450,000, if something more than one-sixth be added to cover the deficiencies in the official returns. These are supposed to have been unusually incorrect, in consequence of an attempt to enforce the payment of a sort of income tax, at the very time when the census was forming.

The revenue consists, as has been stated generally in the Fourth Section of the Third Book, in the Tobacco monopoly, the Alcavalas, the Mint dues, and Municipal duties payable on various articles of domestic produce and manufacture, with three per cent. upon the foreign goods consumed in the territories of the State. The whole yielded, in the year ending January 1826, 247,810 dollars, while the expenses of the Government, (contingent included,) amounted to 264,010 dollars. The Governor attributed the deficit (16,199 dollars) to the failure of the Income tax, or Contribucion directa, which, though calculated upon the supposed value of the labour of each individual for three days in the year, only produced 5,042 dollars in all.

The tobacco Fabrica yielded 54,704 dollars; and this, after deducting 22,266 dollars due to the Federation for tobacco in leaf, left a balance of 32,438 dollars in favour of the State. Great improvements may however be expected in the receipts of this department; the annual profits of the Cigar manufactories of Guanajuato before the year 1810, in the eight "Administraciones" established in the principal towns, having averaged one hundred and fifty-seven thousand dollars.

130,819 dollars were the produce of the Alcavalas, and 30,085 dollars of the Municipal duties. The receipts at the mint did not exceed 27,127 dollars, the quantity of silver raised in 1825 being very small: but this, as well as most of the other branches of the revenue, were likely to increase, and it was expected that the receipts of 1826 would fully cover the expenditure.

Guanajūato may be called either a Mining or an Agricul-

tural State, for the prosperity of the two branches is so closely connected that one can hardly flourish without the other. The importance of the Haciendas of the Băxĭŏ ceased at the same moment with that of the mines, and is reviving at present in proportion as the capitals invested in them create anew a demand for agricultural produce; while the increased produce, on the other hand, facilitates all those complicated operations, by which alone the mines can be brought into full activity.

Manufactures of wool and cotton abounded formerly in the towns of Lēōn, Ĭrăpūātŏ, Sĭlāŏ, Săn Mĭguēl, and Sălămāncă, (usually designated as "Las Villas;") but the "Mantas," "Rebozos," "Pañetes," and "Gergetillas,"* for which they were famous, have already been replaced by similar articles from Europe and the United States. Their decadence has fortunately been gradual during the last fifteen years, so that it will require no very violent transition to give employment to the hands thus occupied, in some other pursuit, where no competition is to be apprehended.

The State Constitution of Guanajuato was sworn in April 1825. Since the fall of Iturbide, public tranquillity has not been in any way disturbed there, and at the period of my visit nothing but a continuance of it seemed requisite in order to develope the internal resources of the State, and to restore its inhabitants to that prosperity which they enjoyed, in an almost unexampled degree, before the Revolution. This seemed to be the general feeling of all those with whom I held any intercourse. Peace at home and abroad was the common object, the universal wish; and however discouraging an appearance affairs may since have assumed, the existence of such sentiments throughout the country affords ground to hope that any disturbances that may arise will never again be sufficiently generalized to affect the mass of

* By these names the coarse cloths and wrappers most in use amongst the lower orders are distinguished.

the population, or to lead to a renewal of the disastrous scenes of the Civil War of 1810. One good effect the Revolution has already produced in the attention now shown to the education of the rising generation. In 1824, Guanajuato did not possess a single school; in 1826, the sons of respectable parents could obtain a decent education even at Valenciana and Rayas, where schools upon the Lancasterian principle had been established by the miners themselves for the improvement of their families.

SECTION II.

ROAD FROM GUANAJUATO TO SAN LUIS POTOSI.—HACIENDA DEL JARAL.—STATE OF SAN LUIS.—ROAD TO CATORCE, AND MINES OF THAT DISTRICT.

We took leave of Guanajuato and its hospitable inhabitants on the 20th of November, and continued our journey towards San Luis Pŏtŏsī, which both Mr. Martin and myself were desirous to visit, on account of its growing importance as a commercial town. We were likewise anxious to see the celebrated mining District of Catorce, which is very little known in Mexico; and notwithstanding the assurances of the natives, that it would be impossible for us, with children and a lady of the party, to attempt to cross the country between Catorce and Durango, where we should find neither houses, nor accommodations of any kind, we were not without hopes of discovering some direct road to the North, that would exempt us from that worst of all evils—the necessity of passing twice over the same tract of desolate and monotonous country. This we must have done, had we proceeded from Guanajuato to Durango by the usual route through Zăcătēcās and Sōmbrĕrētĕ, by which alone we could hope to reach Aguas Calientes on our return, where it was our intention to branch off towards Guădălājărā and Vāllădōlīd. The appearance of the map was not indeed encouraging, for there is

not a single Rancho laid down in the district which we were about to traverse; but Mrs. Ward having resolved rather to take her chance of bivouacs, and a little starvation, than to be left behind until we could meet her again at Aguas Calientes, we determined to take our own line, and to trust to Providence to carry us through. Our horses and mules were quite refreshed by a week's rest, and, with the exception of my little girl, who was still far from strong, we were all in admirable travelling condition ourselves; so that we looked forward almost with pleasure to the difficulties which we were about to encounter.

We left Guanajuato by the gate of Marfil, and proceeded to Silao, a "Publo Ranchero," surrounded with maize fields, about four and a half leagues off, and from thence to the Hacienda de Chĭchĭmĭquīllăs, situated in a barranca full of Aguacates, fig-trees, oranges, and magnificent Palma Christi. The climate was almost "templado," for the road from Silao, which is itself 1,389 feet lower than Mexico, is a gradual slope, and the Hacienda is protected by surrounding hills. The country about it is beautifully cultivated, and on the plains around I shot a number of hares, and several wood-pigeons of a very large and delicate kind.

It was our intention to have proceeded on the first day to La Tlăchĭquēră, another Hacienda, stated to be half-way between Guănăjūātŏ and San Fĕlīpĕ, in the centre of a ridge of mountains, which can only be avoided by taking a circuitous route through Leon. Most fortunately, on making inquiries at Chĭchĭmĭquīllăs, we found so great a difference of opinion amongst the natives respecting the distance, some calling it five, and others fifteen leagues, that we resolved not to attempt the passage of the Sierra without being sure of having daylight enough before us to accomplish it. On the 21st we set out at a very early hour, and, after winding for near two leagues up the bed of a river, full of deep sand and rocks, we plunged at once into the heart of the mountains, where

our guide soon grew bewildered, and at mid-day confessed that he no longer knew where he was. Having ascertained, as well as we could, the direction in which the Tlachiquera ought to lie, we toiled on for nine long hours, sometimes ascending places where the united efforts of all our men and mules could hardly make the coach advance half a mile in an hour; at others, opening a passage with our swords through the cactuses and thorny bushes which obstructed the way; and, on one occasion, traversing a slope so exceedingly precipitous, that three lassos passed through the carriage, and over the roof, with all the strain upon them, on the upper side, that men and horses could apply, were hardly able to keep the carriage upon its wheels, or to prevent it from descending into the valley below. This is the real advantage of the lasso. As an ordinary mode of drawing, it can only be used in a country like the Pampas, where you traverse a plain of some hundreds of miles in extent; but it may always be applied on an emergency, where the saddle is provided with a ring, or a pommel suited to the purpose, and it is then of the most essential service. Whenever we came to a pass too steep for our jaded mules to face, we attached lassos to different parts of the carriage, and, as no horse refuses to draw in this manner, by the assistance of the whole party, the obstacle was soon overcome. We were nearly exhausted, however, with such continued exertions, and still more by the want of water, when Hilario, who had been detached to take a view of the country from the highest ridge in sight, brought us the joyful intelligence that he had discovered the Hacienda, from which we were not more than two leagues distant. Notwithstanding this favourable report, we did not reach it till long after dusk, having been twelve hours upon the road, without seeing a house or a human being. Our difficulties were much increased by the impossibility of catching any of our fresh mules to supply the place of those who began the day in the coach; for the country was so covered with

Nopales and loose stones, that it was impossible for the hardiest lassoer of the party to put his horse into a gallop, without imminent risk both to the animal and to himself. In general we stopped to change at some "corral," or enclosure, into which the loose mules and horses are driven; but on the road to the Tlachiquera such an accommodation was desired in vain. To compensate this we had the assistance of the bull-dog, whom I have mentioned as the guardian of the coach upon the road. The natural ferocity of this beast had long lain dormant, but it was roused by the cries of the servants, and joining them in their pursuit of their mules, he fastened upon one of the animals by the nose, and in an instant pinned it to the ground; nor was it without great difficulty that he was compelled to relinquish his hold. From this moment he assumed quite a new character, and attacked in so wanton a manner pigs, and every other creature that came in his way, that I was almost glad to lose him, as we did shortly afterwards, on entering San Luis Pŏtŏsī.

Our accommodations at the Tlachiquera were exceedingly bad, for there was nothing but the size of the walls to denote the former importance of the estate, which was totally ruined during the Revolution. The Rancho del Vēnădītŏ, from which the Viceroy Ăpŏdāca took his title, in consequence of the capture of Mina, is in the vicinity of La Tlăchĭqŭeră; and the Sierra was constantly overrun by parties of Insurgents, or Royalists. There is a fine presa (reservoir) of water, however, immediately below the house, and provisions were abundant; but Mrs. Ward was lodged in a barn, where she was considerably annoyed on the following morning by a mule, which forced its way in through the shattered door, just as she was beginning her toilet, notwithstanding her vehement entreaties that no one would come in. The rest of the party were crowded into one small sala, where we supped first, and then put up our beds, there not being room for them and the table at the same time.

Nov. 22.—We reached San Fĕlīpĕ, a town formerly of some importance, but now in ruins, many of the houses being unroofed, while the Adobe walls, deprived of their usual coating of white, present a most desolate appearance. The first four leagues of the road from La Tlăchĭquēră were steep and mountainous, but after crossing a ravine, at a Rancho called El passo do los Arrāstres, we entered the elevated plains of San Felipe, and continued to traverse them without interruption for the space of six or seven leagues. I never saw any thing so extraordinary as the number of hares in every part of this plain. I shot two or three after breakfast in some bushes by the side of the road, and gave them to one of the servants to hang to the pommel of his saddle; his horse, frightened with the unusual load, ran away, and I believe that, without exaggeration, I may say, that before he had gone a quarter of a mile, he was driving fifty hares before him. They put one another up, and formed altogether a most curious assemblage, as they scoured along before my startled man, and his still more startled steed.* Three leagues from the Passo de los Arrastres, there is a large Hacienda called San Jūān de los Llānos, in a very dilapidated state, but with an abundant supply of water. The "presa" was covered with ducks, some of which I shot, and they formed, with the hares, a very comfortable addition to the slender fare that San Felipe afforded us, where the venta was tolerably clean, and air-tight, but meat was not to be obtained, except at market-hours.

Nov. 23.—From San Felīpe to El Jărāl, ten leagues.

About two leagues from San Felipe, there is a ramification of the Sierra Madre to cross, with a long descent, or mal passo, called El puerto de San Bărtōlŏ, very inconvenient for carriages, but not absolutely dangerous; at least we did not

* The servant was an Englishman, and was riding with a snaffle bridle. I never saw a horse succeed yet in running away with a Mexican upon him, or with a Mexican bit.

think so after La Tlachiquera. The ascent and descent occupy about three leagues. We breakfasted at the pueblo de San Bărtōlŏ, from whence to the Jărāl we passed through a succession of vast potreros, well walled in, and interspersed with fields of Indian corn.

The Hacienda is seen from a considerable distance in the centre of a fine valley, about twelve leagues in circumference, the whole of which belongs to the Marques del Jărāl, the most opulent landed proprietor of Mexico, and one of the most extensive landholders in the world. Besides the estate of the Jărāl, he possesses several large Haciendas in Zăcătēcăs, and his lands extend, with little interruption, as far North as Săn Mătēo, from whence he takes his second title. His riches are immense, and proceed from various sources. According to the data given me by the Administrador, he has of ganado mayor, y menor, (horned cattle, sheep, and goats,) with horses and mules, (cavallada y mulada,) at Sierra Hermosa and other places, three millions of live stock. Of these 30,000 sheep are sent annually to the Mexican market, where they average from twenty to twenty-four reals, (two and a half, and three dollars) each.

As many goats are slaughtered at the Casa de Matanza of the Jărāl, where tallow (Cebo) is made from the fat, which sells upon the spot for four and a half dollars the arroba, and is often retailed in Mexico at two reals the pound. The skins are worth six or eight reals each, and are disposed of to the leather-dressers of Guădălājărā, and San Luis Pŏtŏsī.

The ratio of increase for wheat in the valley of the Jărāl is twenty-five to one, a thousand fanegas being the ordinary produce of forty fanegas sown. In a good year the crop infinitely exceeds this, and has been known to amount to two thousand fanegas. When converted into flour in the Count's own mills, the wheat sells at San Luis (sixteen leagues distance) for fourteen and fifteen dollars the Carga, of two fanegas, which are reckoned equivalent to three hundred pounds.

Maize averages usually from two hundred to two hundred and fifty for one; but the price, in ordinary years, seldom rises above twelve reals the fanega.

From five to six thousand arrobas of Chile are likewise produced in the vicinity of the Jărāl. It is worth, in Mexico, six dollars the arroba, while the carriage and alcavala are paid with one.

The great fertility of the valley of the Jărāl is due to the abundant supply of water distributed, apparently with profusion, to every part of the estate, from an immense "presa," constructed sixty years ago by the grandfather of the present Count. The front wall of this "presa" is 2,008 varas in length, and of immense thickness. It intercepts the whole of the water that descends during the rainy season from the surrounding mountains. The basin in which this water is received, though artificial, has, from its size, the appearance of a natural lake. It is surrounded by trees, and is situated about three leagues to the South-west of the house. Part of the road lies, as usual, through uncultivated land, and part through vast fields of maize; but the temperature of the valley formed an agreeable contrast to the cold which we had experienced in crossing the high plains between La Tlăchĭqūēră and the Puerto dĕ Săn Bărtōlŏ; and the sight of any thing like water or vegetation was delightful, after the deserts which we had passed, covered with broken rocks, the cactus, and dwarf-palms. I rode to the reservoir on one of the Count's horses, not of the old breed, for which the Hacienda was celebrated before the revolution, (for that has become almost extinct,) but spirited, and with high, though easy action.

Nothing could be more hospitable than our reception at the Jărāl, with the exception of the absence of the master, who either from shyness, or, as it was alleged, from urgent business, left the Hacienda with his family the day before our arrival, and deputed his Administrador to do the honours.

We found, however, a splendid dinner prepared, and the house thrown open for our accommodation, with a crowd of servants in waiting to take charge of the baggage, and to arrange it in the different rooms. On the following morning, when, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Administrador, we pursued our journey towards San Luis, a mule was sent with us, laden with a whole sheep, a dozen fowls, four cheeses, a quantity of bread and fruit, and four bottles of a strong spirit called Vino Mescal, resembling whiskey in flavour, but extracted from the Măgūey, in a distillery recently established by the Count.

The Jărāl is the last place of any note in the State of Guănăjūātŏ. The village attached to the Hacienda contains three thousand inhabitants, five hundred of whom are more immediately "dependientes de la casa," (yearly servants of the family,) while the rest, though not in permanent annual employment, derive their subsistence from the same source. The Count's house, with the church and other buildings connected with it, are solid and spacious, though by no means magnificent. The pueblo presents an appearance of wretchedness totally unworthy of its vicinity to the abode of so wealthy a proprietor: it consists almost entirely of mud huts, and many of these are in a state of decay.

Nov. 24.—From the Jărāl to San Luis Pŏtŏsī, sixteen leagues.

The road, on leaving the valley of El Jărāl, passes near a large pueblo called El Valle de San Francisco, four leagues from the Hacienda, and runs from thence to Tierra Blanca three leagues, La Pila three leagues, Real de los Pozos two, and San Luis three and a half. La Pila and Los Pozos were formerly amalgamation works, in which the ores from the mines of the Cerro de San Pedro were reduced. These mines have been abandoned for many years on account of the extreme poverty of the ores, which, notwithstanding a "ley de oro," by no means inconsiderable, will not defray

the expense of working. Eighty thousand dollars were spent in a fruitless attempt to bring them into activity about ten years ago; but the heaps of old slag seen at the present day in every direction about San Luis attest their former abundance, as the epithet of Potosi, bestowed upon the Intendancy, bespeaks the reputation which they at one time enjoyed for wealth.

The State of San Luis possesses a population of 250,000 souls. The capital, including the "barrios," or suburbs, which cover a great extent of ground, contains between fifty and sixty thousand inhabitants, and it is supposed that as many more are concentrated within a circle of six leagues in its immediate vicinity.

The State Congress is composed of fourteen deputies, elected in the proportion of one for each twenty thousand souls. In ecclesiastical matters San Luis is dependent upon the Bishoprics of Guădălăjāră and Valladolid, between which the spiritual jurisdiction over its territory is divided.

The revenue proceeds from the same sources as that of Guănăjūātŏ, with the exception of the "Contribucion Directa," which has not been tried. The receipts have proved sufficient to cover, hitherto, the whole expenditure of the State, as well as its "contingent," San Luis, in 1826, not being one dollar in arrears with the Federation. This is partly owing to the excellent management of the Governor, Don José Ildefonso Diaz de Leon, a man of great activity and intelligence, and partly to the advantages which San Luis derives from its situation as the natural depôt for the trade of Tampico, with the Northern and Western States. Zăcătēcās, Sōmbrĕrētĕ, Dŭrāngŏ, and Guădălăjāră already receive through this channel a large proportion of their foreign imports; and since the building of the new town of Tămăulīpās, which, from being upon a more elevated spot than the old town (Pueblo Viejo) of Tampico, is less subject

to the vomito, there is every appearance of a rapid increase in this branch of commercial intercourse.

The foreign trade of San Luis is, at present, almost entirely in the hands of Old Spaniards, or North Americans. In 1826, there was not a single French or English house established there, although France had appointed a commercial agent to reside in the town, for which office Mr. Martin had selected Don Ignacio Soria, a very respectable man, and one of the deputies in the Legislature of the State. The European imports consisted principally in French brandies, wines, silks, and cloths; English hardware and printed cotton goods; with some "mantas," or ordinary cotton manufactures from the United States. Most of these articles were originally smuggled in, through Tampico, in American bottoms, for, until the commencement of the year 1825, there was no custom-house north of Veracruz; and this advantage rendered competition on the part of the merchants of the Capital, who paid the duties established by the Tariff, impossible. Prices have risen at San Luis in proportion as the facilities for smuggling have diminished; but there are still openings enough for the contraband trader on a line of coast three hundred leagues in extent, and there are few articles of foreign manufacture that may not be purchased in the North at a price much below that at which they must be disposed of, had not the payment of the duties upon them been eluded.

In addition to its foreign trade, San Luis supplies the neighbouring States of Lĕōn and Cŏhăhūīlă with home-made goods of various descriptions. The town abounds in tailors, hatters, leather-dressers, and smiths; a tannery, too, has been established there, and, on a small scale, the whole population seems industrious. With the exception of the capital, the State contains no large town. It is divided into Haciendas, few of which exceed thirty "Si-

tios"* in extent, while the general average is about fourteen.

Many of these Haciendas would be valuable from the extraordinary fertility of the soil, but the want of a market renders the agricultural produce a mere drug. Maize sells, in ordinary years, for four, and six, reals the Fanega, (one, or one and a half dollar the carga of 300lbs.) and even at this price purchasers are not always to be found.

In 1826, the dryness of the season had given an unusual value to the stock upon hand, (nearly the whole crop of the year being lost,) and maize was selling at twenty reals the fanega in the vicinity of San Luis, and at thirty, and thirty-six reals near Catorce, where the demand was great, and the supply precarious; but this was an event of which there had not been an example for upwards of twenty years. It is to the low price of grain in general that the preference given to breeding estates in the North must be attributed. Most of the Haciendas of San Luis are vast sheep-walks, and Dŭrāngŏ, Zacatecas, and Chĭhūāhŭa produce a large proportion of the mules and horses, with which the Southern States of the Federation are supplied.

One of the most fertile districts of the old Intendancy of San Luis Potosī, now divided into four sovereign States,† was the Valle del Maīz, on the Eastern declivity of the Cordillera, which separates the *Tierra Caliente* from the Table-land. It was entirely in the hands of Old Spaniards, most of whom perished during the war, and is at present abandoned; but should the project now before the Congress for rendering navigable the river Tămĭū ever be carried into execution, the Valle del Maiz might recover its former importance, as a channel would be opened for the conveyance of its produce to the coast.

* The "Sitio de ganado mayor," of Mexico, comprises a square of five thousand varas, or a superficies of twenty-five millions of varas.

† Cohahuila and Texas, New Leon, Tamaulipas, and San Luis.

We passed one whole day at San Luis, (Nov. 25,) in order to make acquaintance with the principal inhabitants, and to collect statistical information, as well as to repair the damage sustained by our travelling equipage, both in the passage of the mountains of La Tlăchĭqūĕră, and during a violent storm by which we were surprised on our way from the Jărāl. By leaving Mexico so late in the season, we hoped entirely to escape the rains, but as we drew towards the North we found evident symptoms of their prevalence. At San Luis they assured us that they had hardly seen the sun for forty days, and the swampy state of the country around demonstrated the correctness of the assertion. It is impossible to conceive any thing more trying than the discomfort of a Mexican inn under such circumstances. Without a fire, and often without a roof that will exclude water, there is no possibility of drying the baggage, clothes, or saddles. The poor horses stand shivering, after a hard day's journey, in an open patio, while the paved court, from the violence with which the rain descends, is converted into a pond, through which you have to wade in order to pass from one room to another.

All these delights did we experience on the evening of our arrival, and it was with most sincere pleasure that we found ourselves restored, on the following morning, to the advantages of a bright sun and a cloudless sky, which accompanied us afterwards during the remainder of our journey. The yard was filled in an instant with bedding, cloaks, mangas, and hats, suspended upon lines, and in a few hours comfort was, to a certain extent, restored. Unfortunately the sun had not the power to heal the injury done by the cold to our mules and horses, four of which were rendered useless for several days by swellings on the back, brought on by sudden exposure to the wet night-air.

Both Mr. Martin and I were much pleased by our intercourse with the Governor, who showed every disposition to give us information upon all subjects connected with the

resources of the State, and was evidently gratified by our curiosity. He is a native of Catorce, where he has a share in several mines, and is moreover the proprietor of a large Hacienda, (Los Charcos,) with a fortune of 200,000 dollars, acquired entirely by his own exertions. A part of this fortune he has devoted to the public service, by advancing the money required for the establishment of the tobacco fabrica, (which, in 1826, produced 5,000 dollars monthly, and gave employment to two hundred poor people,) and by becoming a large subscriber to the College recently opened at San Luis Potosi, where instruction is given, free from all expense, to poor students, in Latin, Jurisprudence, Theology, and Constitutional rights.

This institution was founded by a voluntary subscription, for which, in six weeks, 42,000 dollars were collected. It contained fifty-six scholars, besides eighteen pensioners, the sons of respectable families, whose parents were able to contribute one hundred and forty dollars yearly towards the expenses of the establishment; and its flourishing state may be regarded as a proof both of the existence of more public spirit than travellers usually give the Mexicans credit for, and of a desire to improve, which must, in a little time, produce the most beneficial effects.

Nov. 26.—From San Luis to Bocas, twelve leagues.

The Hacienda of Bocas is one of "Cria y labor," (an estate both for breeding, and tillage.) It belongs, with the adjoining Hacienda of Crūces, to an *Obra pia*, or charitable institution, under the direction of the Conde del Peñasco. Bocas contains fourteen "Sitios;" Cruces thirty, on which there are 70,000 sheep, besides horses and mules. Bocas possesses no water for irrigation, and consequently does not reckon upon more than one good year in twenty for maize: in this, the ratio of increase amounts to four hundred, and four hundred and fifty for one. Of the intervening crops,

some are lost, but the price of maize seldom exceeds eight reals the fanega, and is often as low as four.

The Hacienda is situated upon a little eminence, in an opening of the hills, which extend across the plain on each side. A river runs at the foot of this ridge; and upon another eminence immediately opposite the house, there is a church, connected with it by a road and an avenue of trees.

The country between San Luis and Bocas is a plain, intersected at intervals by mountain ridges of no considerable height. The road, in the dry season, is good; but when we passed, it was so much injured by the rains, that we were ten hours in performing the twelve leagues.

Nov. 27.—We left Bōcăs early, and proceeded across a country alternately composed of sand and stones, covered with dwarf mimosas, the cactus, and the aloe, to La Hĕdĭōndă, a village seven leagues from Bōcăs, where we breakfasted. From thence to El Vĕnādŏ, another large Pueblo, which we reached at five in the evening, after ten hours travelling, there was not a single object of any interest, with the exception of the hares and rabbits, the number of which was really curious. The inhabitants of El Vĕnādŏ were all in the church upon our arrival, listening to the discourse of a Padre Misionero, whose powerful voice was heard in every corner of the Plaza, rising and falling with that peculiar monotony by which monkish oratory is generally distinguished. We took possession of the empty inn, and, finding the mistress very troublesome upon her return from chapel, we fairly ejected her from her own premises, and secured ourselves from interruption by closing the doors until the following morning, when the payment of her bill without dispute, for the use of her house and stables, reconciled her to her temporary banishment. Sleep, however, or quiet, was out of the question, for every room in the house, and every building near it, were occupied by game-cocks, bred for the Catorce market, and

just at that time in training for the great cock-fights in which the miners indulge during the Christmas holidays. About two in the morning, the noise made by these creatures became quite intolerable; and at six, we were happy to escape from it by commencing our journey.

Nov. 28.—We had a very long day before us, as it was our intention to sleep at the Hacienda of Guădălūpĕ Cārnĭcĕrŏ, eleven leagues from Cătōrcĕ, and eighteen from El Vĕnādŏ. Fortunately the road was good, particularly the latter part, which leads from the Real de Chārcās, (a town with about 5,000 inhabitants, six leagues from El Vĕnādŏ,) to the Hacienda, where we arrived before dusk. On the way we passed the Governor's Hacienda of Los Chārcos, surrounded by enclosures six or seven leagues in extent, walled in for "Ganado menor," (sheep and goats;) but the country was dreary and deserted, without water or cultivation. At Gŭadălūpĕ, maize cost thirty reals the fanega, (seven dollars and a half the Carga;) and we paid two dollars for permission to water our animals at the "Tanque" belonging to the estate.

Nov. 29.—From Guădălūpĕ to Cătōrcĕ, eleven leagues. During the whole of the way we left the metalliferous mountains of Cătōrcĕ, (running nearly due North and South,) to the East, and drew nearer by degrees to the Cañada, or opening, through which we were to ascend to the town. The name, (La Cañada de los Catorce,) is supposed to have been derived from the death of fourteen Spanish soldiers, who are said to have been killed there by a tribe of Indios Bravos, (unsubdued Indians,) by whom the mountains were inhabited before the discovery of the mines.

Nothing can be more bleak and dreary than the appearance of the whole Cordillera of Catorce: a few narrow mule-paths, or the white bed of a torrent indistinctly traced upon the surface, alone break the monotonous colouring of the mass; and the town, though placed at an immense height, is

invisible from below, being completely hidden by the brow of the mountain: not a tree, not a blade of grass is to be seen in its vicinity; yet fifty years ago the district was covered with forests, which might have lasted for centuries, had not the improvident and wasteful spirit of the first adventurers wantonly destroyed these treasures, which to their descendants would have proved invaluable. Whole woods were burnt in order to clear the ground, and the larger timber required for the mines is now brought from a distance of twenty-two leagues.

At the Cañada, where we arrived about two o'clock, the carriage was entirely unloaded, and its contents transferred to a number of asses, which we hired to convey them to the town. Mr. Macartney, the managing agent of the Catorce Company, had the goodness to take charge of the eldest little girl, with a horse perfectly accustomed to the roads; while Mrs. Ward, with the baby in her arms, was seated in a silla de manos, (a sort of sedan-chair, open before,) belonging to the Obregones, which was carried by four Indians. The ascent commences immediately upon leaving the Cañada, where there are a few Haciendas de beneficio, and two solitary trees; and continues without interruption until the very summit of the mountain is gained, about 1,600 feet above the level of the plain. The path is very narrow and rocky, without any sort of parapet on the side of the precipice; and as in many places there is hardly room for two persons to pass without touching, accidents frequently occur, particularly at the hours when the mules and asses are descending from the mines with ores for the Haciendas in the Cañada below. With an excellent horse it took me exactly one hour and ten minutes to reach the Campo Santo, from whence you first obtain a view of the town; and the rest of the party were much longer, particularly the Mexican maids, whose fears prevented them from riding, and who toiled up the whole way on foot. On reaching the highest ridge, you see Catorce

immediately below you, in a sort of hollow, beyond which again the mountain rises precipitately above a thousand feet, the course of the Veta Madre, or great Mother vein, being distinctly designated upon it by the buildings annexed to the mines. The situation of the town itself is very singular, as it is intersected by vast ravines, which occasion no little irregularity in the buildings, (many of the houses having one story on one side and two or three on the other,) and surrounded by masses of rock, amongst which the working classes seek a refuge from the inclemency of the weather. The view of the lights belonging to these hovels at night, scattered over the dark sides of the mountain, sometimes peeping forth from a barranca, and at others shining bright upon a little platform, so elevated and inaccessible that you can hardly suppose it to be the abode of any human being, is exceedingly singular. Catorce, however, notwithstanding the difficulties of the approach, is abundantly supplied with provisions; meat, fowls, fruit, and all other necessaries being brought from the *Tierra Caliente* to the East, as well as from the Table-land; and the competition in the market is so great, that maize, which, during the scarce season of 1826, had often been worth two and a half, and three dollars in the plains below, had been sold constantly in the town at two dollars the fanega.

We were lodged in a house belonging to the Catorce Company, situated in the principal street, (*La calle del Comercio,*) where we met with a most hospitable reception from Mr. Macartney; the house was exceedingly small, but we were infinitely more comfortable in it than we should have been in more spacious quarters, both from his kindness, and because we possessed the advantage of a fireplace, which the severity of the cold rendered a most valuable acquisition. The height of the town of Catorce above the level of the sea, according to the measures taken by Captain Wylde, and given to me by Colonel Grasses, is only 7,760 feet, or 292 feet higher

than Mexico; but a difference of four and a half degrees of latitude makes this elevation much more sensibly felt; and in the winter there are few colder spots than the summit of the Sierra of Catorce. The mine of La Purisima is 390 feet higher than the town, and the Cerro de la Leona 1,110 feet; but the whole range is exposed almost equally to the cold winds from the north and north-west, which sweep across it at times with incredible violence. To the east there is no protection, as the descent towards the coast commences almost immediately; and to the west, between Catorce and that branch of the Sierra Madre upon which the mineral deposits of Zacatecas, Fresnillo, and Sombrerete are situated, there is not a single intervening ridge.

I have heard doubts expressed with regard to the accuracy of the measurements by which the height of Catorce has been ascertained; and from the numberless accidents to which a barometer is exposed, it is certainly possible that Captain Wylde may have been deceived in the result of his observations. Most people are of opinion that the elevation exceeds considerably the 7,760 feet at which he has rated it, and they justify this belief in the following manner. On leaving the valley of Mexico there is an immediate descent of 767 feet into the valley of Tula, and this continues to increase as you advance from Arroyo Sarco towards the Băxĭŏ, Zĕlāyă being 1,138 feet, and Salamanca 1,707 feet below the level of the capital. Guănăjūatŏ rises again, and is only 633 feet lower than Mexico; and although from Mārfĭl to Sĭlāo and the Hacienda of Chichimiquillas, there is a considerable descent, the rise afterwards, in passing the mountains of La Tlachiquera, is so great, that the plains of San Juan de los Llanos are supposed to be but little inferior in elevation to those of the Capital itself. They are called by the natives El Espinazo (the back-bone) of the Table-land; and throughout the whole extent of this dreary ridge,

which stretches as far north as Saltillo, the stunted vegetation, and the scarcity of water, seems to designate it as one of the most elevated portions of the central plateau. There is a descent, indeed, into the valley of the Jărāl, and you afterwards rise but little between that place and San Luis Potosi, or between San Luis and the Cañada of Catorce; but the ascent to the town being at least 1,500 feet, the height of the plain would be only 6,200 feet above the level of the Gulf, if that of the Real itself be correctly computed. The question must be decided by a series of barometrical observations, taken both above and below; and I mention it upon this account as worthy of the attention of some future traveller.

Nov. 30.—We visited the Sŏcăbōn of La Purisima, the mines of El Serēno and Dolōres Trompeta, with the Socabon and mine of La Luz.

In order to reach these works you have to descend the North-eastern declivity of the range of mountains upon which the town stands, as far as the Potrero, a spacious platform, so little elevated above the level of the surrounding plains, that it is accessible to wheel-carriages. On the first discovery of the mines it was intended to build the town upon this spot, and many regret that this resolution was not adhered to; for water, which the Potrero wants, might have been easily conveyed to it by an aqueduct, while provisions and other necessaries would then have reached Catorce in carts, without the expense or risk with which their conveyance up the Cañada is at present attended. It is supposed that the Viceroy, Count Revilla Gigedo, was misled by the representations of some individuals, whose habitations were already built upon the present site of the town, to which a preference was consequently given for the construction of the Government Offices, and these determined the position of the rest.

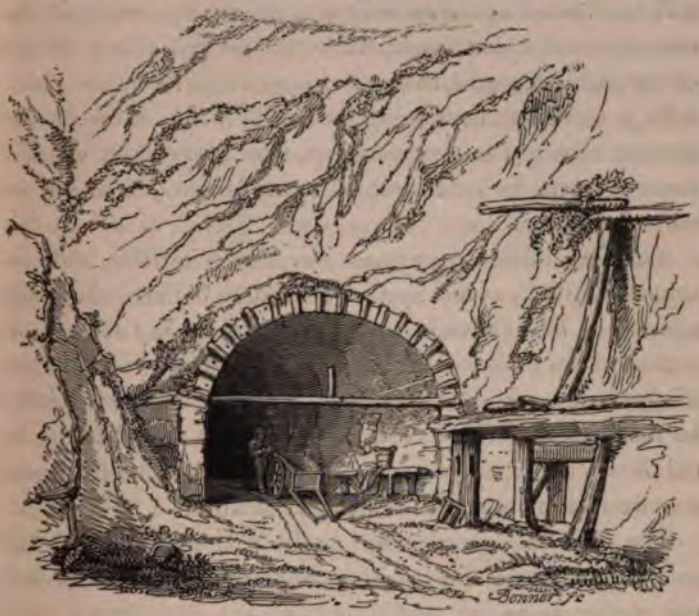
It is difficult to conceive any thing bolder than the idea of the Sŏcăbōn, (adit,) of La Purisima, or more magnificent than its execution. In order to understand its object, it is necessary to have an idea of the position of the Veta Madre, which, as already stated, occupies the whole side of the mountain above the town, running in a direction nearly due North-east and South-west, and varying in width from three to thirty, and in some parts, even forty varas. Upon this vein are situated a large proportion of the mines, from which the great wealth of Catorce has proceeded. The uppermost, La Purisima, is followed in regular succession as you descend towards the town, by the mines of Valenciana, San José, Guadalupe de Veta Grande, La Concepcion, Guădălŭpītŏ, La Estrella, Zacarias, and Dŏlōrĕs Mĕdĕllīn, all celebrated for their riches, and all, from the unskilful manner in which they were worked at first, encumbered with water in the lower levels, which it is extremely difficult to extract from above, although the riches of the vein are known to have been undiminished at the time when the workings were suspended. Amongst the mines thus abandoned by the original proprietors, is Dolores Medellin, which was in Bonanza in the lower levels when given up. To drain it and the neighbouring mine of Zacarias, a new shaft, called El Tiro del Compromiso, was sunk by a Company of Natives, at an expense of 170,000 dollars; but the enterprise was abandoned when the shaft had reached the depth of 280 varas from the surface, it being discovered that three malacates would not be sufficient to clear the mines of water. Such, however, was the opinion entertained of their value, that it was resolved to effect the object by bringing an adit, or *galerie d'écoulement*, from the level of the Potrēro, which, after passing through the whole of the mountain traversed by the Veta Madre, (called by the natives Barriga de Plata, from the immense quantity of that metal which it has produced,) would cut the

vein about eight yards west of the shaft of El Compromiso, at the depth of 277 varas from the surface, and just 2,000 varas from the mouth of the Socabon. The Company formed for this purpose consisted of the present Governor of the State (El Licenciado Diaz), Don Xavier Martin (the Diputado de Mineria), and Don Antonio Ŏrtīz, with many others of the most experienced practical miners of the district, each of whom took a share in the undertaking, and contributed his quota towards its expenses. The work was commenced in 1817, and in four years 755 varas were driven, at an expense of about fifty dollars per vara for manual labour, without including tools, powder, and other contingent charges. Six and even eight varas were sometimes driven in the week; and in 1818, when the expenses were heaviest, a payment of fifty dollars weekly was often required upon each share. In 1821, the reduced state of the district, in consequence of the emigration of the Spanish capitalists, and the unsettled aspect of affairs, compelled the shareholders to suspend their operations, which were not resumed until funds were supplied for the purpose by the Catorce Company, under whose superintendence, however, but little progress was made. Their first resident agent laid out a large sum in buildings for the reception of ores, houses for superintendents of works, and other superfluous improvements, such as throwing a bridge over a ravine, and commencing a road to the Hacienda purchased by the Company at El Cĕdrāl, but seemed to regard the adit, which alone could give value to these works, quite as a secondary undertaking. In twelve months it only advanced forty-five varas; and twelve hundred varas remained to be driven, when the derangement of the affairs of the Company, in consequence of the failure of the house of Goldschmidt, by which it was supported, put a stop to their operations altogether.

The dimensions of the Socabon, at the mouth, are eight varas high by six wide, but at the distance of six hundred

varas, its height is reduced to five and a half varas, and its width to five.

When first seen it has the appearance of a natural cavern.



The sides, where the strata through which the work is carried are soft, are secured by masonry, and it is expected that, before it reaches the Veta Madre, it will cut a number of other veins, which are known to traverse the mountain, any one of which that proves productive will furnish funds for the prosecution of the enterprise, as the extraction of the ore will be effected at once in carts. Should all these veins be cut in " Borrasca," which it is difficult to suppose, the total expense of driving the 1,200 varas that remain, is estimated by the gentlemen by whom the work has been hitherto conducted, at 250,000 dollars, including a most liberal allowance for every contingent charge. Ultimate success is regarded as certain; for in the mine of La Purisima, which has been worked to the depth of 550 varas, (or eighty varas below the

level of the adit,) the ores of the Veta Madre are found not to diminish in richness, nor the vein itself to decrease in width. Besides, as the drainage of all the mines above the Socabon will be effected by it, according to the mining laws, (the due observance of which is secured by the interest that a number of the most influential natives, who are engaged in the undertaking, will have in enforcing them,) the whole of these mines become tributary to the company, which receives a share of the ores of all the levels drained by its labours, on the upper part of the vein.

The Tiro of El Compromiso was begun in 1804, and continued till 1807, at an expense of 168,000 dollars. It is now allowed by all to have been an ill-judged work, although the native miners maintain that the quality of the ores of Dolores Medellin was such as to justify almost any expense that could be incurred in order to reach them. Don José Vărēdă, an old Rēscătădōr, informed me that he had himself reduced ores from it of eight marcs to the arroba.

The Catorce Company has twelve Barras, or a full half share in the adit of La Purisima, without "Alimentos," and the outlay is to be repaid out of the first fruits. The stores, tools, &c. required for the work are to be furnished by the Company at the invoice price, with a profit allowed by the Mexican proprietors of twenty-five per cent.

The mines of Sereno and Dolōres Trompeta, likewise belong to the Company, and may be regarded as one mine, since the workings communicate under-ground. They are situated close to the mouth of the adit, upon the vein of Dolores. The vein is narrow, but the ores are rich, and a considerable quantity has been extracted since the mine came into the possession of the Company; there is therefore little doubt as to the repayment of the 36,000 dollars, which, (including 12,000 dollars advanced to the proprietors,) have been laid out upon this "negotiation." It is however not comparable in importance with the great adit, connected, as

that undertaking is, with contracts for several of the principal mines upon the Veta Madre, as Guadalupito and Estrella, both of which the Company holds, in addition to those of Zacarias and Dolores Medellin, of which I have already spoken. Respecting these, the most enthusiastic expectations are entertained by the natives, who all conceive that the day upon which the Socabon of La Purisima strikes the Veta Madre will be the commencement of a new epoch in the annals of Catorce, equal in splendour to that of the discovery of the district in 1773, when an addition of nearly four millions of dollars annually was made to the mining produce of New Spain.

Besides these mines, the Company possesses that of Zăvālă, commonly called "Del Padre Flores," from the name of its first proprietor; the history of which is exceedingly curious, although the expectations of future produce are by no means great.

In 1778, when the fame of the riches of Catorce attracted settlers from every side, the Padre Flores was amongst their number, and, unwilling to remain idle where all were employed in seeking the gifts of fortune, he purchased for 700 dollars a mine recently denounced upon a little vein nearly due north of the town, where he began to work. After following some little "Hilitos," or threads of rich ore, to about twenty varas from the surface, a small Boveda, or vaulted chamber, was discovered, full of a loose metalliferous earth, so completely impregnated with particles of silver, that it was bought up at once by the Rescatadores, at the price of one dollar for the pound weight of ore. Neither powder nor the usual implements of mining were required for the extraction of this earth, which was, in fact, nothing more than extremely rich ores in a state of decomposition. The first Boveda was small in comparison with a second, situated about sixty feet lower, and full of the same metalliferous dust, with which the Costales (miners' sacks) were actually filled with

the horn Cucharas (spoons) used in making the "Tentadura," (essaying the richness of the ore.) The Bonanza commenced in 1781, and lasted till the middle of 1783, during which period the Padre Flores received for his share of the profits three millions and a half of dollars; and this, (be it recollected,) at a time when, in order to obtain a sufficient number of workmen, the "Partido," or share of the ore raised assigned to the miners, often amounted at Catorce to one-*half* of the produce, and was hardly ever less than one-third. The profits of the Rescatadores, too, are supposed to have been very large, as, notwithstanding the price paid for the carga, (300 dollars,) at the mouth of the shaft, they came even from Leon and Guanajuato to purchase the ores, and afterwards carried them a distance of sixty and eighty leagues to their Haciendas. The total amount of the silver raised during the three years, may therefore be estimated at from six to seven millions of dollars; it being upon record, that sales to the amount of 64,000 dollars were sometimes effected in a day.

The celebrity of the mine of Zăvālă drew adventurers from all quarters to the spot, and the ground about the Pertinencia of the Padre Flores is poached in every direction by shafts sunk in the hope of discovering such another "Bolsa de Dios Padre," ("Purse of Our Father above," by which impious name he designated his mine,) as had fallen to his lot. But the boldest measure was that of the Conde del Peñasco, who, having contrived to obtain possession of the papers belonging to the mine of Zăvālă, (deposited in the Mining Deputation of the district,) removed in one night the "Mofaneros," or land-marks, which serve to distinguish the different "Pertinencias," sunk a little shaft close to Zăvālă, and drove a cross-cut from it directly into the Padre's treasure-chamber, from which he carried off a very large sum (in ores) before his operations could be stopped by the interven-

tion of the tribunals. Indeed, as the title-deeds had been secreted, it is difficult to say how the affair would have been brought to a decision, had not ecclesiastical censures been resorted to, which in that age were still all-powerful. The Conde was compelled, by a sentence of excommunication, to give up the stolen papers, and to ask pardon on his knees of the Padre for the fraud practised upon him. This the Padre not only granted, but cancelled, at the same time, the debt which the Count had incurred by the extraction of ores in so unwarrantable a manner.

This story could hardly be deemed worthy of credit, were it not confirmed at the present day by several contemporaries of the Bonanza, as well as by the evidence of written documents which I have seen. I have likewise visited the two Bovedas, in the second of which the mouth of the cross-cut driven by the Count's orders is still distinctly visible.

The most peculiar circumstance in the Bonanza of Zăvālă is the total absence of a vein; not a vestige of which is to be seen either in the mine, or any where in its vicinity, with the exception of the little Veta de San Francisco, which is just visible at the mouth of a socabon begun by the Company at the foot of the hill upon which the mine is situated. This socabon is intended to explore the mountain immediately below the great Boveda, at the depth of about 150 varas. It must be 340 varas in length; and the expense is estimated at 60,000 dollars. But although it might not be imprudent to risk this sum, in order to investigate satisfactorily a spot productive of such immense riches, the terms of the contract are so unfavourable as to render any idea of working the mine entirely out of the question; the Company having only *ten* Barras, for which they were to pay 20,000 dollars as "Alimentos," to be repaid, together with all other expenses, out of one half of the produce, the other half going to the Mexican proprietors. These onerous conditions determined

Mr. Stokes, the present director of the Catorce Company, to give up the undertaking at once, and Zăvālă is abandoned, probably for ever.

From Dolores Trompeta we proceeded along the Potrero to the mine of El Refugio, or La Luz, (it is known by both names,) denounced in 1804 by the Licenciado Gordoa. During the first two years he was nearly ruined, the mine having required a very considerable outlay, and produced no profits; but, in 1806, a Bonanza commenced, which can hardly yet be said to have terminated. In the course of it, Gordoa has acquired a fortune of one million of dollars, and the estate of Mal Passo, near Zacatecas, for which he paid 700,000 dollars more. In 1815 and 1816, the extraction of the ores of La Luz became extremely difficult, in consequence of the great depth of the lower levels; but the present Governor of the State, who was at that time residing at Catorce, and acting as Gordoa's representative, undertook to apply to it a socabon, originally projected for the mine of La Purisima, the levels of which it would enter at about 412 varas from the surface. The measures for this socabon, the mouth of which (like that of La Purisima,) is situated in the Potrero, were taken by two native miners, Don José Maria Varēda, and Don Antonio Ŏrtīz, and the work commenced after the rainy season of 1817. On the 25th of April, 1822, the vein was cut 715 varas from the mouth of the socabon. A communication was immediately effected with the old workings above, which were drained by this new channel, while a shaft was sunk in order to explore the vein below, which, when I saw it, was 150 varas in depth; the ore is raised by a malacate, erected in a large excavation made for the purpose in the side of the socabon.

This noble work is six varas broad and five high. An aqueduct runs down one side for carrying off the water from the shaft, while the ores are brought to the "despacho," or

receiving-room, in carts. The ventilation is excellent, and we were much struck with the order and regularity apparent in every part of the establishment, in which from four to six hundred men are employed daily. The mine, at the end of 1826, was not "de buenas," that is, was not producing good ores; and it was even supposed that there would be a deficit of from three to four thousand dollars upon the year; but Don Xavier Martin informed me that, as Rescatador, he had frequently purchased ores there at the rate of 300 dollars per carga, (of 300lbs.) and that he once, from eleven pounds of ore, from a particular working called El Ojo de San Pedro, obtained nine marcs and six ounces of silver: the ore was what is called "metal azue," (blue metal,) the value of which he happened to be the first to discover. In 1825, the weekly sales of La Luz frequently amounted to 20,000 dollars. My desire to be acquainted with its proprietor was much diminished by learning that for fourteen years he had not seen his mine, never having had the curiosity even to visit the beautiful works that have been executed there by his agents. Passing from one extreme to the other, he now dreads incurring the slightest expense, that the mine itself will not cover; and the administrador informed me, that should another six months elapse without profits, the whole establishment would probably be broken up.

The socabon has been continued about 100 varas in the direction of the Purisima, beyond the point where the vein of La Luz was cut; but the work is now suspended. Five hundred varas more are required in order to reach the Veta Madre, the whole distance being calculated at 1,300 varas, of which 814 are already driven. The other great adit (that of La Purisima) is 700 varas longer, and consequently will be attended with more expense; but it has the advantage of intersecting the Veta Madre at a much lower point, and of thus rendering tributary several mines in lieu of one.

Dec. 1.—We visited La Purisima, and Concepcion, Guadalupe de Veta Grande, and the other mines upon the mother vein.

The two first belong to the family of the Obregones; and the brothers, Don Lorenzo and Don Isadoro Obregon, reside at Catorce, in order to superintend the works. The Purisima was discovered in 1780 by some wood-cutters, who denounced the spot, in consequence of having found some lumps of silver attached to the roots of a tree there, but sold their title for 300 dollars to Don José Antonio Dāvălŏs, who again made over a half share in the mine to the father of the Obrĕgōnĕs, on condition that he should be at the expense of sinking a shaft, of which the mine was in want. The first great Bŏnānză began in 1787, and continued for more than twenty years, in which time the mine was sunk to its present depth, 536 varas. It has now three shafts, one below the other; and this increases the difficulties of the drainage so much, that many are of opinion that it can only be effected by the adit of La Luz, which, as already stated, would enter the lower levels at the depth of 412 varas. The mine, however, is still kept "Amparada" by the present proprietors; that is to say, men enough are employed upon it, from time to time, to preserve a legal right of possession; and in a good week, ores to the amount of four or five hundred dollars are occasionally raised.

The Concepcion belonged originally to Don Bernade Cĕpĕdă, who sold the mine in borrasca to the Ăgūirĕs, with whom Obrĕgōn made a contract similar to that concluded with Davalos for the Purisima. In 1798, a Bonanza commenced, that only terminated with the Revolution.

During the war, the mine was neglected, and became gradually full of water; in consequence of which, a contract was concluded with the house of Gordon and Murphy for a steam-engine, by which it was hoped that the drainage might be speedily effected.

This engine, the first of the kind transmitted to Mexico, was sent out, in 1821, by a special permission from the Spanish Government, and landed at Tampico in May 1822. Its conveyance from this place into the interior was entrusted principally to Mr. Robert Phillips, whom I found in charge of the machinery at the time of my visit. Of the hardships endured, and the perseverance and activity displayed by him in the execution of this task, I can give no better idea than by publishing an account of his journey, as drawn up by himself, which will be found in the Appendix, (Letter A.) The engine did not reach Catorce until the 11th November, 1822; the caravan having found it necessary to proceed as far North as Monterey, in order to reach the Puerto de los Muertos, the only spot north of Jălāpă at which it is possible for a wheel-carriage to ascend from the coast to the Table-land. They afterwards proceeded by Saltillo to Catorce, and deposited the boilers, and all the larger pieces of machinery at the Potrero, from whence they were drawn up to the summit of the mountain by means of pulleys, and a six-inch rope, an operation which it required four whole days to effect.

Unfortunately a fatal error had been committed in not sending out iron-pipes for the pumps. Wood was not to be procured at Catorce, and was brought at a vast expense from La Huasteca, (the *Tierra Caliente* below;) but when bored, the timber proved unable to sustain the weight of the column of water, raised from the depth of 300 varas; and, after a great loss of time, Mr. Phillips was sent to Cincinnati, (on the Mississippi,) where he succeeded in procuring cast-iron pipes. With these he returned to Catorce, in September 1825, and on the 1st of June, 1826, the engine again began to work. In November, the mine was almost entirely drained; but the working was not carried on with activity on account of the want of funds.

It is hardly to be expected that the Aviadores, or "Habilitators," will ever derive much advantage from the specula-

tion, as they have no confidential agent upon the spot, and have not attempted to interfere personally in the management. All the absurd charges established in the infancy of Catorce in order to attract workmen, have been renewed at Concepcion. Besides a "Partido," varying from one-half to one-fourth, (the quantity diminishing as the ores increase in value,) the "Cuchara," or share, of the Administrador swallows up one-tenth of the whole *produce* of the mine, whether the ores raised prove sufficient to cover the weekly expenses or not. This lucrative situation is held by a Mr. Medina, whom the Habilitators selected as their confidential agent; and who, after making over one-third of his profits to Don Isidoro Ŏbrĕgōn, as an inducement to undertake the whole management of the concern, lives in comfort and idleness upon the remainder at San Luis Potosi. His profits during the year 1825, when the mine *lost*, are said to have been 20,000 dollars. The produce of 1825 was, however, considerable; a *clavo rico* having been discovered in the upper levels, overlooked in former times, which produced, when worked, 80,000 dollars. Out of this the castings for the steam-engine, and a part of the money advanced upon the mine by Mr. Dollar, were paid.

It is through this gentleman, whose contracts were made over to the Anglo-Mexican Association, that the Company now holds a share in the Concepcion. They have likewise made some trifling advances upon the mine themselves, one moiety of which has been already repaid. Of the goodness of the mine there is as little doubt as of the power of the engine to drain it, if it be regularly worked; but the system at present pursued is so bad, and the misunderstandings between the "Aviadores" and the proprietors so frequent, that but little is to be expected from the undertaking. Seventeen and a half per cent. (including the share of the administrador, a tax of five per cent. called capilla, and another of two and a half per cent. in favour of a doctor who does not exist,) are

now deducted from the produce, and distributed amongst those more immediately connected with the mine: the remainder barely covers the "memorias," or weekly expenses; and while this plan is adhered to, there is little difficulty in predicting the result.

Besides the share in Concepcion, the Anglo-Mexican Company holds at Catorce contracts for the mines of Guadalupe de Veta Grande and Milagros. Both of these are regarded as undertakings of great promise; but the terms upon which the Company has undertaken to work them are so onerous, that it is absolutely impossible that the drainage should proceed until the contracts are cancelled, and more equitable conditions substituted for them. In Guadalupe, for instance, the "Habilitators" have only six barras, or *one-fourth*, for which they paid at once 20,000 dollars as "alimentos," and bound themselves to lay out 100,000 dollars upon the mine. Should this prove insufficient, for every additional sum of 20,000 dollars advanced by them, they are to receive an additional barra until they have acquired nine barras, which number they are not to exceed. The Company would therefore pay 180,000 dollars in all for something more than one-third of the mine; and this, in a district where the possibility of obtaining more favourable terms has been so clearly demonstrated by the contracts concluded by Mr. Crawford, on the part of the Catorce Company, with the Governor and Don Xavier Martin, for the socabon of La Purisima, and the mines upon the Veta Madre connected with it; in all of which the "aviadores" are allowed a full half, without "alimentos" or advances of any kind, except those required for the prosecution of the work itself.

In Milagros the works had been suspended in consequence of a law-suit with the proprietor.

The Veta Descubridora of Catorce was worked as early as 1773: it is situated to the N.N.W. of the town, and has never produced a single good mine; nor were the riches con-

cealed in its vicinity suspected until 1778, when a free black, by name Milagros, a wandering musician, returning across the Sierra late in the evening from Mătĕhūală, where he had been employed at some village fête, lost his horse, and being forced, in consequence, to pass the night in the mountains, lighted a large fire upon the spot where the shaft of Milagros was afterwards sunk. In the morning he discovered a cake of silver amongst the embers, upon which he immediately denounced the vein, and is said to have drawn from it, within ten yards of the surface, ores producing sixty marcs of silver to the carga.

But before this denunciation, which first attracted the attention of the public, Don Bernabé Cĕpēdă was working the mine of Gŭadălūpĕ on the Veta Madre, in the midst then of impenetrable forests, and sending silver to Mătĕhūălă, and other places, to be reduced, without any one knowing from whence it proceeded. The good fortune of Mĭlāgrŏs soon covered the barren rocks with inhabitants. Shafts were sunk upon the Veta Madre in rapid succession, the most important of which I have already enumerated; and other veins were discovered, some intersecting the great mother-vein, as that of La Luz, and others perfectly distinct from it, as those of Zavala, Dolores Trompeta, and San Ramon.

The principal mines upon the vein of La Luz were San Geronimo and Santa Ana, which belonged to Captain Zuñiga, of whose will I have already made mention. He bequeathed four millions of dollars for charitable institutions, reserving a fund for working his mines, which appears to have been swallowed up, together with all other judicial deposits, during the Revolution. The great Bonanzas of his mines began in 1787 and 1789.

The mine of San Rămōn belonged, together with the mines of Dolores and Sereno, to Don Jorge Parodi, a Genoese, and produced, in 1787, a Bonanza of two millions of dollars. The richness of the ores may be inferred from the fact, that

those of the mine of Serreno, which yield five and six marcs of Silver per carga, were regarded as unworthy of attention, and the workings not extended beyond their present depth of one hundred and thirty-seven varas: while the vein of San Ramon was explored in all its ramifications with the greatest care.

Zuniga, on his arrival at Catorce, was merely a muleteer, who visited the mountains with supplies for the newly discovered district; meat and every other necessary being then paid for almost *à peso de plata*, (by their weight in silver.) Encouraged by the examples of sudden riches which he saw around him, he sold his mules, and purchased with the proceeds (about 2,000 dollars) the two mines from which he afterwards derived such enormous wealth. They were at that time "catas," that is, new denunciations, without a shaft, or any other requisite; but the ores were rich at the very surface, and the Rescatadores, who flocked to Catorce from the neighbouring districts, enabled him to convert the produce at once into dollars, and thus to prosecute his works with great activity. His title of captain he bought in his more prosperous days; indeed, it appears that, from his munificence, he almost bought the Viceroy himself; for on the great Besamanos days in Mexico, he used to appear at court with a pocket-handkerchief full of gold toys, and tell Branciforte, (at that time Viceroy,) as he passed him almost without a salute, and proceeded to the private apartments of the Vicequeen, "I don't come to see your Excellency; *Soy un barbaro, y no sé nada de Cortes*, (I am a barbarian, and know nothing of courts,) *vengo a ver a mi nina*, (I come to see my little girl,)" the Viceroy's daughter, on whom the contents of the handkerchief were of course bestowed.

Most of those who made fortunes at Catorce, were men like Zuñiga, of little education, and no resources. Parodi, Don Pedro Medellin, (the proprietor of the mine of Dolores,) and twenty others, whose names it would be useless to enu-

merate, were all "*barbaros*;" and the extravagance of their expenditure was such as might have been expected from the facility with which their wealth was acquired. Medellin, upon one occasion, spent six-and-thirty thousand dollars upon an entertainment given in honour of a godchild at Saltillo; and at the time when the Partido amounted to one-third of the ores raised, common miners have been known to lose two and three thousand dollars in a morning at a cock-fight. Fortunately, there were some exceptions, and though the descendents of the more prudent adventurers, who invested in land a part of their profits, have all quitted the vicinity of Catorce, and purchased property in more fertile districts, their estates still bear evidence to the richness of the mineral deposits from which they proceeded. The Dāvălŏs purchased large Haciendas near Aguas Calientes. The Obregones at Leon. The Aguirres established themselves at Mătĕhūālă, and are proprietors of the great Hacienda of Văněgăs. The Padre Flores acquired large estates in Zăcătēcăs. The Licenciado Gŏrdoă, (proprietor of La Luz,) has done the same: and in addition to these a number of small fortunes were made, varying from sixty to one hundred thousand dollars, by Spaniards, all of whom have removed to Europe since 1810, with their capitals.

The present produce of the district, in which there was not, in December 1826, a single mine in Bonanza, varies from fifty to seventy bars of Silver monthly.* There being no mint at San Luis, the greatest part of these bars are transmitted to Zacatecas, and coined in the mint there; but many are sent direct to Refugio, at the mouth of the river Bravo, where they are exchanged for contraband goods from New Orleans and the Havana, with which Catorce is better supplied than any other place in the Federation. Almost every house in the town is a shop, and you may find in them

* By official returns in my possession, it appears, from January to November, (1826,) 785 bars had been sent to San Luis.

French and Spanish wines, Virginia and Havana tobacco, Catalan paper in abundance, (all articles most strictly prohibited,) with European linens, cottons, and hard-ware, mantas, and even furniture from the United States, which are introduced through Refugio, where the duties are never very burthensome, even in cases where their payment is not entirely evaded. The goods are landed upon the coast by small American schooners, and afterwards conveyed into the Interior by a sort of mixed breed of French, Spaniards, and Italians, who are perfectly acquainted with the country and the wants of the different towns, and time their remittances accordingly. Several of these adventurers were pointed out to me, who came to Catorce, at first, with a board of images upon their heads, but now rank amongst the most respectable *merchants* of the place. Throughout Mexico, indeed I believe in every part of Spanish America, they are ignorant of the distinction made in Europe between the wholesale and the retail trade. There is nothing at all inconsistent with their ideas of propriety in keeping a shop: a "tienda" is, on the contrary, attached to every Hacienda, and the proprietor regards the profit on the sale of the goods, with which it is his business to keep it supplied, as a part of his yearly income. This was always done, too, in remote parts of the country in great mining "negotiations;" and thus the wages of the miners being naturally exchanged at the shop for the supplies of which they might be in want, a small capital was sufficient to keep up the circulating medium required, the whole of the weekly issues returning almost immediately into the hands of the proprietors. In some instances, where dollars were scarce, checks upon the shops were given for the amount due to each labourer, and thus a sort of paper circulation created, which was seldom objected to where the credit of the adventurers was tolerably well established.

At Catorce, the Governor of San Luis has two shops, from which he derives a very considerable addition to his income;

but his principal profits consist in the trade in "bars" of silver, which, as it is now organized, affords to any capitalist a very profitable investment, unaccompanied by any risk.

The silver is bought up from the poorer miners and rescatadores, who are anxious to convert it into ready money as speedily as possible, at seven dollars and six reals the marc. At San Luis the mint price is eight dollars and two reals. The "Bar" contains 136 marcs, which, at four reals profit upon each, leave 540 reals, or sixty-seven dollars and a half, to the purchaser, out of which must be deducted two dollars for the carriage of the "bar" to San Luis, and two dollars more for commission and agency there and at Catorce. The net profit is therefore sixty-three dollars and a half on each bar, and in an establishment where thirty and forty bars are negotiated monthly, the amount at the end of the year is very considerable.

I have given these details upon a subject, which to many of my readers may appear unimportant, in order to exemplify the possibility of silver being sold in the more remote districts, at four and four and a half dollars the marc during the Revolution, although the mint price was never less than eight dollars, and two or four reals. It will be seen that there is nothing improbable in the fact, since in time of peace, and within fifty leagues of the capital of a mining state, the sacrifice of four reals upon the marc is still made, in order to obtain immediate supplies in dollars. As the produce of the country increases, these supplies will become more abundant, and the profits of the capitalist diminish in proportion; but much time will probably elapse before the present rate of discount* can materially decrease.

Of the great Haciendas, or amalgamation works of Catorce

* I hardly know whether the term of "discount" can be properly applied to the operation which I have just described. European bankers, however, would probably be glad to be able to effect their discounts upon so substantial a substitute for paper.

I can say nothing, as I was prevented from visiting them by the distance, and the extreme badness of the roads. I was informed, however, that those belonging to the Catorce Company, the Governor, and the principal rescatadores, at El Cĕdral, Vănēgăs, and Mătĕhūālă, are all upon the model of those of Guanajuato, and, in general, extremely well conducted. The spots selected for most of them abound, (comparatively at least,) in wood, water, and forage, the extreme dearness of which in the Real itself sufficiently accounts for the state of wretchedness to which all similar establishments there are reduced. An arroba of common Zacate, (dry grass,) costs at Catorce from one and a half to three reals. Maize rises during moments of scarcity to eight and ten dollars the fanega. The ordinary price is from two to three dollars, and even at this the expense of maintaining the number of mules required for a large establishment of tahonas, or arrastres, where water-power cannot be applied, would be enormous. It is on this account that every possible mode of shortening the process of amalgamation has been resorted to by the rescatadores of Catorce, who have introduced a mode of treating the poorer ores, called El beneficio de Cazo, which is but little known in other districts. The ores are prepared for this process by washing, upon an inclined plane, (La Planilla,) which is in fact a bad substitute for the concentrating machine, mentioned in the preceding book. When separated, as much as possible, from the earthy particles, they are placed in a large cauldron, with a copper bottom, called El Cazo, below which a fire is kept up. The metalliferous earth is then diluted with water, until it becomes quite of a thin consistency, when salt is added, (p^{a}. limpiar, castrar,) and quicksilver in the usual proportion; this is not, however, thrown in until the fluid has been in a boiling state for at least two hours. The whole is kept in motion by a man provided with a rake, (rastrillo,) and in six hours the incorporation of the quicksilver with a portion of the silver is generally found to

have taken place. The water is then drawn off, and the residue (called polvillos) submitted to the ordinary process in the Patio, not more than one-half of the silver being extracted in the Cazo. The same process is sometimes carried on upon a larger scale, the Cazo being made to resemble an arrastre in shape, with a fire beneath, while the contents are kept in constant motion by two large blocks of wood, attached (like the blocks of granite in the arrastre) to a revolving cross-beam, worked by a mule. This system is termed "Beneficio del fondon, a caballo," and is infinitely more productive than that of the simple Cazo; as, from the weight of the blocks, there is no deposit, and the action of the mercury upon the ores is much promoted. If the boiling be continued sixteen hours in lieu of eight, there seldom remains any thing for the patio; but as the process is attended with more expense, it is seldom resorted to.

We remained at Catorce five whole days, being constantly induced to defer our departure by the number of objects that unexpectedly claimed our attention. During this interval I visited all the mines described in the preceding pages, nor can I sufficiently express my obligations to their proprietors for the readiness with which they answered my innumerable inquiries, and supplied me with every information that it was in their power to convey. They all seemed most anxious that the resources of their district should be made known to Europe, for they consider its future prosperity as intimately connected with that of the Company, by which they hope to see the Veta Madre restored to its pristine splendour, and they imagine, not without some reason, that the recent discouragement of European Capitalists has proceeded more from a doubt as to the producing powers of the country, than from any other cause.

I have seldom witnessed more hospitality, or a more friendly feeling towards foreigners, than was evinced at Ca-

torce. Nor was this a display elicited by my visit, for I was assured by the agents of both the companies that they had uniformly met with the most kind and liberal treatment, and that the good understanding which prevailed in 1826, had not upon any occasion been interrupted. With regard to ourselves, nothing could exceed the politeness with which we were treated. On the 3d of December, the day before our departure, we dined with a very large party at the Obregones, whose table might certainly have induced a belief that the Concepcion was in Bonanza, for a more magnificent display of dishes I have seldom seen, and many of them were brought from a distance of fifty and sixty leagues. In the evening we went to a ball, at which most of the belles of the place were assembled. We found the same scarcity of gloves and corsets amongst the ladies, as at Guănăjūatŏ, but segars were countless; and though the old Mexican mackaw dress of 1823, (scarlet and yellow, with pink or green shoes,) prevailed in overpowering purity, the brilliancy of the colours was rendered less intolerable by the clouds of white smoke, in which the wearers were enveloped. The utmost good-humour however prevailed, as soon as the apprehensions of "etiqueta rigurosa," which the presence of so formidable a person as Mrs. Ward at first occasioned, had a little subsided: a Padre Dominicano had the goodness to play us some national airs upon a harpsichord, which had penetrated into these elevated regions; and a valse figurée was danced with the guitar, (played alternately by the lady and gentleman while dancing,) which, if not particularly decent, was at least singular, and executed with great precision.

On the following morning we took leave of our numerous friends, to many of whom I was indebted for some very valuable additions to my mineralogical collection, and descended, accompanied by a number of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, to the Cañada, where our coach was already

loaded, and only waiting our arrival in order to commence its route towards Sōmbrĕretĕ, which was the next place of importance on our road towards the North.

The descent from Catorce is much more formidable than the approach to the town from below. Yet so familiarised had we become with rocks and precipices, that Mrs. Ward did not think of dismounting, but rode down to the Cañada without apprehension. She had indeed served a pretty good apprenticeship during her residence in the place, for the road to the two Sŏcābōnĕs of La Purisima and La Luz, to both of which she accompanied me, is infinitely worse than that to the Cañada; and even the ascent to the Veta Madre, which she visited two or three times, in order to get a good drawing of the town from the Tiro del Compromiso, is not without danger.

SECTION III.

JOURNEY FROM CATORCE TO SOMBRERETE.—MINES OF THAT DISTRICT.

On quitting the Cañada of Catorce (Dec. 4), we began to pass what we all termed the Desert, or, in other words, a plain, extending, without any other variety than the occasional undulations of the surface, from the mountains of Cătōrcĕ to those of Zăcătēcās, a distance of nearly seventy leagues. The whole of this space is covered with a sort of mimosa, with very long thorns; another smaller shrub, the name of which I do not know, but which resembles the box in the shape and colour of its leaf; mezquites, and dwarf palms, bearing a fruit not unlike the real date in appearance, and by no means unpalatable. Water there is none, except in vast "tanques," or reservoirs, kept up at a considerable expense, as it is upon them that the proprietors rely for the preservation of the enormous flocks of sheep, and goats, which are bred upon their estates. Not a field of maize, or a trace of cultivation, is to be seen; and the country, like the Steppes of the Crimea, seems only intended to be inhabited by a nomade race.

Having been furnished with a route, in which the Rancho of San Francisco was put down as our first night's lodging, and the distance stated to be only ten leagues from Catorce,

we left the Colorado late, and proceeded until four in the afternoon, when we discovered, to our great dismay, the ruins of two Indian huts, to which the name of San Francisco may formerly have been given, but which we found to contain neither water nor maize, nor any symptoms of having been inhabited for many years. We were accordingly compelled to push on to El Bozāl, another Rancho about six leagues further on, where we did not arrive until eight o'clock, having lost a good deal of time at San Francisco in an attempt to hunt some of our horse mules for the carriage; an operation, which, in the open plain, was, as usual, attended with considerable difficulty. At the Bozāl we found four families residing in as many wretched hovels, the best of which was given up by the inhabitants to Mrs. Ward and the children, while Mr. Martin and I put up our beds in a hut, that usually served as a kitchen, and which, in order to give free egress to the smoke, was open both at the roof and sides. Dr. Wilson, Mr. Carrington, and Don Rafael, slept in the open air, within the fence of dwarf palms that surrounded Mrs Ward's habitation. Under ordinary circumstances, such a bivouac would have been no more than what we were all prepared to expect, but I had unfortunately been attacked at Chihuahua by a violent rheumatism in the right shoulder, which gave me excruciating pain towards morning, when a Norther came sweeping over the plain, shaking to its very foundation the frail tenement in which we had taken up our quarters, and carrying away the cloaks and mangas by which we attempted to protect ourselves from its violence. I seldom recollect having suffered more acutely than I did during this storm, and at daybreak, when we began to flatter ourselves with the hope of reaching more comfortable quarters, we found that our chance of being able to proceed at all was exceedingly precarious. As no maize could be procured for the horses and mules on our arrival, they were turned out to make the most of the dwarf or long grass with which the

Drawn by Mr. H. Ward.
Pub. by H. Colburn, London, 1828.
J. Clark, Sculp.

plains about the Bŏzāl abounded; and the servants, instead of placing one of the party to watch their motions during the night, abandoned them entirely to their fate, conceiving that they would not wander far from the houses, and the great "tanque" in their vicinity, at which alone water was to be procured. The consequence was, as might have been foreseen, that in the morning not a single animal was to be found; and although a few of the most quietly disposed were discovered at no great distance, and secured, yet even with their assistance it took the servants the whole of the early part of the day to hunt down a portion of the remainder, whose tracks they followed across the endless plain until they were themselves quite bewildered amongst the rows of dwarf palms, and could only return to the Bŏzāl by retracing their steps. With the assistance of some Rancheros from the Hacienda of Sierra Hermosa, to which the Bŏzāl belongs, the search was renewed, and towards evening all our stud was brought in, with the exception of eight of the carriage-mules, which, being bred in Durango, appeared to have taken a northerly direction by themselves. As there was nothing to stop them between the Bŏzāl and the United States, pursuit seemed useless, and we gave them up for lost, after begging the Rancheros, should any stragglers be discovered amongst their own herds, to send them after us to Siĕrră Hĕrmōsă, where we resolved to stop one day for the chance of their coming up. The wind continued with undiminished violence during the twenty-four hours that we passed at the Bŏzāl; it did not, however, cause us much inconvenience, as we took refuge during the day in Mrs. Ward's apartment, which was not only nearly air-tight, but curiously adorned with household furniture, some cocks and hens, and a fine collection of religious plates.

Provisions would have been scarce, however, had not the flocks of the Conde del Jărāl, upon whose estates we again were, come down most opportunely to water at the "tanque."

With much difficulty we prevailed upon the shepherds to let us have a sheep, which was very expeditiously disposed of by the hungry servants. The men would not take money for their charge, but required a written receipt, which we gave them, and they then left us to settle our accounts with the "Administrador" of Sĭerră Hermosa, who, as usual, refused to receive any thing. Don Rafael, and El Niño,* (by which name young Carrington was always designated amongst the Mexicans,) added a number of ducks, which they shot upon the reservoir, to our mutton broth; and as we had brought some bread with us from Catorce, we fared sumptuously, although disappointed in our hopes of getting any of the deer, which the servants had seen in herds of fifty and sixty while in pursuit of the horses. I was prevented from attempting to lift a gun myself, not being able to raise my arm.

Dec. 6.—Finding it impossible to reach the Hacienda in one day, we proceeded to another Rancho, called Săn Ignācĭŏ, nine leagues from the Bŏzāl. I was forced to perform this day's journey in the coach, being absolutely unable to mount my horse; nor do I know how long I might have been deprived of the use of my arm, had I not discovered an admirable remedy for the rheumatism in the Maguey brandy given to us at the Jărāl. I moistened some flannel with this spirit, and had the arm rubbed until excoriation was produced, which had the effect of entirely relieving pain, and of even removing the stiffness in the course of a few days. We found at Săn Ignācĭŏ one good "adobe," hut, which was given up to us with great good-humour by

* The "Niño," or the "Niña," are terms of endearment applied by old servants to the youngest member of a family; and Carrington being very young, and very much liked, was soon honoured with the appellation. Latterly they never called him any thing else, except on great occasions, when he was elevated to the dignity of el Secretario chico, (the little Secretary,) in order to distinguish him from the other gentlemen attached to the Mission, of superior standing to himself.

the inmates. It only contained a single room; but of this, by the help of the canvass curtain, we made two, which were exactly large enough to contain five mattresses. The rest of the party slept *al fresco*, and most bitterly did they complain of their lot, for a colder night was, I believe, seldom felt. Two of our carriage-mules were brought in at San Ignacio, by a Văqŭerŏ, but of the other six we could obtain no tidings; indeed, they were never heard of more. In order to prevent such serious losses in future, the animals were confined in a corral, where they were supplied with maize, and bundles of dried grass, which we all worked hard to collect. In the morning, notwithstanding our precautions, Mr. Martin's horse, with Dr. Wilson's, and one of mine, dashed off on to the plain, with their saddles, bridles, and other accoutrements. They were closely pursued by some of the Rancheros with their lassos, but these men not being well mounted could not overtake them, and the whole group was soon out of sight. After waiting three hours for their return, we were forced to leave them to their fate, and to commence our journey towards Siĕrră Hĕrmōsa, from which we were still distant sixteen leagues. Mrs. Ward and I left San Ignacio at eleven o'clock, after breakfasting upon some eggs and maize cakes, and overtook the carriage, which had preceded us, about sunset, when within sight of the Hacienda, having kept our horses at a rapid passo all the way. Nothing could be more monotonous than the road, upon which we only passed one Rancho, (the estacion of San José,) and one great reservoir of water, (the tanque de la Mancha,) without a habitation near it, but which was nevertheless put down as a night's lodging for us by our Catorce friends. The country reminded us not a little of Scriptural times, when a man was immortalized who sank a well, and distances were calculated by the time requisite in order to reach the different watering-places. We saw abundance of hares and rabbits, and, from time to time, a flock of goats, or a long line of sheep, form-

ing so white a streak at a distance, that they might almost have been mistaken for water. A few horses and mules, and, now and then, some cows, afforded a little occasional variety. All these had Vaqueros in attendance, some of whom passed us in full chase, with their lassos whirling above their heads, and their horses galloping over ground so poached by the tulsas and rabbits, that a person unaccustomed to the service would think it impossible to cross it in safety, even with the greatest precautions. In the rear of the flocks, the Coyotes, or Mexican jackall, might be discovered prowling in considerable numbers; and at a little distance from San Ignacio we met a band of Rancheros, returning in high glee from the tanque of Juan Perez, where, they informed us, they had been lassoing some wolves which had committed great devastations, and driven the cattle from the water. Every thing, in short, was characteristic of a state of things in which civilization had made but little progress: the natives possessed both the honesty, and the hospitality, of a primitive race; for our horses were brought back to us on the evening of our arrival at Sierra Hermosa, with even the holster-pistols untouched, notwithstanding the eagerness with which European fire-arms are always eyed in America; and at the Hacienda we met with a most friendly reception from the Administrador and his family, who insisted upon giving up to us the best apartments in the house.

The estate of Siĕrră Hĕrmōsă consists of two hundred and sixty-two Sitios: the lands extend from Cătōrcĕ, (to the East,) and Măzăpīl, (to the North,) to a little beyond the Hacienda in the direction of Zăcătēcăs, (about forty-five leagues.) The stock consists principally of "ganado menor," sheep, and some goats. Of the first, the Conde himself has 200,000, which produce annually from 25 to 30,000 yearlings for the Mexican market. The goats are sent to the Căsă dĕ Mătānză (slaughter-house) of the Jărāl. Those killed at the Siĕrră are upon the account of the Administra-

dor, for the principal "dependientes" upon the Count's estates receive a very small salary, in lieu of which they are allowed to keep a certain quantity of live stock upon the land. Many of the Rancheros, who have only four or five dollars a month in money, possess as many as a thousand goats, with an "atajo" of eighty or a hundred horses. The Administrador during our stay was killing one hundred goats every day; and he informed me that his mătānză, (or killing season,) usually lasted a month. The hides and tallow are disposed of for his exclusive benefit, and the profits are sufficiently large to afford him a very comfortable maintenance.

A supply of maize, for the consumption of the labourers on the estate, is grown about the Hacienda, and there is likewise a great annual shearing, which produces between four and five thousand arrobas of wool.

We passed the whole of the 8th of December at Siērră Hĕrmōsă, in the vain hope of hearing something of our lost mules, and proceeded on the 9th to the Hacienda del Mĕzquītĕ, which derives its name from the thorny shrub that forms the only apology for vegetation upon the road. The distance is seventeen leagues, but with the exception of Cāñas, an estacion de Gănādŏ Măyōr, (literally a station for cattle,) with a large Noria, and some trees, which, with a plot of fresh-looking grass in the immediate vicinity of the water, form an agreeable break in the dreariness of the surrounding country, we did not meet with a living creature upon the way. Nothing can convey more thoroughly the feeling of desolation than the solitude of so extensive a district, and we were all rejoiced when, after nine hours travelling, we at last discovered the Hacienda, which is not visible until you are within a league of the house, as it is situated in a hollow, a little below the general level of the plain.

The Mĕsquītĕ is one of the fourteen Haciendas of which the Conde de Pĕrĕz Gālvĕz is proprietor. Some of these are situated in the Baxio, (about Silao;) another, (Gŭanămē,)

lies near El Vĕnādŏ; and in the neighbourhood of the Mezquite there are three, (Las Nōrĭăs, Bĕrgēl, and La Sălādă,) all bordering upon one another, and placed under the orders of the same superintendent (administrador,) who resides at El Mĕzqūitĕ, where the căsă de mătānză is also established.

The four Haciendas contain 200 Sitios, upon which there are about 150,000 goats and sheep. The mătānză of 1826 consisted of 29,000 fat goats, bred upon the lands of Bĕrgēl and Lăs Nōrĭăs, and killed at the rate of two hundred every twenty-four hours: the tallow (cebo) made from their fat was sent to Mexico; the skins to Guadalajara, where they sold upon an average for six reals each.

The house at El Mĕzqūitĕ is large, and well furnished, having occasionally been visited by the proprietors. A tienda (or shop) is attached to it. The water of the Noria is abundant; but there is not a tree near the Hacienda, nor any thing like vegetation, with the exception of some maize-fields, upon which a few fanegas of Indian corn are grown. Upon the whole, I can hardly conceive a more melancholy residence, for the air is filled at night with the dismal howlings of the Cŏyōtĕs, who are attracted by the offal from the casa de matanza, and who absolutely swarm in the thickets around, although from two to three hundred are destroyed every year in the *battues*, for which the Rancheros assemble periodically, in order to keep down the breed.

Dec. 10.—From the Mezquite it was our intention to proceed to Rancho Grande, where we were to enter the great Northern road, between Frĕsnīllŏ and Sōmbrĕrētĕ, but the administrador recommended us so strongly to pass the night at the Hacienda of Lă Sălādă, which he described as well worth visiting, and but little out of the road, that we were induced to change our plans, and to turn the heads of our horses in that direction.

The first view of the Hacienda is exceedingly curious, as it is situated upon the borders of a lake of tĕqŭesqūite, or car-

bonate of Soda, which, from its brilliant whiteness, is visible at a great distance. This extensive desposit of mineral salt forms one of the most valuable possessions of the Pĕrĕz Gālvĕz family in the North; for tĕqŭesqūite being a necessary ingredient in smelting, it is bought up in very large quantities by the miners of Dūrāngŏ, Sōmbrĕrētĕ, Zăcătecās, and Guănăjūātŏ, to whom it is sold at four reals the fanega, or one dollar the mule load, upon the spot. In a good year the lake yields 30,000 cargas, or 360,000 arrobas, (of 25lbs. each,) and the produce is then worth between forty and fifty thousand dollars; as the price paid for the carga by soap-makers, and other manufacturers, from San Luis and Guadalajara, is always double the mining price, and, when the demand is great, rises to three, and even four dollars. But the quantity of tĕqŭesqūitĕ collected varies with the year, and depends almost entirely upon the rainy season. If too little rain falls, the "costre," or saline incrustation, which is the most valuable part of the crop, does not form, and nothing but "polvillos," (dust,) of a very inferior quality, is collected. If, on the other hand, the rains continue too long, the earth has not time to dry before the middle of April, which is the season for collecting the tĕqŭesqūitĕ, and the whole is lost. In 1826, the stock upon hand was very small, and the prospects for the ensuing year discouraging; it not having rained when we passed, on the 11th of December, since the 25th of the preceding July. In a favourable season, the "costre" varies from one to four fingers in thickness, and is of sufficient solidity to allow the workmen to walk upon it without giving way. The depth of water beneath is very inconsiderable. The stock of tequesquite is laid up for sale in large conical hillocks, carefully covered with earth. The formation of these hillocks at the proper season is the only expense with which the disposal of the crop is attended, for the purchasers come with their mules to the Hacienda, and load them by the water-side. The produce of the lake might

undoubtedly be increased, and rendered more regular at the same time, by irrigation, which would not be attended with any difficulty, even in the driest seasons, as there is a supply of fresh water close at hand, which might easily be directed into the hollow where the carbonate of Soda is produced. But the Count, who is of the old school, maintains that this would be to force Providence, and under this impression he will not allow nature to be assisted in her operations.

The Hacienda of La Salada contains only two Sitios in land; the house is newly built and very pretty. There is a spring of beautifully clear water behind it, with some trees, the first, almost, that we had seen since leaving the Jărāl.

Dec. 11.—We commenced our journey early, and stopped to breakfast at Rānchŏ Grāndĕ, a large village situated upon the banks of a stream, which rises in the mountains of Frĕs-nīllŏ, and runs N.N.E. towards Parras, and from thence to the Gulf.

At the Rancho we procured excellent bread, (the first that we had tasted for three days,) and milk in abundance. From thence to Ătŏtŏnīlcŏ, a Hacienda belonging to the Dominican Friars, the distance is eleven leagues, the last five of which, through Bărrāncă Hōndă to the mésōn, are exceedingly steep and rugged. In one of the worst parts of the road we were reconnoitred by six men on horseback, the only suspicious characters that we fell in with upon our whole journey, who, after observing us for some time from the top of a hill which overlooked the road, moved off at a very rapid pace on our advancing towards them in our turn. They probably thought the party too formidable to be attacked, for we were both more numerous and better armed than themselves.

Our accommodations at Ătŏtŏnīlcŏ were of the very worst kind, the house being half in ruins, and the dirtiness of the rooms quite indescribable. For our supper I had fortunately provided by shooting three or four hares, and ten quails of a remarkably large kind, upon the way. They are a very

delicate bird, and are found in great abundance on the road from the Mezquite to Sōmbrĕrētĕ, and from thence again to Guădălājārā. As they run for a considerable distance after each flight, and are easily lost amongst the bushes, I found that the best mode of shooting them was to make a servant follow the covey on horseback after I had fired, and keep his eye upon them until I could reload and ride up to him again. In this way I could, at any time, procure as many as we wanted, for they fly straight, and are a very easy shot. Between Ătŏtŏnīlcŏ and La Sălādă we saw proofs both of the abundance of cŏyōtĕs, and of the facility with which they may be secured with the lasso. Thirteen of these animals were hunted down on a plain by the road-side, by a few Rancheros assembled for the purpose, and very speedily suspended to two trees. To fix the lasso but little dexterity is required, as the cŏyōte is pursued by the horsemen until he is nearly exhausted, when the noose is dropped over his head, by one of the party, while another alights and despatches him with the măchēte. Where the ground is open, he has hardly a chance of escape; but in the neighbourhood of a Bărrāncă, the struggle for life is maintained with great energy, and even when the fatal noose has been affixed, I have seen the lasso itself divided by the teeth of the animal, before the cord could be stretched in such a manner as to terminate his resistance. While the chase lasts, the horses display astonishing agility both in their rapid turns, and in the dexterity with which they avoid the nopals, and Mezquite trees, amongst which the cŏyōte usually seeks protection; but I should much doubt whether, if the animal were to stretch directly across the plain, they would be able to overtake him, unless in the morning, when gorged with food; which is indeed the hour usually selected for the purpose. In the evening I have often attempted to ride them down myself, but never succeeded, except in one instance, in approaching sufficiently near to try a shot with a pistol. This

may, however, have been owing to my dislike of the tŭlsālĕs, which often prevented me from keeping my horse at full speed.

Dec. 12.—From Ătŏtŏnīlcŏ to Sŏmbrĕrētĕ, thirteen or fourteen leagues.

There is little worthy of remark upon the road. We breakfasted at el Ărĕnāl, a Rancho, upon leaving which we had an immediate view of the mountain of el Sōmbrĕrētīllo (seven leagues distant), at the foot of which the town of Sōmbrĕrētĕ stands. The name is derived from an excrescence upon the summit of the mountain, not unlike a hat in appearance, and visible at a great distance.

About four leagues from the town we were met by Don Nărcīsŏ Ănītŭă, the proprietor of the mines worked by the United Mexican Company in the district of Sōmbrĕrētĕ, and conducted by him to his own house; where we remained during our whole stay, which was prolonged till the 17th of December, in order to allow time for a full examination of the mines.

These are situated upon the two great veins of La Veta Negra, and El Păvĕllōn, the existence of which forms a very remarkable feature in the district of Sombrerete; as, though perfectly distinct, they run parallel with each other in the same direction (S.E. and N.W.) at a distance of only 190 varas at the surface, which diminishes in the lower workings, (from the inclination of the lodes towards each other,) until, at the depth of about 780 varas, it is supposed that the two may blend into one.

Upon each of these veins there is a series of shafts, which were originally separate mines. Those upon the Veta Negra were afterwards connected with each other, in the lower levels, by what is termed the "Cañon general," a gallery which traverses the whole of the workings, and conveys the water to the western extremity of the vein (the tiro de San

Pedro), where the horse-whims for the drainage are to be erected.

From the shaft of San Pedro to that of Săn Lūcăs, the works upon the Veta Negra comprise a space of 800 varas; the whole of which, when I saw the mines, had been cleared, drained, and retimbered to the depth of 280 varas, since the 3d of December 1825. Works of considerable extent had been likewise executed in order to give the mines a proper ventilation, (the abundance of arsenical pyrites in the lower levels rendering great precautions necessary,) and a communication had been established throughout the whole by means of the cañon general.

On the vein of El Păvĕllōn, the great shafts of La Cruz and San José, (the first of which is three hundred and ten varas in depth,) had been, in like manner, repaired, and six malacates erected at each for the prosecution of the drainage.

In order to form a just conception of the character of the enterprise in which the Company is engaged, some knowledge of the previous history of the mines is requisite.

Both the Vĕtă Nēgră and the Păvĕllōn were denounced during the early part of the seventeenth century. Of the first little is known, but the Păvĕllōn, in 1670, was worked by a company composed of three individuals, Don Frāncisco Cŏstīllă, Don Matīas Cărrăsqūīllă, and Don José de la Peña Dŭrān, and produced, in the year 1675, a bonanza, which is said, by a contemporary author, to have yielded, for five years, 20,000 dollars a-day.*

This statement is probably much exaggerated, but the amount of silver raised must have been very considerable, as the church of San Juan Bautista, at Sombrerete, is known to have been built out of the profits of one barra, (that is, one share out of twenty-four,) set apart for the purpose by Costilla, one of the three proprietors, in the year 1679.

* *Vide* the Cronica of Zacatecas, 1736.

In 1681 a Real Caja, or Royal Treasury, was established in the district, by the registers of which it appears, that, in the next ten years, although the riches of the Pavellon are said to have decreased materially during that time, the sums paid as the King's fifth, upon the produce of the district, were 1,406,468 marcs, and six ounces of silver, or about twelve millions of dollars.

The causes which led to the abandonment of the mines from which these enormous riches proceeded, are not now known; it is supposed, however, that lawsuits first induced the owners to suspend their operations, and that the accumulation of water, which took place during the interval, rendered it impossible to resume them in those early ages, when the powers of machinery were so little known. Be this as it may, the Pavellon was given up in 1696, or 1698, and the Veta Negra appears to have shared the same fate about the same time.

For nearly one hundred years Sombrerete was almost deserted; but in 1780 the mines were again taken up by the Făgŏāgă family, which was destined to derive from them, a few years later, such unexampled wealth. The story is curious, and ought to be known.

It appears that Don José Mariano Făgŏāgă, one of the brothers, who was at that time engaged in some mining speculations at Fresnillo, visited Sombrerete, accompanied by his secretary Tarve, who was induced by the information which he acquired there respecting the Veta Negra, to persuade his master to risk 16,000 dollars upon an attempt to work this vein, of which he (Tarve) undertook the direction, with a promise of one-fourth of the profits as his recompense, in case of success.

Without any pretensions to science, Tarve possessed activity enough to make an excellent director, while the underground management was entrusted to Don Manuel Unzain, reputed to be one of the best miners of the day. Fortune smiled upon their exertions. The mines became productive

almost immediately, and a bŏnānză ensued, of which Tarve's fourth amounted, in 1786, to 360,000 dollars. The whole bonanza, therefore, taking the "partido" at the most moderate estimate, (one-eighth,) must have been 1,620,000 dollars.

In 1787, Tarve, having acquired a sufficient capital, and an intimate knowledge of the mining capabilities of the district, resolved to commence operations upon his own account, and to attack the vein of the Pavellon. With this view he set out for Mexico, in order to close his accounts with the Fagoagas, and to give up the management of the Veta Negra, which he had conducted with so much success. He was taken ill upon the road, and died at Zacatecas, but not before he had bequeathed his confidential mining "dependiente," Don Juan Martin de Izmēndī, as a precious legacy to his old patrons, and with him a knowledge of his projects with regard to the Pavellon.

In these Izmendi was supported by Don José Mariano Fă-gŏāgă; but the family being reduced by various misfortunes, and the mines of Veta Negra failing almost entirely at the same time, it was with the utmost difficulty that he obtained the means of carrying his plans into execution; and he only effected it at last, by disregarding the positive and repeated orders which he received to give up the work.

Tarve's favourite scheme was to drive a level from the Veta Negra in such a direction as to strike the vein of the Pavellon, (which runs through much higher ground,) a little below the spot where the bonanza of the preceding century had ceased, conceiving it probable that, in a vein which had produced such extraordinary riches above, the subsequent deterioration would only be temporary, and that the ores would resume their original quality below.

This work Izmendi executed, by driving the Crucero (cross-cut) of San Rafael, which led to the second great bonanza of the Pavellon, and rendered the Marquis of Apartado and his brothers the wealthiest individuals of their day in

Mexico, or perhaps in the world. It is a curious fact, and one that serves to illustrate the vicissitudes inseparable from mining adventures, that had this crucero been executed with the same precision as the rest of Izmendi's works, that is, had it preserved its original level, and struck the vein of the Pavellon one single yard lower than it did, it would have cut the vein in "*borrasca*," that is, in a part where it presented no indications of rich ores; in which case, the enterprise would have been instantly abandoned, Izmendi, and his patron Don José Mariano Fagoaga, denounced as rash and imprudent adventurers, and the district itself forsaken, as one from which nothing more was to be hoped. As it happened, the level of San Rafael, by rising one vara higher than it ought to have done, according to the measurements, struck almost the lowest stone of a "clavo," or natural deposit of rich ores, which, although it did not extend above sixty varas in depth, or thirty-five in length, upon the course of the vein, produced a bonanza of eleven millions and a half of dollars, adding one-eighth as partido to the value of the 8,771 bars of silver registered by the Fagoagas at the Royal Provincial treasury. The ores were raised in about eight months, (at different intervals,) but their reduction lasted from the year 1792 until 1811, during the whole of which period the Fagoaga family enjoyed an exemption from duties, granted them before the extent of their good fortune in the mine of the Pavellon was suspected, in consideration of their former losses.

Much time elapsed in the first instance before any advantage could be derived from Izmendi's successful labours; for, from the moment that the communication between the two veins was opened by the crucero of San Răfāēl, the water which had accumulated during a whole century in the old workings of the Păvĕllōn, rushed down into the Vetă Nēgră, where it became necessary to draw it off in order to render the new discoveries accessible. The shaft of Lă Crūz was

afterwards sunk directly upon the cross-cut, between the two veins, and through this a great part of the bonanza was raised. Another shaft, called San José, was subsequently added, and a Hacienda built in the centre of the town, with a magnificence well worthy of the ores for the reduction of which it was intended. The Patio, or court of amalgamation, is surrounded by eighty-four arches, under each of which an arrástre, or crushing-mill, is placed; and in addition to these, there are fourteen large furnaces for smelting, with store-rooms for ores, stampers, and apartments without number for workmen, guards, and superintendents, all enclosed by a lofty wall. The whole is now going to decay, but it is still a splendid monument of the former opulence of the mines, and as such cannot be visited without interest.

The vein of the Pavellon has always been more remarkable for the richness, than the abundance of its ores: during the great bonanza, thirty-five marcs of silver were often yielded by one quintal of ore, and twelve or fifteen marcs per carga was the ordinary produce of metals classed as "comunes." Mr. Anitua himself has, more recently, reduced ores from a little branch of the vein, in the shaft of El Carmen, which contained forty-five marcs to the carga. One hundred cargas yielded twenty-one bars of silver, or 21,000 dollars; but the vein was small, and soon lost itself in the mountain.

The Făgŏāgās having entirely abandoned their mines, they remained unworked from 1812 to 1819, when an association of native miners was formed to denounce them anew, at the head of which was Don Narciso Ănītŭă, the present proprietor. The necessary funds were raised, and the drainage nearly effected, when the declaration of Independence in 1821 threw the country into an unsettled state. The labourers quitted the mines to join Ĭtŭrbīdĕ's armies; and Anitua, whose whole fortune was embarked in the enterprise, saw himself compelled to abandon it at the very moment when his labours seemed drawing towards their close. For three years

hill) which the vein of the Pavellon traverses, at a point immediately below those from which the two great bonanzas of 1675 and 1792 were raised, in the hope of finding a third "clavo rico," or "bunch" of rich ores, which it seems to be the character of the vein to produce after an interval of barrenness. For this purpose the shaft of La Cruz is to be carried down a hundred varas below its present depth, and cross-cuts driven from it, at intervals, in such a direction as to explore the course of the vein in the parts where it has hitherto been unworked. The expense incurred is fully warranted by the importance of the object, and by the certainty that if any portion of the vein be found productive, such is the richness of the ores, that a very small quantity will be sufficient to repay the present outlay; while, should a third great mineral deposit be discovered, instances of which have not unfrequently occurred in other mines, (as Rāyăs, La Qŭebrădīllă, and Bărrāncŏ, mentioned in the preceding sections,) the profits of the Adventurers would be enormous.

In order to complete their trial of the capabilities of Sombrĕrētĕ as a mining district, the Company has commenced a new shaft, called La Concordia, "denounced" by the brother of Don Narcisco Anitua, upon a part of the vein never before explored. This shaft is situated to the North-west of all the old workings, a little beyond an arroyo, or ravine, in which the crest of the vein is distinctly visible, and from its size appears to announce a lode of no common dimensions.

In December 1826, the workings were 112 varas in depth. At 120 varas, a first level was to be driven in the direction of the vein, which it will cut at the distance of thirty-seven varas, if the inclination be the same below, as in the shaft of La Cruz. The necessary buildings at Concordia were all complete, and excellent of their kind; and should fortune favour the enterprise, not a moment would be lost in turning the produce to account. It is regarded by profesional men as one of the most interesting experiments yet tried in Mexico, and, whatever be the result, it deserves to be repaid with success.

A similar attempt to explore an untried portion of the Veta Negra has been made, by sinking the new shaft of San Lucas, in which the vein had been cut a short time before my visit to Sombrerēte. The first six cargas of ore raised, which I saw smelted, produced fifty-nine and a half marcs; and, in the opinion of Mr. Keating, a very able mineralogist from the United States, who had examined the mine a few weeks before, appearances were such as to warrant the most sanguine expectations with regard to the result.

I have not heard whether these expectations have been since realized, but I can bear evidence to the zeal, and ability, with which their attainment was sought. It is difficult to possess a more perfect acquaintance than Mr. Anitua with the local peculiarities of his ground, or to imagine a better system than that which he has introduced into every part of his establishment. The drainage, which has been affected entirely by Mexican machinery, was conducted with unprecedented activity, and concluded in half the time allotted for it in the opinion of the other miners of the district. The malacates used are smaller and lighter than those of Guănajuātŏ; the drum of the largest being only six varas in diameter, and the "palanca," or cross beam, to which the horses are attached, eighteen varas in length. But the difference in point of size is compensated by the rapidity with which they are worked, the horses being kept constantly at a very rapid trot, and changed every two hours. Should the vein of El Păvĕllōn assume a favourable appearance in the new workings, now that the mines are cleared, a general system of drainage will be established for the whole negotiation, by concentrating the water from both veins at the shaft of San Pedro, which will be sunk for the purpose to the depth of 500 varas. This will be sufficient to carry the deepest part of the shaft below the lowest levels of the Pavellon, while, from the vicinity of the two lodes, and the manner in which the water already passes from one to the other in the deeper

workings, a cross-cut, (or sangria,) will be all that is necessary in order to ensure a regular communication. The drainage will, in this case, not require more than eight mălăcātĕs, for which, should the present experiment lead to more permanent works, a steam-winding, or pumping-engine, may be substituted.

The outlay of the Company at Sŏmbrĕrētĕ, in 1826, amounted to nearly 500,000 dollars. With this, the mines mentioned in the preceding pages had been cleared of water, and retimbered where necessary; three new shafts sunk, (La Concordia, San Luis, and El Carmen, which last was intended merely for the extraction of rubbish from the old workings of the Pavellon;) two Haciendas de Beneficio put into complete repair; and so large a stock laid in of maize, wood, horses, and every other necessary, that it was thought during the whole ensuing year but few additions would be required. In every department, Mr. Anitua's exertions appeared to have been indefatigable; and as, from his long experience in mines, he looked into every thing himself, and understood every thing into which he looked, there was no inattention or negligence amongst the subordinate agents, but all the parts were made to work well together. Upon the whole, I did not see in Mexico a better-regulated enterprise; and there are very few the management of which is so entirely free from defects.

In the two Haciendas of the Company, La Purisima and La Soledad, amalgamation is but little employed. The ores are usually smelted, and in this process great use is made of the tĕquĕsquītĕ, (carbonate of soda,) from La Sălādă, which is employed as a dissolvent. The lead ore (or Grētă) used, is brought from Măpĭmī, or Cuēncămē, (on the frontiers of Dŭrāngŏ and Chĭhuāhŭa;) the charcoal from the Mĕzqūitāl, or the Mĕzqūitĕ woods belonging to the Hacienda of Mŭlĕrŏs, on the road to Durango. The charcoal costs one dollar for the carga of ten arrobas, or 250lbs.; the lead varies from

eight to twelve dollars per carga, about one arroba, or 25lbs. of which is lost in the reduction of a carga of ore.

Mr. Anitua, who manages the smelting department himself, and is thought to understand the process better than any man in the district, informed me that the average expenses may be estimated at fifty-six dollars to the monton of twenty quintals; they consequently exceed considerably the charge for reducing a similar quantity of ore by amalgamation; but it is a favourite theory in all the smelting districts, that the ores yield a greater proportion of silver in the "horno," (furnace,) than in the patio, (amalgamation court,) and the difference, in Mr. Anitua's opinion is more than sufficient to cover the additional expense. The question has never yet been fairly brought to an issue, as, in the different districts, the choice of the process to be adopted in each was usually determined, in the first instance, by the greater or less facility with which the ingredients required for it could be procured. Very rich ores are, however, always smelted; and as those of the Păvĕllōn are remarkable for the quantity of silver contained in them, this circumstance is perhaps sufficient to account for the preference given in Sōmbrerete to reduction by fire, although in the neighbouring districts of Zăcătēcăs and Guănăjūātŏ, it is very little in use.

SECTION IV.

JOURNEY FROM SOMBRERETE TO DURANGO.—ACCOUNT OF THAT STATE.—MINES OF GUARISAMEY, AND THE SIERRA MADRE IN GENERAL.—EASTERN FRONTIER, TEXAS.—STATES OF SONORA AND CINALOA.—GULF OF CALIFORNIA.—MAZATLAN AND GUAYMAS.—MINES OF ARISPE, ALAMOS, MULATOS, AND COSALA.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS UPON THE NORTH OF MEXICO.

It was our intention, on leaving Mexico, to have extended our journey North as far as Durango, but so much time had been consumed by the first part of our tour, and so much was still requisite for the return by Zăcătēcās, Guădălājără, and Vāllădŏlīd, that both Mr. Martin and I thought it inexpedient to prolong our absence from the Capital by adhering to our original plan. With the coach, a visit to Dŭrāngŏ from Sombrerete, and the return, would have occupied nine days; the road being bad, and the distance thirty, or thirty-five leagues; and this was a sacrifice of time, which, as there were no French or English establishments to visit, we did not conceive ourselves justified in making. It was therefore determined that the party should take at once the road to the South, by Zacatecas, from whence we were to branch off, through Aguas Calientes, to the Western States.

My anxiety to visit Durango was, however, too great to allow me to be satisfied with this arrangement. My curiosity had been much excited with regard to the Northern Provinces, by the praises lavished upon them by General

Victoria, who is a native of Tămăsūlă, (called in commemoration of his birth, Villa Feliz de Tămăsūlă,) upon the frontiers of the two States of Dŭrāngŏ and Sŏnŏrā; and I was determined to reach at least the threshold of this forbidden ground, into which so few foreigners have hitherto penetrated, and from which all who have done so have brought back such favourable reports. I therefore consulted Mr. Anitua upon the subject, and, finding that it was possible to ride to Durango in one day, and, after passing eight-and-forty hours there, by returning in the same manner, still to reach Zacatecas as soon as the rest of my party, I resolved to undertake the journey. Mr. Anitua provided me with horses, relays of which he stationed at the different Haciendas upon the way, and gave me a guide well acquainted with the bridle-roads, by whom alone I was accompanied.

I left Sombrerete a little before seven, on the morning of the 16th December, and being admirably mounted, I reached the Hacienda del Călăbăzāl (my first stage,) at half-past eight.

The State of Zacatecas terminates with the ridge of hills immediately above the valley of the Călăbăzāl; the bajada, (descent,) which is very precipitous, and covered with fragments of rock, is almost impassable for carriages, and even on horseback occasions considerable delay. Below, a plain commences, which extends, with little interruption, as far as Mūlĕrŏs, (seven leagues,) one of the most valuable Haciendas in the State of Durango. Its "Estancias" (stations) for breeding cattle are very extensive, and it possesses upon the banks of a river never entirely dry,* tierras de labor, (corn-lands,) which, from the command of water, might be

* Englishmen will probably be amused at this being pointed out as a remarkable quality in a river; but those of Mexico are even more uncertain than the rivers of Spain, and there, I recollect, that on the morning when the present Queen entered Madrid, an order was issued for watering the bed of the Mănzănărĕs, lest Her Majesty should be incommoded by the dust.

rendered extremely productive. The "Ranchos de Mescal" alone are let for fifteen and twenty thousand dollars per annum; and from the Mezquite woods belonging to the estate, the town of Sombrerete is supplied almost entirely with fuel. But the system of management is bad; the breed of horses and mules, for which the Hacienda was once famous, has been allowed to go to decay; and not half the quantity of grain is raised that might be produced.

The wood, or "Monte" of Muleros, consists exclusively of three species of trees, called Tăscātĕ, Guĭsāchĕ, and Mezquite, the last of which grows there to a size such as I had not before seen.

I left the Calabazal twenty minutes before nine, and reached Graseros, (an Estancia, or Rancho, belonging to Muleros,) at a quarter past ten.

From thence to the Hacienda of San Qŭintīn, the stage is long, and the latter part very fatiguing. For some leagues the road runs through a continuation of the Mezquite forest, which commences near Mūlērŏs, but traverses the lands of several other Haciendas. In this the country is level, and the road good; but about three leagues from San Quintín our progress was interrupted by an immense mass of volcanic remains, forming an elevated ridge or bank, and stretching across the plain towards the North-east, with arms or branches extending in every direction. Towards the West, it terminates abruptly in a mass of black vesicular lava, overgrown with cactus and mezquite, and totally unconnected with the sandy soil around. Indeed it was curious to observe how completely each little patch or accumulation of lava stood isolated in the plain, following the course of the principal bank, but looking as if it had just dropped from the clouds into its present situation.

After threading our way with difficulty through this volcanic labyrinth, where we were forced to check our horses every hundred yards, we at last came in sight of the Haci-

enda, the situation of which is very pleasing. It is surrounded by trees, the poplar, the willow, and the beech, and possesses a supply of water sufficient for the irrigation of an extensive tract of land. The rivers in the North are in general bordered by two lines of cypresses, (Sabinos,) which, from the red tinge of their foliage during the winter months, are visible at a considerable distance. The trees, however, are not so lofty as those of the South, nor do they ever attain the dimensions of the cypresses in the valley of the Mississippi, to the East, where the heat and moisture combined seem to be particularly favourable to their growth. In the midst of the bank of lava, to the South of San Quintin, I passed a barranca (ravine) composed of rocks, apparently of quite a different formation, full of these cypresses, with a beautiful stream running through it, and a waterfall, the very sound of which, after my hot ride, was delightful. Immediately around the Hacienda there are enclosures filled with cattle, and vast fields both of maize and wheat, to all appearance admirably cultivated. I was sorry to observe, however the same wretched hovels serving as abodes for the tenantry, which had struck us, by creating so unpleasing an impression, in the vicinity of the Jărāl, and other great Haciendas.

I did not reach San Quintin till past one o'clock. From thence to Chăchămōllĭ, where I arrived at half-past two, we found the same difficulty in advancing, on account of several ramifications of the great bank of lava. The Hacienda is situated near a river, the course of which, designated by a double line of Sabinos, we had traced for a long time winding along the foot of the hills which surround the valley. It is the same stream that traverses the plain of Durango, and runs from thence, by the Villa del Nombre de Dios, and the Mĕzqŭitāl, towards the rivers of Jălīscŏ, with one of which it is supposed to incorporate itself, and to continue its course towards the Pacific.

In one hour after leaving Chăchămōllĭ I reached the Ran-

cho del Ărĕnāl, where my last relay of horses was stationed. From thence to Durango the road is excellent. It runs almost uninterruptedly across a level plain, which, if supplied with water, would be equal in fertility to the richest portions of the Mexican territory. The corn-lands, (fields, from their extent, I cannot call them,) of the Hacienda of Năbăcoyān, close to which you again cross the river on a bridge of stone with high narrow arches, are really beautiful; and on the opposite side, the maize crops of Santa Ana, and other Haciendas, seemed equally luxuriant. Năbăcŏyān is supplied with water from a "presa," or dam, constructed at a considerable distance up the river by the former proprietors of the Hacienda, from whence it is conducted by canals to every part of the estate. The whole establishment for irrigation is said to have cost 100,000 dollars.

The central parts of the valley, (La Vega,) to which water cannot be conveyed, are abandoned to the Mezquite, and this extends almost to the gates of the town, in the immediate vicinity of which there is little cultivation. Durango, or, as it has been more recently entitled, in honour of the President, "La Ciudad de Victoria," (the city of Victoria,) is seen to great advantage from the road. It is situated nearer to the Northern than the Southern extremity of the valley, with a line of hills in the background, and the famous Iron Mountain, called el Cerro del Mĕrcādŏ, at a little distance from the gates. I arrived in sight of the town at half-past four o'clock, and should have reached it at five, by continuing at the same pace; but I was met two leagues from the gates by the Governor of the State, Don Santiago Vācă y Ŏrtīz, and the military commandant, Don Joaquin Ayēstărān, to both of whom I had been furnished with letters of introduction by General Victoria, and in their coach we proceeded slowly, and did not reach the Governor's house till dusk.

Of the hospitality and kindness of this gentleman, whose guest I became for two days, I cannot easily say enough.

Gratified by my curiosity respecting the North, of which he is a native, he gave me every assistance in acquiring information, and introduced me, during my stay, at his own table, to almost every person at all calculated to afford it.

Durango may be considered as the first place in the Mexican territories in which the importance of this most valuable portion of the republic is duly appreciated. To the inhabitants of the Southern and Central Provinces, every thing north of Zacatecas is a *terra incognita;* and the traveller is surprised, after passing this Ultima Thule of civilization, (well deserving the appellation in as far as its own merits are concerned,) to find an improvement in the manners and character of the inhabitants, for which, from the prejudices of their countrymen, he is perfectly unprepared. Durango, where this change first becomes visible, may be regarded as the key to the whole of the North, which is peopled by the descendants of a race of settlers from the most industrious provinces of Spain, (Biscay, Navarre, and Catalonia,) who have preserved their blood uncontaminated by any cross with the aborigines; and who, with this purity of descent, (of which they are justly proud,) retain most of the primitive habits and feelings of their forefathers. They have much of the loyalty, and generous frankness, for which the Spanish character was formerly celebrated; great natural politeness, and considerable activity both of mind and body, with a spirit of enterprise, which, now that the bonds are removed by which it has hitherto been confined, will, in a few years, give to the North of Mexico a great and preponderating influence. These characteristics extend, with some local modifications, to the inhabitants of the whole country formerly denominated the Western Internal Provinces, (Provincias Internas Occidentales,) which now compose the States of Durango, Chihuahua, and Sonora and Cinaloa, (forming one State,) with the "Territories" of New Mexico, and Californias. In all of these the white population predominates, and the Indians, where any remain, (as in

Sonora), continue unmixed with their conquerors, residing in towns and villages of their own, (as the Mayo tribes,) or hovering (like the Apaches, and other barbarous nations), around the settled lands, seeking a precarious livelihood by the chace.

South of Chĭhuāhŭa few of the aborigines are to be found, except in the Bŏlsōn de Măpĭmī, which communicates with the Indian hunting-lands in Cŏhăhūila and Texas, tenanted by the Cŏmanchĕs, and other Indios Bravos,* who occupy the unsettled country between the Rio Bravo del Norte and the frontiers of the United States. In Durango there is hardly a single individual of the copper-coloured race. At the time of the Conquest they all retired North upon the advance of the whites; and although some tribes of more settled habits remained in Sonora and Cinaloa, the great mass of the Indian population took refuge in the vicinity of the river Gila, where it still retains possession of a territory, which, during three centuries, has remained almost entirely unexplored. Of the lands formerly tenanted by them, distinguished both by their mineral riches, and by the rapidly increasing trade with China and the East Indies, of which the ports of Măzătlān and Guaymas are the seat, I shall endeavour to give some description under their new territorial division, referring my readers for many highly interesting details to a journal, with which I have been furnished by a gentleman who has very recently returned from the North of Mexico, and who is almost the only foreigner, with the exception of Lieutenant Hardy, who has hitherto visited the interior of Upper Sonora, or at least resided a sufficient time there to acquire a knowledge of the resources and peculiarities of the country.

I shall commence with Durango, the most southern of the

* All the tribes which held no communication with the missionaries on the frontier, but maintained an independent existence, were thus designated.

Internal Provinces, and the only one to which my own observations extended, much as I should have rejoiced to give them a wider range.

The capital of the state of Durango is situated sixty-five leagues to the north-west of Zacatecas. The population of the town is 22,000; that of the State 175,000. Both the city of Victoria and most of the other towns of Durango, (Tămăsūlă, Sĭānŏrĭ, Măpĭmī, Săn Dīmăs, Cănēlăs, Cuēncămē, &c.) take their origin from the mines. Before the discovery of those of Gūārĭsămēy, Victoria was a mere village (Pueblo Ranchero), which, as late as 1783, contained only 8,000 inhabitants. The principal streets, the Plaza Mayor, the theatre, and most of the public edifices, were built by Zămbrānŏ, who is supposed to have drawn from his mines at San Dimas and Guārĭsāmēy, upwards of thirty millions of dollars.

The towns of Villa del Nombre de Dios, San Juan del Rio, and Cinco Señores de Nāzăs, are almost the only cities in the State unconnected with mines. The two first are supported by an extensive trade in vino Mescal, (a sort of brandy, distilled from the Maguey, or American aloe;) the last, by the large cotton plantations upon the banks of the river Nazas, from which the manufacturers of Saltillo, San Luis, and Zacatecas, draw their supplies. The cotton, according to the slovenly practice of the country, is not picked and cleaned upon the spot, but is brought, when gathered, to Durango, where it is separated from the seeds. It sells there, however, notwithstanding this addition to the freight, for one dollar the arroba, of 25lbs.

Durango has no manufactures. Its riches consist entirely in mines, and agricultural produce, which last is so considerable, that the lands already brought into cultivation are supposed to be sufficient for the support of a population five times as large as that of the State now is. The Haciendas, however, are, at present, upon too extensive a scale to be

well managed; an evil, for which the Congress, by abolishing entails, hope to provide a remedy.

Most of the estates of Durango are devoted to breeding horned cattle, mules, and sheep, of which last 150,000 are sent every year to the Mexican market. The Hacienda de la Sarca alone possesses a stock of 200,000 sheep, and 40,000 mules and horses. That of Ramos, (which consists of four hundred sitios,) has 80,000 sheep; that of Gūātĭmăpē 40,000 oxen and cows. The valley of Pŏānăs, again, (about fifteen leagues East of the capital,) contains nothing but corn-lands. It is watered by a river which runs through the centre of the valley, and on the banks of this river are nine *Haciendas de trigo*, (corn estates,) in immediate succession, which supply the capital with flour of the very best quality, at from six to eight dollars the fanega.

The natural advantages of Durango are not yet fully turned to account. Sugar might be cultivated to any extent in the valleys of the Sierra Madre, where water abounds, and climate might almost be selected at pleasure; but it is, at present, brought from the valley of Cūērnăvācă, at a distance of 250 leagues. It sells, of course, at an enormous price, five dollars per arroba, and, in a moment of scarcity, often rises to ten.

Indigo and coffee might likewise be reckoned amongst the natural productions of the soil. They are found wild in the barrancas of the Sierra Madre, but no attention is paid to them.

Iron abounds within a quarter of a league of the gates of Durango. The Cerro del Mercado is entirely composed of iron ores, of two distinct qualities, (chrystallized and magnetic,) but almost equally rich, as they both contain from sixty to seventy-five per cent. of pure iron. The operation of smelting these ores is attended with considerable difficulty. It is not understood in the United States, in England, or Silesia, where ores of from twenty to twenty-five per cent.

are those in common use; and an iron-foundery lately set up by two natives of Biscay, (Messrs. Ŭrqŭiāgā and Ărĕchēvălă,) upon the banks of the river, twenty leagues from Durango, has failed from the want of a knowledge of the proper mode of treating the ores. The adventurers are likewise cramped in their operations by the smallness of their capital. A Hacienda has been built in a situation where there is both water for machinery, and an abundant supply of timber and charcoal; but as the proprietors do not possess the means of constructing a road for carts, (although, from the nature of the ground, it might be accomplished with a very inconsiderable outlay,) the conveyance of the ores on mules to the reduction works materially diminishes the profits of the speculation. With regard to the difficulty of working them, it might undoubtedly be overcome, as, from the affinity of the iron of El Mercado to that of Danemora, Swedish forgemen would understand the nature of the process at once.

The Constitution of Durango is framed in a very liberal spirit. The religious Article,* although it declares the Roman Catholic religion to be that of the State, does not exclude the public or private exercise of any other; and there is reason to believe, that it was purposely worded in this manner, in order to facilitate the introduction of a more tolerant system, as soon as the general laws of the Federation should allow of it.

By Article X. great facilities are promised strangers, who wish to be naturalized in the State.

Article XIII. abolishes entails, and titles of nobility.

Article XVI. prohibits slavery, and declares free whatever slaves were found in the State, at the period of the publication of the Constitution.

The Congress consists of two Chambers, containing eleven deputies, and seven senators. Their salaries are small, and

* Article XI. "The Religion of the State is, and shall ever be, the Roman Catholic, which is that adopted by the Federation."

confined to the actual duration of the sessions. The whole expenses of the State do not exceed 100,000 dollars per annum.

The Legislature has passed many good and useful laws, and has seconded by its influence the exertions of the Governor, who appears to have displayed the most laudable activity in every branch of the administration. He has established, principally at his own expense, a printing-press, (never before seen in Durango,) the Mint, the Casa del Apartado, (in which the process of separating the gold from the silver, in bars containing both, is carried on,) a glass manufactory, a tannery, and the Fabrica de Tabacos; from all of which the State is beginning to derive considerable advantages. The police of the town, formerly much neglected, was, in 1826, extremely well organized, and robberies almost unknown; in consequence of a law passed at the suggestion of the Governor, by which the tribunals were directed to conclude the legal proceedings, in every case of robbery, within the term of three days.

The revenues of Durango are the same as those of the other States. The contingent amounts to 75,000 dollars, the whole of which had been punctually paid up to January 1827.

The produce of the Alcavalas, under the Spanish government, (when twelve, instead of six per cent. was exacted,) seldom exceeded 22,000 dollars; but under the new system, it has risen to 80,000, in consequence of the judicious improvements introduced.

Tobacco produced, in the year 1826, only 25,000 dollars, but both in this, and in the other branches of the revenue, a rapid improvement was expected.

Trade was increasing, and the advantages of the present institutions, in this respect, were beginning to be duly appreciated; a large portion of the supplies required for the consumption of the State being drawn from Cŏsălā and Măzătlān,

while the remainder was transmitted from San Luis Potosi, or Mexico, according to the price borne by European manufactures in those two great depôts.

The territory of Durango is divided into ten "Partidos," or districts,* the names and situations of which are given in the map with as much accuracy as the total want of statistical data will admit of. There is as yet no general survey, or map of the State, in existence; and as the gentleman whom I recommended to the Governor for the purpose, on my return to Mexico, and to whom very liberal terms were offered by the Legislature, was prevented by family circumstances from accepting the engagement, but little has yet been done towards correcting the errors, with which the returns hitherto published abound.

The State is well supplied with all the necessaries of life. Maize seldom rises above twelve reals the fanega, and is often as low as seven. Flour varies from ten, to twelve, and fourteen dollars the carga. Fruits and vegetables of all kinds abound, particularly peaches and potatoes, for both of which Durango enjoys a sort of celebrity. Mules are bought in "Partida," (wholesale,) at eighteen dollars each. Horses at eight and nine dollars. A fat ox or cow is sold for twelve dollars; and sheep may be purchased for one dollar, at the season when the great flocks from New Mexico come down, on their way towards the central provinces. In the vicinity of the capital, the materials for building abound; lime and stone may be procured at a very little distance from the gates; the flint used in the glass manufactory is found at the foot of the Cerro del Mercado; and the best lead from Cuĕncămē and Măpĭmī only costs four dollars the quintal. Copper for alloy is brought from Chĭhūāhŭa, and sells for twenty-four dollars the hundred weight; and the iron of the Cerro del

* 1. Durango. 2. Nombre de Dios. 3. San Juan del Rio. 4. Cinco Senores de Nazas. 5. Cuencame. 6. El Oro. 7. Indee. 8. Papasquiaro. 9. Tamasula. 10. Guarisamey.

Mercado, when worked up, as it has frequently been, upon a small scale, into mining tools, is said to be so hard as not to require the usual process of tipping it with steel.

These advantages will be duly appreciated when Durango becomes, as it will do in a few years, the scene of operations for some great foreign or native association of capitalists, by whose labours the resources of the country will first be fully developed.

The State is rich in mineral deposits, none of which, excepting Guārĭsămēy, and Săn Dīmās, have been at all extensively worked. There is hardly a single mine exceeding 100 varas in depth; for, in general, the use of even the simplest machinery was unknown in the North; and a malacate, primitive as the invention is, would have excited almost as much astonishment as a steam-engine itself. The mines were worked as long as the water could be raised without inconvenience by two or three "Tenateros," (carriers,) with leathern buckets; and abandoned when the discharge of this duty became too laborious. Most of the principal districts may consequently be regarded as virgin ground, and there are few in which the old shafts might not be again brought into activity with a comparatively small outlay. Nothing can exceed the anxiety felt, and expressed by the Governor, and the members of the Legislature, as well as by the principal inhabitants, that this experiment should be tried; and were it to be attempted by a Foreign Company of respectability, it would be sure of receiving the warmest support. In such an event, the iron-mines should not be neglected. If properly managed, they alone would be sufficient to ensure the prosperity of the association; for there is no article for which the demand is greater than iron, and none the supply of which from Europe is attended with such manifold disadvantages. Durango might, in two years, be rendered the depôt of iron for Sombrerete, Zacatecas, Catorce, Batopilas, and all the Mining Districts South of Chĭhuāhŭa; nor would

the success of the iron-mines already taken up by the Companies at the Encarnacion interfere with this prospect, as their market would be confined to the Central Mining States, beyond which, from the difficulties of communication, their operations could hardly be extended.

Durango contains a mint, and the coinage is considerable, although the machinery is of the very worst kind, being the same that was erected at the commencement of the Revolution. In the Casa del Apartado, the separation of the two metals is effected by the use of nitric acid, and not by sulphuric acid, as in the new establishment formed in Mexico by Mr. Alaman. It is from the mines of Guărĭsămēy that the ores most celebrated for their ley de oro proceed. The proportion of gold is sometimes so large, that a very small "tejo," or cake of silver, which I saw at the Assay Office of the mint, was valued at 2,800 dollars. In the other mining districts of Durango, to the Eastward of the Sierra Madre, there is less gold; and in the lead ores of Măpĭmī and Cuēncămē none. About Tămăsūlă gold is found pure; and it abounds on the Western declivity of the Cordillera, where native gold, or gold intermixed in very large proportions with the silver, are the characteristics of most of the principal veins.

A large proportion of the territory of Durango is situated upon the Table-land, and the capital, though surrounded in most maps by mountains, lies in the midst of a vast plain, which, to the North-east, extends, with few interruptions, as far as Chihuahua, and Santa Fé of New Mexico, from whence again there is a farther communication for wheel-carriages to the great rivers in the valley of the Missisippi, and through them, with the Atlantic, by the Eastern Anglo-American States.

To the West, (both North and South,) the Sierra Madre extends, forming a barrier upon the Pacific side; and the hot low lands of Cĭnălōă occupy the space between the foot of

the mountains and the ocean. To the North of Cĭnălōă Sŏnōră commences, and embraces the whole space from the shores of the Gulf of California to the confines of Durango and Chihuahua, upon the Table-land, (between twenty-seven and thirty-four of North latitude,) comprehending in this vast extent of country almost every possible modification of climate, the heat being varied in proportion as the platforms are more or less raised above the level of the sea. A much less degree of elevation is, however, required in these Northern latitudes to produce that temperate climate, which is found to be most conducive to the fertility of the soil, and the comforts of the inhabitants; and a rise of a few hundred feet is sufficient to give to Arispe, and the districts in its vicinity, the temperature, which the towns within the Tropics only enjoy at a height of from four to seven thousand feet.

The principal mining districts of Durango are those of Găvĭlānĕs, Gūārĭsămēy, and Săn Dīmās, Tămăsūlă, Cănēlăs, and Sĭānŏrĭ; (all of which are situated towards the Western boundary of the State, upon the descent from the Sierra Madre to the Coast;) with Gūānăsĕvī, Indĕē, El Oro, Cūēncămē, and Măpĭmī, to the Eastward of the Sierra Madre, and differing from those first mentioned, not less in the quality of their ores, (which are poor, but extremely abundant, and intermixed with lead,) than in their elevation above the level of the sea.

Găvĭlānĕs, Guārĭsămēy, and San Dimas, lie nearly in the same parallel with the city of Victoria, but about five days' journey to the Westward, three of which are upon the Table-land, while during the remaining two the traveller toils on amidst the fastnesses of the Sierra Madre. The deep and narrow ravines in which Guarisamey is situated, are *Tierra Caliente*, while the mountains that shut them in attain the highest elevation of the Sierra Madre, which Mr. Glennie estimates at 9,000 feet. Găvilānĕs, on the contrary, stands upon a projecting platform, on the side of one of the moun-

tains, not very far from the summit, and, when seen from a distance, appears more adapted for the abode of eagles, than for that of men. In this last district, the mines are all opened upon one lode, which in dimensions may almost vie with the Veta Madre of Guanajuato. It was discovered by its very elevated crest, which attracted the attention of the "Rumbeadores," (persons who search for metallic lodes,) and was found to produce very rich ores from the surface to the depth of sixty varas, where a kind of black ore was discovered which resisted all attempts to reduce it to advantage. By smelting, it yielded little or nothing, and by amalgamation, although the quantity of silver produced was very considerable, the loss of quicksilver was so great as to leave no profit. On the other hand, the vein, which at the surface was only one vara in width, increased gradually until, at the depth of seventy varas, it was ten, and in some places more than fifteen varas wide. An adit was driven, with an intention of piercing the lode one hundred varas below the old workings; but from some miscalculation in the measurements, it did not reach the point where it would have cut the vein, and was given up by the proprietors in despair. Since that time Gavilanes has been upon the decline, and, in 1826, the district only contained one mine in activity, although abounding in metalliferous veins.

Guārĭsămēy, the head of the surrounding district, owes its discovery to the lode of Tĕcŏlōtă, which crosses the high road from Dŭrāngo to the coast, by Cŏsălā. The abundance and richness of its ores soon brought settlers into the vicinity of the mines: the neighbouring mountains were explored, and the veins of Ărānă, Cinco Señores, Bŏlāñŏs, Pĭrāmĭdĕ, Cāndĕlārĭa, Dŏlōrĕs, and Tāpĭā, discovered, with numberless others, which have not yet been worked; the miners of Guarisamey having never attacked a vein that did not leave a clear profit from the very surface of the earth.

Almost all the lodes mentioned above were denounced by

Zămbrānŏ; and all produced bonānzas, some of which were very considerable. The mine of Arāna was remarkable for containing, between two small stripes of rich ore, a cavity filled (like the bovedas of the mine of Zăvālă, at Catorce) with a metalliferous dust, composed almost entirely of gold and silver. It was likewise distinguished by many of those rich spots commonly called "Clavos," which although of small extent in a horizontal direction, were very constant in perpendicular depth. These "Clavos" were worked to the depth of one hundred and eighty varas, though the mine had no shaft; and during the whole of this space, the most ordinary ores yielded from ten to fifteen marcs to the monton of fifteen quintals, while the richest are said to have produced from seventy to one hundred and five. The lode of Cinco Señores is five varas in width, and the quality of the ores fully equal to their abundance: the mine is three hundred varas in depth, which, even at Guārīsămēy, is an extraordinary circumstance, few of the oldest mines exceeding one hundred, or one hundred and forty varas. Near the summit of the mountains that separate San Dimas from Guarisamey, lie the mines of Bolaños and Piramide, with others, all of inconsiderable depth. The bonanza of Bolaños, upon its first discovery, was celebrated, but the mine was abandoned in consequence of the failure of an adit commenced with great magnificence, but so badly conducted, that after wandering in various directions in search of the lode, at a very considerable expense, it came out again on the side, at a very little distance from the point where it had entered the mountain.

On the north side of the same ridge lies the famous mine of La Candelaria, from which a very large portion of Zambrano's fortune proceeded. It is situated near the summit of the mountain, immediately opposite to the mines of Cinco Señores and Bolaños, there being about three hours of difficult ascent from Guarisamey to these mines, and nearly the same from San Dimas to the Candelaria. On the San Dimas side, the

mountains are very precipitous, and thus the mine of Candelaria has been worked to the depth of nearly 600 varas, by adits driven one below the other upon the lode, the whole expense being defrayed by the value of the ores produced. The last, a most magnificent work, is driven nearly 500 varas into the mountain, with such amplitude that a stage-coach might pass through it into the very heart of the mine, which may be worked 600 varas lower by pursuing a similar plan.

The rich ores of the lode have been found, from the surface to the present depth, in separate beds, perpendicular to the horizon, (commonly called "*clavos à pique*,") and divided by intermediate masses of rock. The beds of ore have been constant from the surface downwards, and in that part of the lode hitherto examined, (which comprises a horizontal distance of near 500 varas,) there are four deposits of ores, with an equal number of intermediate "cavallos," or layers of rock. The lowest levels of the Candelaria are now 100 varas below the last adit, and the owners, who do not possess the means of either draining them by machinery, or of driving another adit, cannot work the mine as it requires, and yet have insisted upon such onerous terms, that they have hitherto deterred foreigners from undertaking to assist them. Disappointed in their unreasonable expectations, they now, I believe, would be glad to repair their error by granting very favourable conditions to the adventurers; but even in this case great caution would be requisite, as some claim upon the mines is still retained by Zămbrānŏ's family, and it would be necessary to take precautions against the possibility of a lawsuit before any attempt could be made to bring this most valuable district again into activity.

A little below Guārĭsămēy, and in the same ravine, is the district of San José Tăyŏltītă, which contains the celebrated mine of Lă Ābră, one of the last worked by Zambrano. It was opened in bonanza, and continued so to the depth of 80 varas, where the progress of the works was impeded by

water; and this was never drawn off, in consequence of the death of the proprietor, which took place at Durango. His nephew, at the commencement of the Revolution, collected what money he could, by extracting the pillars of all the mines belonging to the house of Zambrano, and fled to the Peninsula with the produce. The mine now belongs to Don Antonio Alcalde, one of the executors of Zambrano, and would, if worked anew with the other mines of the district, with a little science and activity, probably yield immense profits. The whole should be undertaken, however, as one negotiation, as, in such insulated districts, to make roads, and organise supplies, for a small establishment, is a very unprofitable task. Of the amount of the silver drawn from the Sierra Madre by Zambrano during the twenty-five years that he continued his labours, nothing certain is known; but Mr. Glennie, from whose notes I have borrowed the details given above, states that he himself saw in the books of the Custom-house of Durango, *eleven* millions of dollars registered as the sum paid by Zambrano as the King's Fifth; and this fact was confirmed to me by the Governor, who examined the registers himself in order to ascertain it. It is likewise corroborated by the number of mines opened at Guārĭsămēy, and the surrounding districts, in an incredibly short space of time; by the peculiar richness of their ores; and by the immense wealth of Zămbrānŏ, (diminished as his profits must have been by the expenses of working,) of which so many splendid monuments remain. Nor can one witness without regret the decline of a district capable of communicating so beneficial an impulse to the country around; but which, with its treasures still unexplored, is now almost entirely abandoned.

A little to the north of Guārĭsămēy, is the mineral called Bācīs, which was not visited by Mr. Glennie, on account of the total destruction of the roads by the rains: the same cause prevented him from reaching Tămăsūlă, Cănēlăs, and

Sĭānŏrĭ, all valuable districts; the two last of which are situated on the extreme North-western boundary of the State of Durango. Bacis has been long given up, on account of the difficulty of draining the mines without machinery; but it is said that the lodes were extremely rich in native silver, and that, in the principal mine, solid masses of this metal had been actually cut out, when the progress of the works was stopped by the water.

This may be one of those embellishments in which mining districts abound; but there is nothing improbable in the supposition, the same thing having occurred in other parts of the Sierra Madre, as well as in the mine of Barranco at Bolaños; from which I possess a piece of silver, which, but for a small portion of the matrix attached to it, would, from its size and purity, be pronounced to have been already submitted to the action of fire.

From Durango, Mr. Glennie, whose observations I must still take as my guide, proceeded to Chĭhūāhŭa, respecting which State my stock of information is very limited.

From the report transmitted to Congress by the Governor, in conformity to the 161st Article of the Federal Act, it appears that the population of the State, according to the census of 1821, amounted to 112,694 souls, of which about one-third are pure Indians, inhabiting the dreary mountains of Tărăhŭmără, and half civilized by the missionaries who reside amongst them.

The revenue of the State, in 1825, was 69,369 dollars, and its expenses, including the contingent, 63,422 dollars. The inhabitants are thinly scattered over a vast tract of country, occupied by great breeding estates (Haciendas de cria), abounding in mules and horned cattle; but agriculture was in a very depressed state, and the proprietors were looking anxiously to the mines, from which alone they expected a market. Of the mining districts, that of Jesus Maria was alone in a flourishing state; Santa Eulalia being entirely

abandoned, and Bătŏpīlăs and the Părrāl but little worked. Some account, however, of these sources of past and future prosperity, may not be uninteresting.

On entering the State of Chihuahua, the first district of any consideration is that of San José del Părrāl, situated upon the Eastern edge of the Sierra Madre, and near the Southern boundary of the State of Chĭhūāhuă, in a level country of easy access. The mines lie amongst some undulating hills, thickly covered with pasture, and of inconsiderable elevation. The lodes are easily distinguished by their rocky crests, which rise above the smooth and rounded surface of the hills. The ores are very abundant, but poor, although from time to time some rich "clavos" have been discovered. This disadvantage is compensated by the trifling expense at which they may be reduced, from the cheapness of the animals employed in the process, and the very abundant supply of grain in the surrounding country. The only article of high price is quicksilver. The salt and magistral are abundant; but there is not a sufficient supply of water to move machinery during the whole year, and as the rains are very variable, it cannot be depended upon, even for a certain number of months. The mines have been worked to a considerable extent, some of them being 300 varas in depth, and they are almost all in so dilapidated a state, that a considerable capital would be required to put them into repair. The water in the old levels is abundant. Părrāl has a numerous population, but with the exception of two or three small mines of great promise, and which require an inconsiderable outlay, it is thought that capital might be invested with a greater prospect of success in other districts, where the ruins might be more easily repaired.

On the Western declivity of the Sierra Madre, and in nearly the same parallel of latitude as the Părrāl, are the famous mines of Bătŏpīlăs. To enter into a minute description of this extraordinary district would exceed the limits of

this work; I shall, therefore, only subjoin a few remarks upon its situation and produce. Its distance from Părrāl is about eighty leagues, nearly due West, and it is situated in a very deep ravine, similar to that of Guārĭsămēy. The climate is warm, yet healthy. The metallic lodes, visible by their elevated crests, are almost innumerable, and by far the greater number of them have never yet been examined. The principal mines are, El Carmen, San Antonio, Pastraña, Arbitrios, Dolores, Candelaria, and Buen Suceso, with many others which it is not necessary to enumerate. The Carmen is the mine that produced the enormous wealth of the Marquis of Bustamante, and from which a mass of solid silver was extracted weighing seventeen arrobas, or 425lbs. The ores of Pastraña were so rich, that the lode was worked by bars, with a point at one end and a chisel at the other, for cutting out the silver. The owner of Pastraña used to bring the ores from the mine with flags flying, and the mules adorned with cloths of various colours. The same man received a reproof from the Bishop of Durango, when he visited Bătŏpīlăs, for placing bars of silver from the door of his house to the sala, for the Bishop to walk upon.

Buen Suceso was discovered by an Indian, who swam across the river after a flood. On arriving at the other side, he found the crest of an immense lode laid bare by the force of the water. The greater part of this crest was pure and massive silver, and sparkled in the sun. The whole town of Bătŏpīlăs went to witness this extraordinary sight as soon as the river became fordable. The Indian extracted considerable wealth from his mine, but on arriving at the depth of three varas, the abundance of the water obliged him to abandon it, and no attempt has been since made to resume the working.

In this district the silver is generally found pure, and unaccompanied by any extraneous substance. The reduction of the ores is consequently easy and simple. When the

silver is not found in solid masses, which require to be cut with the chisel, it is finely sprinkled through the lode, and often seems to nail together the particles of stone, through which it is disseminated. The lodes are of considerable width, but the masses of silver are only met with at intervals.

In the mine of El Carmen, the Marquis of Bustamante, after the first bonanza, drove thirty varas in depth without meeting with any thing to repay his labours; but being fully persuaded that all lodes have their alternate points of good and bad, he continued until, at the depth of forty varas, he met with the second bonanza. There is very little water in the mines of Bătŏpīlăs, excepting those situated near the bank of the river, and these the river itself might be made to drain. The population of the town was, at one time, very considerable, but it has decreased of late, whole families having gone to the new discoveries of Mŏrēlŏs, and Jesŭs Maria; the first of which lies in the vicinity of Bătŏpīlăs, and appears to possess all the characteristics by which the lodes of that district are distinguished. It was discovered in the spring of 1826, by two brothers (Indians,) by name Arauco, to one of whom a little maize for tortillas had been refused upon credit the night before. In two months they extracted from their mine 270,000 dollars; yet in December 1826, they were still living in a wretched hovel close to the source of their wealth, bare-headed and bare-legged, with upwards of 40,000*l.* sterling in silver locked up in their hut. I possess two large specimens of the ores: they are almost pure silver, and there is consequently no difficulty in reducing them by fire, however rude or defective the process. But never was the utter worthlessness of the metal, as such, so clearly demonstrated, as it has been in the case of the Araucos, whose only pleasure consists in contemplating their hoards, and in occasionally throwing away a portion of their richest ores to be scrambled for by their former companions, the workmen.

Throughout the Sierra Madre, instances of this sort have occurred, for the more wild and distant districts are visited only when the fame of their riches attracts adventurers from the towns. For some time, they have neither supplies, nor intercourse of any kind, with the more civilized part of the country; and when a few straggling pedlars first penetrate into these fastnesses, the avidity with which their wares are bought up, at the most unheard-of prices, is quite astonishing. The brother of the Governor of Durango, a lawyer by profession, informed me that, at the commencement of his career, he had been employed to visit the district of Refugio, which, like Morelos, was then recently discovered, in order to terminate some disputes between the proprietors of the different mines. He found the original discoverer, Păchēcŏ, surrounded by a swarm of harpies, to whom, not being able to convert his bars into dollars with sufficient rapidity, he had given checks (boletas) upon his mine for a certain number of cargas of ore, for which they had consented to exchange their goods; and he assured me that one of these men, who had received a boleta so worded as to entitle him to select his own ores, (a toda satisfaccion,) by waiting, and refusing any but the very richest stones until he had completed his five cargas, obtained nearly 8,000 dollars for an old cloak with a red velvet lining, with which Pacheco's fancy had been struck.

The real amount of the bonanza of El Refugio was never correctly ascertained, but Don Francisco Mĭrămōntĕs, who acquired as "Habilitator" three bars, (or one-eighth) in Pacheco's mines in the year 1811, appears, by the registers of Durango, to have returned to that place in 1814 with 337,000 dollars. The mines, none of which exceed seventy varas in depth, having been worked only by an open cut, (a tajo abierto,) are now abandoned.

To the North of El Părrāl, and five leagues to the South-east of the city of Chihuahua, is the ancient mining

district of Santa Eulalia. It has been long deserted, and the mines are at present in a ruinous state. The ores were generally found in loose earth, filling immense caverns, (salones,) of which some are stated to be sufficiently large to contain the cathedral of Mexico. The correctness of this assertion may require confirmation; but there can be little doubt of their magnitude, since the last bonanza extracted from one of them continued for nine years, and one real being laid aside for each marc of silver produced, a fund was formed, out of which the cathedral of Chihuahua was built, and a fund of reserve formed, of 100,000 dollars. The ores of Santa Eulalia are generally mixed with a considerable quantity of Galena, which renders them fit for smelting.

Upon the Western descent of the Sierra Madre, eighty leagues from Chihuahua, is the celebrated and recently-discovered district of Jesus Maria. This "Mineral"* was denounced in the year 1822, but was at first very little worked, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, population, and every other necessary for mining operations. It was, in fact, nearly abandoned again, on account of these difficulties, until a few men more persevering than the rest, after suffering great privations, succeeded in working two or three of the most promising lodes, to the depth of fifteen or twenty varas, where they began to extract such rich ores that the attention of the surrounding country was again called to the spot. A search being made among the neighbouring mountains, upwards of two hundred metallic lodes were registered in one

* "Mineral" is the term now used to express a Mining district, in lieu of "Real," which is thought to savour too much of *Royal* rights. In this, as well as in some other terms employed in this work, I fear that I have sinned against the prevailing notions of the day; for I have actually put into print "Puente del Rey," instead of "Puente Nacional," and talked of Counts, Marquises, and other obsolete titles, in lieu of designating their proprietors by the appellation of citizens, which has been bestowed upon them by the studied simplicity of Republican phraseology.

year, within a circle of three leagues in diameter. The first inhabitants who flocked to this new district, were principally poor people, who became possessed of mines which they had not power to work; and on this account few have yet attained to any considerable depth. The deepest, (Santa Juliana,) is not more than seventy varas, but it has produced ores so rich, that they have been carried to Chĭhūāhŭa, (eighty leagues,) and to the Parral, (one hundred and thirty leagues,) to be reduced, there not being any reduction works on the spot when the bonanza commenced. Near the surface of the earth, all the lodes contain a considerable quantity of gold; this diminishes as the workings increase in depth, while the proportion of silver augments. The Mineral is situated in a deep ravine with very little level ground about it, the mountains rising on each side from the arroyo. In 1826, the population was rapidly increasing, and there was no want of the necessaries of life, though every thing was still exceedingly dear. In the immediate neighbourhood are several mining districts of very great promise, some ancient, and some newly discovered. Such are Rosario, Nabosayguame, El Potrero, Quipore, El Pilar de la Cieniguita, El Pilar de Milpillas, Batopililuas, and Cajurichic. These form a circle, the centre of which is the Indian village of Moris, situated in an open valley, capable of considerable cultivation. Jesus Maria is near the summit of the mountains, and is consequently cold in the winter, the surrounding ridges being occasionally covered with snow. Moris is in a temperate climate, almost bordering upon *Tierra Caliente.* Two leagues below Jesus Maria there is a small plain well adapted for reduction works, and affording pasturage for animals, but it is necessary to open a road to it down the ravine.

The boundaries of Chĭhūahŭa, to the East and North-east, are the States of Cŏhāhūilă and Tēxăs, and the Territorio*

* Territorio, as has been already stated, means a district, or province,

of New Mexico, with the Rio Bravo del Norte as a line of demarcation. To the West (both North and South,) the vast State of Sonora and Cinaloa extends, occupying the whole space between twenty-two and a half, and thirty-three and a half degrees of North latitude, and forming the Eastern Coast of the Gulf of California up to the Cerro de Santa Clara, where the Indian lands South of the rivers Gila and Colorado commence. Beyond these again, the stripe, or belt of missions, composing New California, stretches as far as the Port of San Francisco, (in latitude 38,) and from thence, by Cape Mendocino, to the boundary line in 42°: while Old California occupies the Peninsula forming the Western shore of the Gulf, which runs parallel with the Coast of Sonora, and terminates with Cape San Lucas, and Cape Palmo, nearly opposite to Măzătlan.

Of New California little or nothing is yet known. Old California has been crossed since 1821 by a few foreigners; but the first authentic account that the world will receive of this part of the Mexican dominions will probably proceed from Dr. Coulter, a gentleman of great science and activity, now in the service of the Real del Monte Company, who intends, upon the termination of his engagement with the Association, to proceed to the North, and to employ two years in exploring the frontier provinces of New Spain. General Victoria, whose protection I solicited for Dr. Coulter in this arduous undertaking, promised to give him every facility. Indeed, the Mexican Government has a direct interest in his success, for it knows nothing at present of its possessions to the North of Sonora, and has ample employment in the more central provinces for the few scientific natives, whose services it can command.

General Wavel, whose projects of colonization in Texas, where he possesses a large grant of land, are already before

the population of which is not yet sufficiently considerable to entitle it to rank as an independent State.

the public, has had the goodness to furnish me with a very detailed account of that province, which will, I believe, be found to comprise all that is at present known of the Eastern frontier North of the River Bravo.* The country appears to be rich in valuable produce, abounding in water, and possessing rivers of sufficient size to ensure to its inhabitants the benefits of internal navigation, which have produced so wonderful an effect, in the course of a few years, in the neighbouring valley of the Missisippi. Unfortunately for Mexico, these advantages have been duly appreciated by her neighbours in the United States. Some hundreds of squatters, (the pioneers, as they are very appropriately termed, of civilization,) have crossed the frontier with their families, and occupied lands within the Mexican territory; while others have obtained grants from the congress of Saltillo, which they have engaged to colonize within a certain number of years. By thus imprudently encouraging emigration upon too large a scale, the Mexican Government has retained but little authority over the new settlers, established in masses in various parts of Texas, who, being separated only by an imaginary boundary line from their countrymen upon the opposite bank of the Sabina, naturally look to them for support in their difficulties, and not to a Government, the influence of which is hardly felt in such remote districts.

In the event of a war, at any future period, between the two republics, it is not difficult to foresee that Mexico, instead of gaining strength by this numerical addition to her population, will find in her new subjects very questionable allies. Their habits and feelings must be American, and not Mexican; for religion, language, and early associations, are all enlisted against a nominal adhesion to a government, from which they have little to expect, and less to apprehend. The ultimate incorporation of Texas with the Anglo-Ame-

* *Vide* Appendix, Letter B.

rican States, may therefore be regarded as by no means an improbable event, unless the Mexican Government should succeed in checking the tide of emigration, and in interposing a mass of population of a different character, between two component parts, which must have a natural tendency to combine into one.

A proposal to this effect was, I believe, made to the President, in 1826, by John Dunn Hunter, whose history excited much interest in this country a few years ago.

The correctness of the account contained in his book of his origin, and early adventures, is denied in the United States, and Hunter has been denounced, by their periodical publications, as an adventurer who imposed upon the credulity of the British public, by representing himself as the hero of a romance of his own creation. To me it appears that his crime has been the boldness with which he vindicated the rights of an injured and persecuted race, to whom he devoted his life, and in whose service he was at last sacrificed. No one can have known him, for however short a time, without being convinced that, in whatever manner his connexion with the Indians may have originated, he was a real enthusiast in their cause. Upon every other subject his language was coarse, his appearance dull, and his manner totally devoid of energy and grace; but as soon as that chord was touched, his countenance lighted up at once, his expressions became forcible and picturesque, and where words failed him, (as they sometimes did from his imperfect acquaintance with the English language,) the eye, and even the agitation of the man, bespoke the truth of the sentiment, which he was labouring to express.

Hunter's object in visiting Mexico, (in as far as I could ascertain it,) was to induce the Government to assign a portion of the vacant lands in Cohahuila and Texas, to some numerous tribes of Indians, mustering in all nearly 20,000 warriors, who had been driven from their hunting-lands on

the Missouri and the Mississippi, by the rapid spread of the population from the Anglo-American Eastern States. Retiring across the vast Prairies of Louisiana, and pursued, step by step, by that civilization, before which they fled, they entreated Mexico to grant them lands which they might call their own; and offered, if allowed to settle upon the Southern banks of the Colorado and Sabina, to take the oath of allegiance to the Government, to embrace the Catholic religion, to devote themselves to agricultural labours, and to defend the frontier against all encroachments. This favourable opportunity of acquiring a valuable addition to the population of the country, was lost by that dilatory spirit, which, both in Spain, and its dependencies, has been the source of so many evils. Hunter left Mexico without having received any positive answer to his demands, and it is said that, in order to clear himself from the imputation of bad faith before the great council held upon his return, he advised the Indians to cross the frontier, and to occupy the lands, the cession of which they had solicited in vain.

This proposal was approved of by some of the tribes, but rejected by others; and a very small body of Indians entered the Mexican territory with Hunter, who proceeded, in conjunction with a few American settlers, to proclaim the independence of Texas, under the name of Freedonia.

They were opposed by the Mexican Commandant of the Eastern Internal Provinces, (Don Anastasio Bustamante,) in conjunction with Colonel Austin, the chief of the flourishing establishment formed by the American settlers at the mouth of the river Brazos; and the Indians, on the appearance of so formidable a force, were glad to obtain terms by immediate submission. It is not known whether Hunter was given up as a peace-offering to Bustamante, or killed in some skirmish; but his head certainly fell into the possession of the Mexican General, with that of Field, a white man, who, like

Hunter, had passed his life amongst the Indians, and was regarded as one of their chiefs.

As this event took place a very short time before my departure from Mexico, I was unable to acquire any information respecting it; nor am I aware of the changes, which Bustamante's vigorous operations in Texas may have produced. It is to be hoped that what has already taken place there will serve as a warning, and that the Government will henceforward pay some attention to this valuable possession; for, without bearing any ill-will towards the United States, but entertaining, on the contrary, a very sincere admiration of their progress, I may be permitted, as an Englishman, to observe, that it cannot suit our interest to see their line of coast extended as far South as the Rio Bravo del Norte, which would bring them within three days sail of Tampico and Veracruz, and give them the means of closing at pleasure all communication between New Spain and any European power, with which they might happen to be at variance themselves.

I shall beg leave to refer my readers to the Appendix for any farther information that may be desired respecting Texas; and return at once to the Western Coast, in order to close my account of the Northern frontier, with some details respecting Sōnŏră and Cĭnălōă, which will not, I hope, be found devoid of interest.

For these I am indebted almost exclusively to Colonel Bourne, whose extremely curious journal I annex at full length in the Appendix. (Letter C.) I have likewise made use of the information which he has been so obliging as to afford me, in order to rectify in my map the numberless errors committed in former publications respecting Sonora; and I hope that I may by this means be enabled to throw some light upon the real character of a country, which, though little known in Europe, or even in Mexico, can hardly fail, in

the course of a few years, to acquire great and permanent importance.

Colonel Bourne entered Cinaloa. (to the South of Sonora, properly so called,) by its Southern boundary, the river Cañas, or Bayona, (it is known by both names,) which separates the State of Sonora and Cinaloa from that of Guadalajara, or Jalisco. From thence he proceeded to Rosario, the first mining town of importance in the Southern part of the State, and the depôt for the port of Măzătlān, from which it is distant twenty-five leagues. Rosario contains a population of 6,000 inhabitants: Măzătlān, though rising into importance as a port, consists entirely of huts, composed of mats, hides, and palm-leaves, all the principal merchants connected with the East India trade having their residences at Rosario, or at the Presidio of Măzătlān, (nine leagues inland,) where the climate and water are better than in the immediate vicinity of the port.

At Mazatlan, Colonel Bourne, whose object was to inspect the mining districts in the North of Sonora, (300 leagues from Rosario,) embarked for Gūāymās, in lieu of performing the journey by land, where he arrived after a tedious passage of fifteen days. The voyage does not usually exceed eight.

Guaymas is situated in latitude 27.40 North, about the middle of the Gulf of California, and both Mr. Glennie and Colonel Bourne state it to be a magnificent harbour, capable of containing two hundred vessels, and sheltered from all winds by the lofty hills surrounding it, and by an island, which leaves only a narrow outlet towards the Gulf. The town did not exist before the Revolution. It now contains 3000 inhabitants, and 300 houses; some of which are in the modern style, and handsomely built. In 1824, when there was no custom-house in Sonora, twenty-eight vessels were lying in the port of Guaymas at one time, whose cargoes were of course introduced duty free.

The imports consist in Chinese, East Indian, and European manufactures, brandy, paper, refined-sugar, cacao, coffee, and tea, &c. &c.; and the exports, in wheat, flour, beef, hides, furs, copper, silver, and gold.

The heat in summer is very great, yet the town is healthy, and neither the Vomito, nor the Cholera Morbus are known: the most serious inconvenience experienced by the inhabitants is the want of water, which is brought from wells three miles inland.

From Măzătlān to Guaymas the navigation is neither intricate, nor dangerous: there is much shoal water upon the Sonora coast, but that of Old California is bold and lofty, with deep water close in shore; and the islands, of which there are several in the Gulf, are all high land, and visible at a considerable distance. There is, therefore, reason to suppose that, when the population of Sonora increases, as I am convinced that it speedily must, Guaymas will become the principal commercial depôt upon the Western Coast of New Spain; being much superior as a port both to Mazatlan, and San Blas, and easier of access than Acapulco to vessels from Calcutta or China; which, from the prevalence of particular winds in the Pacific, seldom make the Mexican coast to the South of Guaymas, and often steer as far North as Cape Mendocino, or San Francisco.

In the Gulf pearls are found in great abundance; they are mostly of a small size, and these are so common in Mexico, that they are worn by the lowest orders in the streets. But California, likewise, produces pearls of the very finest quality: nor do I know any part of the world where necklaces of greater beauty may be seen than in New Spain. The pearls of Madame de Regla, of her sister the Marquesa de Guadalupe, and of Madame Vĕlāscŏ, are all remarkable for their size; and General Victoria is in possession of an oyster, recently sent to him from Sonora, which contains a single pearl

not yet entirely detached from the shell, but perfect in all its parts, and larger, I think, than any pearl that I ever recollect having seen.

In 1825, a company was formed for exploring the pearl-oyster beds in the Gulf of California, and two vessels were sent round Cape Horn, provided with diving-bells and all the supposed requisites for the fishery. The management of the enterprise was entrusted to Lieutenant Hardy, R.N., who, after a great deal of trouble, succeeded in making an equitable arrangement with the Mexican Government as to the division of the profits; and proceeded to Guaymas to take the command of the expedition upon its arrival. Unfortunately, it was but too soon ascertained that the heat, and the rocky bottom together, prevented the diving-bell from acting at any thing like the depth to which the native miners were accustomed to descend. One damaged pearl was the result of the first cruize, which lasted six weeks; and after a second attempt, equally long, and equally unsuccessful, the scheme was abandoned as utterly hopeless. No blame attaches to the gentleman entrusted with the management in Mexico: the fault lay in the principle, which was not properly inquired into here; and its failure may serve as an additional proof of the risk incurred by the application of new theories to the opposite hemisphere, where any miscalculation in the first instance must lead to disappointment, and may be attended with ruinous expense.

When I left Mexico, Lieutenant Hardy had not returned from the North. He was said to be wandering amongst the savage tribes of the Pimeria Alta, with whom he had contrived to establish a friendly intercourse; and he will probably in this way acquire a knowledge of a country hitherto unexplored by any white. A taste for such investigations has always been a remarkable feature in this gentleman's character. A few years ago, being out of employment, he took a passage on board a merchant-vessel to the vicinity of the

Tierra del Fuego, (near Cape Horn,) where he was landed amongst the Patagonians, with whom he remained a year and a half, before the arrival of another vessel enabled him to bring himself into communication again with the civilized world. It is supposed, however, that he is not influenced in his present excursion by mere curiosity, but by a wish to investigate the mineral treasures of the Indian country, which are thought to be very great.

From Guaymas, the road to the interior of Sonora lies through Pĕtīc, a town of 8,000 inhabitants, situated in a plain near the conflux of the rivers Dolores and Sonora, thirty-six leagues from the Coast. The intervening country is level, and apparently destitute of water; the rivers from the Cordillera losing themselves in the sands between Petic and the Gulf; yet it is covered with herds of cattle and deer, and inhabited at intervals by Indians of the Seres tribe, of whose treacherous character Colonel Bourne's Journal gives some curious details. Pĕtīc is the depôt for the trade of Upper Sonora with the Gulf. Its inhabitants, amongst whom there are a few foreigners, (three Englishmen, two Americans, and eight Biscayans,) are wealthy, and abundantly supplied with the necessaries of life, the country around being remarkable for its fertility.

Fourteen leagues to the Westward of Pĕtīc is the town of San Miguel de Horcasitas, upon the river Dolores. To the North of this town, the first ramifications of the Sierra Madre appear, abounding in mines of silver, gold, and copper. A vein of the last is worked by Mr. Loisa, a merchant of Petic, who raises the ore at an expense of four dollars the quintal, and sells it, when conveyed to Guaymas by his own mules, for fourteen dollars; at which price it is bought up for the China market, where the copper of Sonora bears a high price, in consequence of the large proportion of gold contained in it.

From San Miguel to Urĕs, on the Southern bank of the

river Sonora, the distance is twelve leagues. The plain to the South of this town is one of the most fertile districts in the State; but to the North, the road runs along the banks of the river Sonora, confined in its course by two of the precipitous ridges which branch out from the great Cordillera and intersect the level country at regular intervals. These ridges preserve generally the same direction, (from North to South,) and run parallel with each other towards the Pacific, separated by the rivers Dolores, Sonora, Ŏpŏsūră, and Bărispĕ, which fertilize the intervening spaces. In all these streams gold has been found, but in none so constantly as in the river Sonora, the mountains on either side being nearly perpendicular, and full of mineral veins.

After passing through the cañada above Ures, the town of Bābĭăcōră is found upon a Table-land, a little elevated above the bed of the river; it extends twelve leagues in a Northerly direction, and contains the towns of Conche, and Sonora, with a number of Ranchos and Haciendas. Eighteen leagues to the Eastward, again, is the town of Opŏsūră, situated upon the banks of a river of the same name, not laid down in any map, but which, after running over a great extent of country to the South-west, enters the river Yaqui, a little above Onābăs, in latitude 28.

The vale of Opŏsūră is divided from that of Babiacora, or Sonora, by one of those parallel ridges which have been already described. It is about twenty-six leagues in length, and varies from one to four leagues in breadth. The population consists partly of whites, who have preserved the blood of their Biscayan ancestors in all its purity, and partly of Indians of the Opātă tribe, who, in Upper Sonora, compose nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants. They live in towns, and are completely civilized, being clothed after the manner of the whites, with whom they always unite against their barbarous countrymen, the Apaches; and such is the confidence reposed in them, that they are provided with fire-

arms by the Government, and formed into militia companies, under the command of their own chiefs. The smiths, carpenters, and other artisans of the State, as well as the working miners, are found amongst these Indians, who are thus most valuable members of the community. They likewise furnish the Haciendas with a hardy race of labourers, many thousands of whom are distributed over the valleys of Băbĭăcōră, Sŏnōră, and Opŏsūră, extending in a northerly direction towards Arispe, (a town of 3,000 inhabitants, now the residence of the Commandant of the State,) and the mining district of Năcŏsārĭ.

The whole of this country is rich in every variety of agricultural produce, for besides wheat, maize, and barley, the sugar-cane grows in the valleys, with figs, pomegranates, peaches, grapes, and numberless other fruits; horned cattle, mules, and horses abound throughout the province, and may be purchased in any number, at about one-fifth of the price usually paid for them in other parts of the Republic; and to these advantages are added a most delightful climate, and the facility of a communication by water with the port of Guaymas, from which the towns of Babiacora and Oposura are only distant between seventy and eighty leagues.

Such a combination of favourable circumstances induced General Victoria, (himself a native of the North,) Don Pedro Escalante, (the Representative of the State of Sonora in the Senate,) and several other Mexicans connected with the Northern Provinces, to entertain the idea of bringing into activity, by the formation of a Company, some of the mining districts near Opŏsūră and Arīspe, formerly celebrated for their wealth, but abandoned during the great Apache war, in the latter half of the last century; when the Indian tribes upon the frontier, irritated by the hostilities of the Spanish presidial troops, made so general an attack upon the Northern Provinces, that all the isolated establishments were broken up, and even the towns themselves preserved with difficulty.

For this purpose an association was formed, of which Colonel Bourne is a member, and in its name a number of important mines were "denounced" in the vicinity of Oposura, which was selected, as a central spot, for the principal establishment. Of these districts a very detailed account is given in Colonel Bourne's Journal. The most noted are Cerro Gordo, (South-east of Babiacora,) and the mines of Cobriza, San Antonio, and Dolores, (within a little distance of the same place;) the mines of San Juan Bautista de Sonora, (situated upon a mountain eight leagues to the North-west of Oposura, which is crossed in different directions by fourteen veins, all distinctly pronounced,) and those of San Pedro Nacosari, and Churinibabi, (to the North and North-north-west of Oposura.)

In all these districts the depth of the mines is inconsiderable, their former riches acknowledged, and the causes by which their working was interrupted, known. The advances necessary in order to bring them into activity are small, for in fact it is more remittances of quicksilver, and mining stores, (which must be sent round Cape Horn to Guaymas,) than money, that is requisite. No unreasonable expectations are entertained by the Mexican proprietors, and no onerous conditions proposed; while their respectability and influence in the country are the best possible guarantee to the adventurers that their operations will be conducted with good faith, and can meet with no interruption.

The success of the enterprise appears to me unquestionable; and regarding as I do the prosperity of the mines of Mexico, as intimately connected with that of our own trade and manufactures, I should think it a subject of just regret, if, after embarking so eagerly in speculations, of which nothing certain was known, capitalists should not be found to engage in one, the result of which can hardly be regarded as doubtful.

I am aware that many of the statements contained in this,

and the preceding books, respecting the mineral riches of the North of New Spain, will be thought exaggerated. They are not so: they will be confirmed by every future report; and, in a few years, the public, familiarised with facts, which are only questioned because they are new, will wonder at its present incredulity, and regret the loss of advantages, which may not always be within its reach.

I am willing to hope, however, that my present undertaking may have the effect of directing the attention of some of my countrymen to a field, the importance of which has been hitherto but little suspected. Many of the facts detailed in the preceding pages are known in Mexico only by persons immediately connected with the part of the country to which they relate, but by them they are unanimously confirmed.

It may be asked, how a territory, possessing such vast natural resources, can have been reduced to the state of comparative poverty in which it now lies? The cause is simple. The precious metals do not in themselves constitute wealth, and as long as any communication between Sonora and the rest of the world was prohibited, except through the medium of the Capital, (Mexico,) and the port of Veracruz, they could not even be employed as a means of obtaining the produce of European industry, which they now command. The inhabitants, forbidden to avail themselves of the harbours upon their own shores, without quicksilver, (so essential in mining processes,) and without a mint, (the nearest was that of the Capital, 600 leagues from Arispe,) thought little of the mineral treasures by which they were surrounded, and devoted their attention to the cultivation of those, upon which their subsistence and comforts depended.

Their Haciendas, their flocks and herds, horses and mules, constituted their only care; and no portion of Mexico is richer than Sonora in these: but even at the present day, in many of the larger towns, money is unknown; and sales are

effected by barter; the produce of the Interior (as silver bars, gold dust, hides, or flour,) being exchanged for the imports of Guaymas and Măzătlān, at Pĕtīc, or Rosārio, Ālămŏs, and Cŏsălā. There is no mint, as yet, nearer than Durango, or Guadalajara, and until an establishment of this nature be formed, the circulating medium will of course continue very small: but the exports of the precious metals in bars and grains to Calcutta and Canton are very considerable; the intercourse with India and China being already better organized than that with any of the Southern Provinces of the Republic.

The inhabitants, who are frank and cheerful in their manners, industrious, brave, and hospitable in the highest degree, will soon learn to turn the advantages of their present position to account. From their former enemies the Apaches, and other savage tribes, North of Arispe, and the Presidio of Fonteras, (latitude 31,) they have no longer any thing to apprehend, for their enmity was always directed against the European Spaniards, who were obliged to avail themselves of the intervention and influence of the Creoles in order to obtain a cessation of hostilities.

The Apaches are said to be an independent and high-minded race, averse to the arts of civilized life, but excellent horsemen, skilful in the use of the lance, and formidable marksmen with the bow and arrow. They do not possess fire-arms, and are fortunately too distant from the frontiers of the United States to obtain a supply, (as the Comanches have done on the borders of Cohahuila and Texas,) from the lawless traders, who precede the advance of civilization across the wilderness. They require little beyond the undisturbed possession of their hunting-grounds, in which they were continually molested by the Spaniards; and as the Creoles already hold ten times as much ground as they can possibly require, there is little reason to fear an interruption of the good understanding which at present prevails.

I shall close my observations upon Upper Sonora with one more remark. Although there is no part of the country in which there are so many Creole families of pure Spanish descent, or where old Spanish names so continually recur, (as Moreno, Rodriguez, Fernandez, Espinosa, &c. &c.) Sonora has proved itself to be quite as decided as the Southern and Central Provinces in the cause of Independence. A number of the young men, who joined the Insurgent armies in 1810, were natives of the North, sons and nephews of the most respectable landed proprietors of the Internal Provinces; and General Victoria himself, whose real name is Fernandez, although he has been induced by the general wish of his countrymen to retain that which he adopted during the war, was, as I have already stated, a native of Tămăsūlă, where his family possessed considerable property. If there are particular spots, (as Alamos, or Rosario,) where other feelings with regard to Spain are thought to prevail, it is because they are in the hands of old Spaniards, who form, wherever they congregate together in any numbers, a little isolated knot, whose dislike to the present order of things is as evident, as it is innocuous.

The road from Arispe to the Villa del Fuerte, the capital of Cinaloa, runs nearly due South for one hundred and twenty leagues. The principal towns on the way are ŏnābăs, (on the Southern bank of the river Yaqui,) and Los Ālămŏs, a celebrated mining district situated between the rivers Mayo and El Fuerte, in a barren plain, where supplies, even of the necessaries of life, are drawn from the valleys of Oposura and Sonora in the upper part of the State.

The mines of Alamos lie nearly five leagues to the North of the town. They resemble those of Catorce in the character of the veins, which are mostly from six to eight varas in breadth, and produce ores varying from fourteen to thirty marcs of silver to the monton. The principal mining proprietors are four brothers of the family of Almādŏs, who are

said to possess a capital of half a million of dollars each: but the merchants are numerous and wealthy, and the town itself, which took its origin from the mines, is built with considerable magnificence. It contains six thousand inhabitants, and from three to four thousand more are employed daily in the mines.

To the North-east of Alamos, and nearly due West of Jesus Maria, upon the slope of the Sierra Madre, towards the Gulf, lies the "Mineral" of San José de Mŭlātŏs, discovered in the year 1806, and registered as a "Placer de Oro," on account of the quantity of gold found in the small stream which descends from Mŭlātŏs to the river below. On investigating the ravine, from which this stream issued, three elevated crests were discovered, (one of them more than one hundred varas in height,) intersected by small threads, or veins, of white earth, containing gold in so large a proportion that the ores of inferior quality were disposed of at twelve and fifteen dollars the arroba, while the richest sold for two hundred dollars.

Two of the crests have been extensively worked, but the third is nearly virgin. All three may be explored to advantage by commencing at the summit, and sinking through the crest to the level of the ground, as the veins of gold traverse every part of the rock. The gold of Mulatos is nearly pure, the lowest quality being twenty-three "quilates," while it sometimes rises to twenty-three quilates, three and a half grains.* Some idea may be formed of the abandoned state of the district from the facts related by Mr. Glennie, to whom I am indebted for the above account, and who says, that when he visited Mulatos, he found a number of Indians suspended by ropes upon the side of the rocks, or crests described above, picking out the earth in which the gold is contained with wooden stakes, but without attempting an excavation of any kind.

* 4 grains 1 quilate; 24 quilates, pure gold.

I much regret that Mr. Glennie's continual absences from Mexico should have prevented him from continuing the account of his visit to the Northern Mining Districts, of which I have made such frequent use in the preceding parts of this Section. He visited both Alămŏs and Cŏsălā, of which I shall have occasion to speak subsequently; and it would have been a satisfaction both to the public and to myself to see statements, many of which may be thought to require confirmation, corroborated by the evidence of so intelligent and indefatigable an observer. I must, however, remark generally, that Mr. Glennie's views, with regard to the riches of Sierra Madre, (which he terms *one mine* from Guarisamey to Jesus Maria,) coincide entirely with those entertained by Colonel Bourne; and that the opinions of both are confirmed by the Mexicans who have visited the Internal Provinces; by the official documents, frequently alluded to in the foregoing Books; and by the unanimous evidence of a number of most respectable individuals, whom I had an opportunity of consulting, myself, upon the subject at Durango and elsewhere.

To the North and North-west of Alamos, between the rivers Yaqui and Mayo, there are vast plains inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians; who, like the Opatas of Babiacora, have become reconciled to the restraints of civilized life. The Yaqui tribe possesses a number of towns on the Southern bank of the river of that name, each surrounded by fields and gardens in a high state of cultivation; and South of the river Mayo, the Mayos alone form a population of 60,000 souls. Their capital, Santa Cruz, contains 10,000 inhabitants. Both the Yaquis and Mayos are docile and industrious, and supply the mining districts and farms with labourers, and the towns with artisans, many of whom are by no means unskilful in their respective trades.

To the South of Alamos, in the direction of El Fuerte, there is little or no population; but the country is level, and

the road practicable for carriages: the distance is twenty-four leagues.

El Fuerte was originally a military station, established by the Spaniards in their progress towards the North. Since the union of Sonora with Cinaloa, it has been selected as the residence of the Governor of the State, the Congress, and the Supreme Tribunal of Justice; and it now contains four thousand inhabitants. The situation is not particularly favourable; as, notwithstanding the vicinity of the river, the country about the town is unproductive, and the heat in summer insupportable. The *Tierra Caliente* of Cinaloa extends from El Fuerte, or rather from Alamos, to the confines of Guadalajara; it is one vast sandy plain, destitute of vegetation, except in the rainy season, or in spots where the vicinity of the mountains, or the confluence of two large streams, ensure a supply of water. This is the case at Cŭlĭăcān, the most ancient and populous town in Cinaloa, situated upon a river of the same name, eighty leagues South of El Fuerte. It contains eleven thousand inhabitants; and the country about it is well watered, and highly productive.

Cŏsălā, thirty-five leagues South of Culiacan, is the next town of any note on the road towards Jălīscŏ. It derives its importance entirely from its mines, one of which, called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, is very celebrated. It belongs to Don Francisco Iriarte, a relation of the President's, who refused an offer of one million of dollars, made in 1825, by an association of foreigners, on condition that he should allow them to work his mine for a term of three years. Guădălūpĕ is free from water, and situated at a considerable elevation above the plain; it contains a vein of gold of considerable breadth, and its produce might be increased to ten times its present amount; but the proprietor, a man of very peculiar habits, often refuses to work the mine for months together, and when compelled to employ labourers upon it, in order to prevent the loss of his title by exposing the mine to a denun-

ciation from some other quarter, never allows more than four arrobas of gold (100lbs. weight) to be raised in the week.

The idea of a man possessed of boundless wealth, but refusing to make any use of the treasures within his reach, will seem incredible in Europe; but Iriarte really does not know the value of money. With at least a million of dollars in gold and silver in his house, he lives in a habitation, the furniture of which is composed of buffaloe skins, with wooden tables and chairs of so massive a construction that it requires two or three men to lift them from one part of the room to the other. His sons, whom he never permits to leave the town, are forced to attend to a little retail shop in Cŏsălā; and his daughter, who is pretty, is suffered to grow up in uneducated idleness. His own habits are abstemious; and his religious notions extremely strict. He dislikes allusions to his wealth, and considers any enquiry respecting his mine almost as a personal offence. To all proposals for a cession of the right of working it, even for a limited time, he has hitherto given the same answer, namely, that he does not want money, and that if he did, those who offer him the most liberal terms know best that he could take out of his mine double the amount of any thing that they could give, in less time than they would themselves require to raise the money.

Under these circumstances but little is to be expected from the mine of Guadalupe until the death of its eccentric proprietor; but if any faith can be reposed in the opinions of those best acquainted with Cŏsălā, its wealth is almost unparalleled; and the three sons of Iriarte must, at some future period, astonish the world by the immensity of their resources.

Cŏsălā and Opŏsŭră are almost the two only spots in Northern Mexico, where the inhabitants are afflicted with wens, a disease so common in the mountainous districts of Columbia, that the possibility of discovering a remedy for it has

occupied the attention of the Legislature. In both places it is attributed to some peculiarity in the water, which descends from the Sierra Madre strongly impregnated with mineral substances. It is singular, however, that similar effects should not be produced by it in situations differing apparently but little from those designated as the seats of the disorder; for instance, in the valley of Sŏnōră nearly parallel with that of Opŏsūră, and in Cūlĭăcān, which is almost on the same line with Cŏsălā. Perhaps the effect diminishes as the distance from the Sierra increases; for Cŏsălā is only five leagues from the foot of the Cordillera, and may consequently be more immediately under the influence of the causes calculated to engender the disease. This supposition is confirmed by the increased violence of the affection at Santa Ana, a rancho, where the ascent towards the Table-land commences, and where all the inhabitants without exception are victims to this disgusting complaint.

From Cŏsălā to the Capital, or the Central States of the Republic, there are two routes; the one by Rosario, the river Cañas, and Guădălăjără, which is impassable during the rainy season, the other due East from Cŏsălā, across the Sierra Madre to Durango. By the first of these Colonel Bourne entered Cinaloa, and he quitted it by the second, the rains having commenced at Cūlĭăcān on the 24th of June, and cut off all communication by the coast in the course of a very few days. He describes the ascent to the Table-land as full of difficulties, and extremely precipitous, but he nevertheless contrived to reach Durango in eight days by a road which crosses the mountains between Pāpăsqŭiāro and Gūārĭsămēy, without passing through a single town, or Pueblo of any importance.

I have endeavoured to compress into this Section all the data now in my possession with respect to a part of Mexico, which, though least known, I am inclined to regard as the most interesting portion of the territories of the Republic.

Its progress has been hitherto impeded by obstacles which no longer exist. Of its resources we possess only a very imperfect idea; but, should the details given in the preceding pages have the effect of attracting the attention of capitalists, and scientific men, I am convinced that a field will be opened to European enterprise superior in richness to any that the New World has yet presented.

In stating this I am far from wishing to encourage delusive hopes. Inquiry must precede speculation, or the errors will be repeated which have already proved so detrimental to the interests of the adventurers engaged in the mines of the Central States of New Spain. But the subject is of sufficient importance to merit attention; and attention, should it lead to ulterior projects, would, I am inclined to believe, be sufficient to ensure success.

SECTION V.

RETURN FROM DURANGO TO SOMBRERETE.—ZACATECAS.—MINES OF VETA GRANDE, AND OF THE UNITED COMPANY.—ROAD THROUGH THE STATES OF GUADALAJARA AND VALLADOLID, BY OZUMATLAN AND TLALPUJAHUA TO THE CAPITAL.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE STATES OF MEXICO, VERACRUZ, OAXACA, YUCATAN, AND TABASCO.

I LEFT Durango on the 19th of December, highly gratified by the kind reception which I had experienced there from a number of most respectable Creole families, to whom I was introduced during my short visit. Amongst these were two sisters of General Victoria, very lively, and most enthusiastic politicians, a talent for which in Durango there was, unfortunately, much scope. The town was divided into two parties, Liberales, and Serviles; the first, the friends and supporters of the Governor, eager in the promotion of every useful reform; and the latter arrayed in battle under the banners of the Cathedral Chapter, as the opponents of innovation, particularly in matters connected with the Church. The struggle commenced by an attempt on the part of the State Legislature, to compel the Canons to apply to the purposes for which they had been specially bequeathed, certain funds appropriated by the Chapter, and sunk in the mass of Church property denominated Obras pias.

The Canons denied the right of interference on the part of the Civil Authorities, and for some time endangered the tranquillity of the State by the violence of their opposition. The dispute was, however, terminated amicably, a short time after my visit to Durango, the Chapter having consented to advance the money required by the Government as a loan, on condition that the proposed investigation should be dropped.

It was the intention of the Governor to employ these funds in the execution of a project, by which the appearance of the valley of Durango would be entirely changed. The town is now supplied with water by one solitary fountain, the spring (Ojo de Agua) of Los Remedios; and this, though sufficient for ordinary purposes, affords the inhabitants the means of irrigating only a very small portion of ground laid out in gardens in the vicinity of the town. It has been ascertained, however, that, by bringing a canal from the river to the North-west of the valley, a sufficient fall might be obtained to distribute water to the whole plain beyond the capital; and this project has become the favourite scheme of the Governor, whose mind seemed devoted to its accomplishment. Its utility cannot be disputed, as it would bring into cultivation a large tract of beautiful land; but the city of Victoria derives such abundant supplies from the surrounding districts, that I know not whether the real importance of the plan is equal to that which the sanguine disposition of Mr. Ortiz induces him to attach to it.

I was much struck with the difference between the manner in which society is organized in Durango and in the Southern States. The women, instead of passing their days in languor and idleness, are employed, with bustling activity, in superintending the details of the *menage*, and even take a very efficient part in that most important department the kitchen. The consequence is, that there is no part of the Republic where the advantages of cleanliness are so highly appreciated, or the comforts of life so well understood. My

room at the Governor's was delightful, and I have still a lively recollection of the excellence of the *café au lait*, which his kind and amiable wife brought me each morning with her own hands. I was told that this was general throughout the North, the Biscayan race, and a system of good housewifery, having spread together; and in Durango the general appearance of the women bespeaks more domestic habits. They are little seen in the streets, or at public places, and are better educated at home. At a ball and concert which the Governor was good enough to give me the evening before my departure, I heard several very respectable amateur performers, particularly two sisters, who played a duet together on the piano-forte with great facility of execution. But the queen of the evening was a young professional singer from Guăriśămēy, (the Pasta of Durango,) whose talents were undergoing the necessary cultivation to qualify her for sustaining the part of Prima Donna at the opera of the town. Her vocal abilities had been discovered by a friend of the Governor's, who recommended her to his protection; and, though I cannot in reason be expected to be as enthusiastic in her praise as her "Apasionados" in Durango, I must confess that she had a most powerful voice, which, when modified by a little tuition, might, possibly, be rendered agreeable.

I reached Sōmbrērĕtĕ without difficulty in ten hours; and after dining, and passing the night at Mr. Anitua's, I resumed my journey South on the following morning in the same manner; five relays of horses having been stationed for me on the road to Zacatecas,—at the Rancho of Pancho Malo, Atotonilco, La Escondida, Rancho Grande, and Las Tortolas. At Fresnillo I expected to find my own horses, with which I intended to proceed direct to Zacatecas; but, to my great surprise, I overtook Mrs. Ward and Mr. Martin there, the coach having been delayed a whole day at Atotonilco by a wheel giving way in passing a barranca a little

to the North of the Hacienda. It was hardly possible for such an accident to be more ill-timed, for there is not a room in the house with a whole door; and yet, in addition to chance passengers, they are tenanted by myriads of habitual occupants, who resist most strenuously every encroachment upon their territory. Fortunately, the country about is rather pretty, for there is a stream below the house, with some trees, and a little cultivation: there are likewise some hot springs, very inviting as a bath, but usually occupied by a succession of Indian women, two or three of whom may be found at almost any hour of the day sitting up to their necks in water, and very much amused at the *mauvaise honte* of the strangers, who have any scruples about joining so sociable a party.

I reached Fresnillo at three o'clock, having left Sombrerete at six. The distance is not less than seventy, or seventy-five miles; but sterility is the decided characteristic of the intervening space. There are some extensive fields of maize, however, about San Juan de los Troges, (between Pancho Malo and Atotonilco,) and in the vicinity of Rancho Grande, where Mrs. Ward was magnificently lodged in the Hacienda of the principal proprietor; but those who are fortunate enough to have it in their power to pass over this tract of country as expeditiously as I did, should not stay to examine its beauties in detail. Upon Mr. Martin its gloomy appearance had such an effect, that he often declared that he was indebted to "Vivian Grey," the first part of which we received at Sombrerete, for banishing a fit of the spleen, which might otherwise have endangered his life. The rapidity of my progress prevented me from feeling this in the same degree; and I was in such excellent condition for work, that, after riding 150 miles from Durango in two successive mornings,* I walked about Fresnillo all the afternoon, to

* Many people have thought Captain Head's account of distances exaggerated; but in countries where it is the custom to ride post, one

make inquiries respecting the mines, none of which are now in activity. Some few were taken up in 1825 by the Mexican Company; but the contracts were so injudicious, and the terms so onerous, that they were abandoned, (not, I believe, without a considerable sacrifice,) as soon as public opinion with regard to mining speculations in England took an unfavourable turn. The town lies at the foot of an isolated hill, upon which the mines are situated; platforms for the erection of Malacates, and extensive excavations, are now all that is left to denote their former importance.

The road from Fresnillo to Zacatecas is excellent as far as Arroyo de en Media, (six leagues,) but the level country ceases at San Juan de la Calera, (two leagues farther;) and from thence to Zăcătēcăs a succession of steep ascents and descents announces the vicinity of one of the minor branches of the Sierra Madre. The town itself is not visible until you arrive within half a league of the entrance, when you see it below you, following the direction of a deep barranca, (ravine,) of which the mountain called La Buffa, with a chapel situated upon its curiously-crested summit, forms one side. The streets are narrow, and from the want of a good police, defiled with the remains of the "Matanzas," frequent in Zacatecas, where a great quantity of tallow is made. They swarm, too, with tribes of dirty children, whose appearance, like that of their squalid parents, is by no means prepossessing. But the distant view of the town is fine, from the number of churches and convents rising proudly above the other buildings; there are several excellent houses too in the

hundred miles a day is by no means an extraordinary performance. I have myself ridden from Madrid to Bayonne, (one hundred "Leguas del Rey," or four hundred English miles,) in forty-seven hours; and I once went from Seville to London, when sent, under very pressing circumstances, with despatches, by Lord Heytesbury, in eight days and a half, partly on horseback, and partly in a cabriolet,) and returned in nine.

vicinity of the great Plaza, where we were lodged, and the market before our windows presented both a busy and a curious scene. It was abundantly supplied with fish, particularly "Bagre," (a large *Tierra Caliente* fish without scales,) as well as with vegetables and fruits. The quantity of chile disposed of was really prodigious; waggons laden with it, drawn each by six oxen, were arriving hourly from Aguas Calientes, yet their contents rapidly disappeared; piles of capsicum sufficient to excoriate the palates of half London vanishing in the course of a few minutes.

We arrived at Zăcătēcăs on the 21st of December, and employed ourselves till the 26th, in visiting the establishments of the two Companies, which have made this district the scene of a part of their operations.

These are the Bolaños and the United Mexican Associations, between which the principal mines of Zacatecas are very equally divided.

As a mining district, Zacatecas differs materially from Guănăjūātŏ, for in lieu of one great mother vein, it contains three lodes nearly equal in importance, (those of La Quĕbrădīllă, San Bĕrnăbē, or Mălănōchĕ, and Veta Grande,) with a number of inferior Vetas and Vetillas, which may be considered as ramifications of the principal lodes. Upon these nearly 3000 pits or shafts have been opened; (mostly "catas" of very inconsiderable depth.) The course of the veins is distinctly designated upon the surface, by the elevation of the crests, and may be traced even by the most unpractised eye. The works of the Companies, now that the mine of Quebradilla has been abandoned, are confined entirely to the veins North of the town. Quebradilla, which lies to the South of Zacatecas, has yielded three successive "bonanzas," (each more remarkable for the immense quantity of ores produced, than for their richness:) the first soon after the Conquest; the second when worked by La Borde, who, after Tlalpujahua and Tasco, came to make his last fortune

at Zacatecas; and the third as recently as 1810, when a Company, formed for the purpose in Zacatecas, divided upon its dissolution, in 1817, the sum of 75,000 dollars upon each "barr." But the mine was ruined in the course of their operations, and though contracted for by the United Company upon false representations, it was given up in 1825 by Mr. Alaman, who found, upon personal inspection, that the drainage could not be effected for a less sum than 400,000 dollars, while the accounts of the lower levels were too contradictory to afford any certainty that this large investment would be repaid.

On entering the mountains North of Zacatecas, about a league from the town is found the first of the two great parallel veins by which they are traversed. Upon this are situated the mines of San Bernabé, Malanoche, Pĕrĕgrīnă, and Rōndămēră, the three last of which are considered as one "negotiation."

San Bĕrnābĕ was the first mine denounced in Zacatecas. The vein was worked by the "Conquistadores," *à tajo abierto*, (by an open cut,) for the space of 800 varas; and the opinion then entertained of its productiveness is recorded by an old song still in the mouths of the lower classes at Zacatecas, and composed in commemoration of the marriage of its first proprietor Ibarra, with the daughter of the Viceroy Velasco.* The Company has every reason to think well of this enterprise, for the amount of ores raised weekly in 1826 was considerable, the drainage nearly concluded, and the appearance of the new levels, which were about to be cleared, highly promising.

* So many curious fragments of Spanish history would be lost, were it not for the "Romances" in which they are recorded, that I may be allowed to draw from the same source the only remaining record of Ibarra's good fortune. The verses are.—"Si los metales de San Bernabé no tuvieron tan buena ley, no casaria Ibarra, con la hija del Virey."

The shafts of Malanoche and La Rondanera lie about a mile and a half west of San Bernabé. The works extend over a space of nearly 800 varas, and the drainage was consequently proceeding very slowly; (about two varas in the week.) But the value of the ores raised, from the very commencement of the undertaking, had proved sufficient to cover one-third of the expense; and the produce was expected to increase rapidly as new levels were rendered accessible.

Not being a miner myself, I can only speak of the general mode in which the management of an enterprise of this nature is conducted, and of the feelings of the natives, (whom I always consulted,) respecting it. Nor must it be thought that, in this way, I could only view the favourable side of the question. There is so much rivality in mining matters in Mexico, that, by entering into communication with persons unconnected with a negotiation, I was sure to hear all the errors, (real or presumed,) that had been committed, and those too painted in the strongest colours. It must be a satisfaction therefore to the shareholders of the United Company to know that their prospects at Zacatecas were rated high, their contracts pronounced to be unexceptionable, and their mines excellent. All, however, added, that it was to be regretted that a second Anitua could not be found to undertake the management. The present director, Don Joaquin Iparriguirri, is a skilful miner, but has lost much of his former activity by age; and, at the time of my visit, Mr. Schoolbred, who had been recently associated with him, was too new in office to give that impulse to the system, which it appeared to require. It was thought that, under Mr. Anitua, what had been done in a year and a half might have been accomplished in much less time.

The little mine of Lŏrētŏ, (like Sĕchō at Guanajuato, an entirely new undertaking,) borders upon that of Malanoche. It is situated upon a separate vein, and had, when I saw it, not only covered the advances made upon it by the Associa-

tion, but began to yield a clear profit. The ores improved as the workings increased in depth, and they must now have reached the level at which the neighbouring mine of La Barguena, (worked to a much greater extent than Loreto,) was found to be extremely productive.

Besides the mines already enumerated, the United Company possesses that of San Acasio, situated upon the Eastern extremity of the Veta Grande, the second lode of importance North of Zacatecas, nearly a league and a half beyond that of San Bernabé.

San Acasio belonged originally to La Borde, (whose operations chance always seemed to favour,) and yielded a bonanza famous in the annals of Mexican mining for its extraordinary duration. It lasted twenty-two years, (from 1765 to 1782,) and completely re-established La Borde's shattered fortunes, repaired by his success in the mine of Quebradilla, and restored to their pristine splendour by this long series of successful enterprise. The mine is known to have been abandoned by his descendants when producing good ores in its "planes," or lowest levels; and in many of the upper workings the quantity of "atierres" (heaps of poorer ores, not then thought to be worth raising,) is known to be so great, that an association was formed in 1823, by a number of native miners, to work the mine in the upper levels, merely in order to extract these atierres, the value of which is now better understood. The project was given up in consequence of the contract concluded by the owner with the United Company, whose operations embrace the whole mine.

San Acasio has four Pertinencias, at three of which Malacates were erected for the drainage, and the extraction of ore. In December 1826, the mine was producing weekly about six hundred cargas of ore, (principally "atierres,") averaging seven marcs per monton of twenty quintals. An increase either in the quality, or the quantity, was required in order to cover the expenses, which, in so extensive an undertaking,

were of course considerable. It was calculated, however, that four hundred cargas more,* (making 1000 in all,) even of the poorer ores, would not only cover the "memorias," but leave 1,000 dollars profit weekly. The miners of Zacatecas entertained little doubt with regard to the issue of the enterprise of the Company at San Acasio, for no mine in the district bears so high a character: but the time requisite in order to reap the full advantage of the investments made is uncertain, from the vast extent of the works, which occupy a space of 800 varas upon the course of the vein. Mr. Alaman seemed to be of opinion, in 1826, that nearly the whole of 1827 would be required to bring his operations to a conclusion, and some allowance must always be made for unforeseen delays. In the course of the present year, however, the result must be known.

The Company is in possession of two Haciendas de beneficio; that of San José, in the town of Zacatecas, with fourteen arrastres, and Cinco Señores, without the town; which formerly belonged to La Borde. In his time it contained sixty arrastres. Only twenty-six are now in repair, but the number will be augmented as the produce of the mines increases.

The works of the Bolaños Company, (contracted for in 1825, as a desirable addition to the principal mines of the association, situated at Bolaños, in the neighbouring state of Jalisco,) are all upon the Veta Grande, to the Westward of San Acasio. They comprise fourteen shafts, (including the Tiro-General,) originally separate mines, but now connected with each other, and worked as one negotiation. These oc-

* It must be recollected that profits depend upon two distinct causes, the great abundance of poor ores, yielding a given profit upon an immense mass of "Montones," or a less copious extraction of rich ores, raised by fewer hands, and "reduced" with less labour. It is in the first that the great riches of Zacatecas and Guanajuato have principally consisted.

cupy a space of 1,200 fathoms upon the vein. Few exceed 300 varas in depth; all have been productive; many remarkably rich; and none have given reason to imagine that the vein was exhausted even in the deepest levels.

The two contiguous mines of Urīstă and Mīlănēsă rank highest amongst those comprehended in the negotiation of Veta Grande. The first produced the capital out of which the fortune and title of the Counts of San Mateo (now united by marriage with the Marquisate of the Jărāl) proceeded; and to the second, the wealth of the Condes de Santiago de la Laguna was due. During the last forty years they have been worked, with the adjacent shafts, by the Fagoaga family, and have yielded (as stated in Table, No. 9, annexed to the first section of the fourth Book) 2,088,425 marcs of silver, (16,832,400 dollars.) But during the last ten years the produce has barely covered the expenses, and the proprietors have derived little or no profit from the concern, although the establishment has been kept up in the hope of discovering a "clavo rico," and obtaining another bonanza. Captain Vetch having convinced himself by a long and patient investigation, that the system of management was susceptible of improvements, and that by reducing the establishment the receipts might, even in the present state of the mines, be made to exceed the expenditure, while the extent of vein yet unexplored afforded the fairest opening for new works, entered into a contract with the proprietors, to whom he paid 130,000 dollars on the part of the Company, for the transfer of the negotiation. He likewise took fixtures and property to the amount of 207,000 dollars more, to be paid by quarterly instalments in three years; but a part of this property consisted of "tortas," and ores already in the Hacienda, which might, consequently, be regarded as silver.

The reforms contemplated by Captain Vetch met with considerable opposition amongst the native miners; and although the Company took possession of the mines in April

1826, in December the expenses still exceeded the value of the silver raised. Eleven thousand dollars were coined weekly, but the charges were nearly twelve; the underground work alone averaging seven thousand dollars, and the costs of the Hacienda five. From eighty-five to ninety-five "campos" (pairs) of barreteros (common miners) were in daily employ; and the number of "cargas" of ore reduced varied from fifteen hundred to two thousand in the week, which yielded, upon an average, thirty-five or thirty-six ounces of silver per "monton," of twenty quintals. Within a short time after my visit, Captain Vetch succeeded in carrying his plans into execution, and in June and July, 1827, a weekly profit of 3,000 dollars was the result.

The Bolaños Company possesses a magnificent Hacienda, (La Saūcĕdă,) built by La Borde, and purchased by the Fagoagas of his family, when the mine of San Acasio was abandoned. It contains seventy-four ărrāstrĕs (called in Zacatecas, tăhōnăs), with furnaces for smelting, a very perfect lavadero, (assemblage of washing vats,) and a patio (amalgamation court,) capable of containing twenty-four "tortas," of sixty "montones" each. The process is conducted nearly in the same manner as at Guanajuato, with the exception of the "molienda" (the grinding), which is more rapid, and less fine; each "tahona" in Zacatecas grinding ten arrobas of ore in sixteen hours, in lieu of six arrobas in twenty-four hours, which is the maximum at Guanajuato.

There are seven "morteros" (stamps) at La Sauceda, it being calculated that one mortero will keep twelve arrastres in constant work. Salt and măgistrāl are abundant and cheap. The latter is brought from the copper-mines at the Asientos de Ibārră, two short days' journey from Zăcătēcăs.

The costs of reduction in the Hacienda amount to twelve ounces of silver per ton, which may be taken as equivalent to the monton of twenty quintals. In very favourable times, when agricultural produce is abundant and cheap, ores may

be worked as low as twenty-four ounces per ton; but they ought to reach forty ounces to cover the contingent expenses, and yield a reasonable profit.

The richest ores known in Zacatecas have never exceeded forty-five, or fifty, marcs per monton.

The Hacienda is situated beyond the ridge of mountains traversed by the veins of Veta Grande and Malanoche, upon the verge of a plain, very productive in maize, but presenting as arid and melancholy an appearance as if it were entirely destitute of vegetation. There are neither trees nor water to diversify the scene, which wears, throughout, the same reddish-brown colouring; while even the mountains in the background have not the beauty of outline that distinguishes those of Mexico in general, but are monotonous and uninteresting.

The machinery is put in motion by mules; and the stabling for these animals forms a very considerable addition to the size of the establishment. In 1826, the Hacienda was under the superintendence of Mr. James, who resided at La Sauceda, as Dr. Coulter did at the Tiro General of Veta Grande. To both these gentlemen we were indebted for the greatest kindness and attention during our stay at Zacatecas, where they, in conjunction with Mr. Schoolbred, gave us every assistance in our inquiries; and, by providing us beforehand with most excellent lodgings, enabled us to prosecute them with comfort.

One of the principal advantages of Zacatecas, as a mining district, consists in the superiority of the mint, (Casa de la Moneda,) to those of the surrounding States. Three hundred people are employed in it daily. The machinery is ponderous, and a great deal of labour is wasted in filing down and weighing each dollar separately; an operation that would be rendered unnecessary by the adoption of a series of cylinders calculated to reduce the bars at once to the necessary

size and thickness, as in England. But notwithstanding these defects, sixty thousand dollars have been struck off at Zacatecas in twenty-four hours: and the total coinage, according to the Governor's report to the Legislature (January 1827), has amounted, from the 1st of January 1821 to the 31st of May 1826, to 2,067,269 marcs, five ounces, and seven-eighths, or 17,571,789 dollars and four reals.

The profits of the establishment, during this time, were 126,941 dollars two reals, and six grains; yet the miners and rescatadores received dollars for their bars in the short space of four days. As the funds of the mint augment, the facilities for this operation will increase likewise; while mining enterprises, which always receive an impulse in proportion to the means of converting produce, at a fair and fixed price, into the ordinary circulating medium of the country, will undoubtedly prosper in the same ratio as the mint itself.

The machinery now in use is of brass, and made in the town. There are three flies for stamping, each worked by eight men, who are paid according to the number of dollars struck off, at the rate of two reals each man for the talega, or thousand. They often earn sixteen or twenty reals per diem, so that the coinage by each fly, in the working hours, must be from eight to ten thousand dollars. The dies are cut by an Italian, and the coinage is exceedingly good, though disfigured by the cap of liberty; which, however discredited in Europe, is still supposed in America to be emblematic of all that man holds most dear. Besides dollars, one and two Real pieces are coined, which are much wanted in other States.

The ores of Zacatecas have no Ley de Oro, and the mint no Casa del Apartado, in consequence of which the rich ores of Guarisamey were sent through Zacatecas to the Capital, where alone the separation of the gold from the silver could be effected. This has led, (as stated in the preceding Sec-

tion,) to the establishment of an Apartado in Durango, where, probably, the gold ores from the whole of the North will, in time, be concentrated.

The State of Zacatecas contains a registered population of 272,901 souls. Of these, 22,000 are assembled in the capital, and 6,000 in the village of Veta Grande, in its immediate vicinity. The rest are distributed throughout the eleven "partidos," or districts, into which the territory is divided; viz. Zacatecas, Aguas Calientes, Sombrerete, Tlāltĕnāngŏ, Villanueva, Frĕsnīllŏ, Jĕrēz, Măzăpīl, Nīĕvĕs, Pinos, and Jŭchĭlīpă.

Many of the towns, as Sombrerete, Fresnillo, Jerez, Pinos, and Nŏchĭstlān, have a population varying from fourteen to eighteen thousand souls; and in the highly cultivated district of Aguas Calientes alone, (South of the Capital,) 35,000 inhabitants are registered. But North and East of Zacatecas, the country is divided into vast breeding estates, like Sierra Hermosa, the Mezquite, and others, which we visited on the road to Sombrerete. There, the population is thinly scattered over an immense tract, and a few spots of cultivation are lost amidst the deserts that surround them. Yet the total agricultural produce of the State is very considerable. By the statistical tables annexed to the Report of 1827, it appears that 18,084 fanegas of maize are sown annually, and 670,956 reaped; 19,933 cargas of wheat are raised from 1,396 cargas sown; 24,346 fanegas of frijol (haricots), from 2,071 fanegas sown. The crop of chile is usually about twelve thousand arrobas. By this statement, which is compiled from reports transmitted by the different Ayuntamientos, it appears that the increase of maize is as thirty-seven to one, and that of wheat only fourteen and a fraction; a ratio of increase very much below the average of the corn and maize lands in the more Southern Provinces.

Zacatecas contains one hundred and twenty Haciendas de campo, with six hundred and sixteen Ranchos, most of which

consist, however, of three or four wretched hovels. There are eleven convents of friars in the State, containing in all one hundred and ninety-eight individuals; four nunneries, with thirty-one professed nuns; and four hospitals. Manufactures there are none, except in the Capital, where there are a few cotton-spinners, and at Aguas Calientes: mining and agriculture furnish occupation for the rest of the population. A little Maguey brandy, (Vino Mescal,) is distilled at Pinos; but every thing else requisite for the consumption of the inhabitants is imported from other States.

The Constitution of Zacatecas was completed as early as January 1825. The Legislature consists of one chamber. The religious Article is as uncompromising as might be expected from the influence exercised in the Capital, until very recently, by the friars, mostly old Spaniards; who, in conjunction with a numerous body of Spanish residents, have certainly contrived to preserve the lower orders in a very primitive state of ignorance and brutality. The Government has done little as yet towards correcting this pernicious influence, and its indifference is the more to be blamed, as, from the very flourishing state of the revenue, its interference would have been attended with double effect. The expenditure of the State, from the 1st of May 1825, to the 30th of November 1826, (a period of nineteen months,) amounted to 340,469 dollars, and the receipts to 414,483 dollars, leaving a surplus of 74,014 dollars in favour of the State.

Amongst the most productive branches of the revenue, the Governor points out that of tobacco, which had yielded a clear profit to the State of 75,437 dollars; and he conceives that this sum may be doubled, by a system of administration sufficiently vigorous to enforce the observance of the monopoly with as much strictness as before the Revolution. The debt of the State to the Federation for tobacco amounted, on the 30th of November, 1826, to 217,176 dollars; but the "existencias," (tobacco on hand, wrought and unwrought,)

for the ensuing year, were calculated at 358,598 dollars; and there would consequently be a considerable balance in favour of the State, when the realization of its own stock in trade, (for to this the tobacco revenue, organized as it now is, amounts,) should enable it to meet its engagements with the Federation. Time is necessary for the regulation of this complicated machinery in the first instance, but when the movements of the different parts are combined, the result of the partial experiments tried hitherto, tends very much to confirm the opinion expressed in the Fourth Section of the Third Book, respecting its probable future productiveness.

I have little to add to the details given above, except the fact that Zacatecas is the only part of Mexico, in which I am aware that, at the end of 1826, a bad feeling towards foreigners in general prevailed. We had violent prejudices to surmount in many parts of the Federation upon our first admission into the country; but those prejudices gradually disappeared, and in most places were replaced by feelings of a very different nature. In Zacatecas alone they seemed to retain much of their original violence.

This circumstance may be attributed partly to the influence of the regular clergy, and partly to the different circumstances under which our mining operations in the State commenced. The working classes had never felt in Zacatecas that distress, from which they were relieved in other districts by the introduction of foreign capitals. The mines of Veta Grande continued in activity during the whole Revolution, and several other mines belonging to old Spaniards were in bonanza up to a very late period. The Companies, therefore, did little more than occupy the places of the former proprietors. Many of the changes introduced by them consisted in reforms, very necessary, but very unpalatable; and although they brought a considerable capital into circulation, the want of it had not been sufficiently felt before to

make the people duly sensible of the importance of this service.

They are, therefore, not unnaturally regarded as interlopers, come merely to share in advantages, which the natives considered formerly as their patrimony; and as this feeling has been fomented by those who might have given it a better direction, it has more than once been upon the point of leading to very serious results. I had been prepared for this state of things by the reports of Captain Vetch and Captain Lyon, who, at a time when the safety of the individuals employed by the Bolaños Company was thought to be endangered, had very properly solicited, through me, the protection of the President. But my communications with the Governor of the State, upon my arrival in Zacatecas, inspired me with a belief that these angry feelings had subsided, until I was undeceived by the treatment which my own party experienced. Mrs. Ward usually employed her time in drawing while I was visiting the mines; and, though always surrounded by a crowd, she never experienced the slightest incivility upon such occasions, except at Veta Grande. In general, people were much delighted with the novelty of the performance; and I have seen Indians standing round her for an hour together, watching every motion of the pencil, and holding in turn an umbrella to shelter her from the sun. At Guanajuata, where fifty or sixty people were collected, while she was taking a view of the town from the Valenciana mine, we were much amused at the astonishment expressed on seeing her inquire the names of the principal points, and write them down upon the margin of her sketch. "Pinta, y escribe tambien!" (She draws, and writes too!) was the general exclamation; and such an accumulation of talents in the same individual excited universal respect. But at Veta Grande she was surrounded by a sullen and gloomy mob, who purposely put themselves in her way, so as to prevent her from seeing

the mines; and were only compelled to give her a little room, by the exertions of Don Rafael Beraza, who mounted his horse, and rode in amongst them until by degrees they were fairly driven back.

They did not quit the scene of action, however, without honouring us repeatedly with the appellation of Judios, (Jews); and two days afterwards, when we took our leave of the town altogether, and commenced our journey towards Guadalajara, so violent a spirit of hostility towards us was displayed, that we were for some moments apprehensive that we must have had recourse to fire-arms in self-defence. There was a great crowd in the Plaza, before the windows, where the market was held; and this increased so rapidly, as the preparations for our departure proceeded, that at ten o'clock, when we mounted our horses, there must have been at least six or seven hundred idlers assembled. By these we were received with a volley of hisses and abuse; nor do I believe that the matter would have rested there, had we not drawn our pistols, and assured the leaders of the mob that the very first stone thrown should be instantly followed by a volley. They gave us credit for some sincerity in our intentions, and confined themselves to a wordy war, which continued until we had quitted the Plaza, beyond which no one attempted to follow, or to incommode us. We did not, however, feel quite at our ease until we had got clear both of the town, and the "Palmares," (woods of dwarf palms extending for some miles around, and noted as the scene of many a robbery,) where we almost expected an attack, and were fully prepared to meet it.

In justice to the inhabitants of Zacatecas, I must add, that the inhospitable treatment of which we had so much cause to complain, is confined exclusively to the capital, and, even there, does not extend beyond the working-classes; an ignorant and brutal race, sunk in low debauchery, and guilty of excesses amongst themselves, which the Government has too

little energy to repress. The agricultural population is kind and hospitable; and from the landed proprietors, the authorities, and the more respectable citizens, we received every proof of the most friendly disposition.

We quitted Zacatecas on the 26th of December, and slept at San Jacinto, (twelve leagues from the town;) a fine Hacienda belonging to the Marquesa de Ruhl, where the cultivation, for which the district of Aguas Calientes is celebrated, may be said to commence. On the 27th, we reached that town, about three in the afternoon. The road from San Jacinto was quite an interesting scene, for Ranchos multiplied around us at every step. We saw on all sides immense crops of maize, and met huge ox-wains, laden, some with chile, others with Zacate, and others again with the ears of Indian corn: horses, cows, and oxen abounded in "potreros," regularly enclosed with walls and deep ditches, and every thing seemed to denote a thick and flourishing population.

In the midst of plenty, however, we ourselves were nearly starved; for having imprudently lost sight of the coach, on leaving the Hacienda, and taken a different route, we found ourselves separated from our provisions, and without any prospect of rejoining them until we reached Aguas Calientes, where the two roads again met. Under these circumstances, having set out, as usual, without breakfasting, we were most happy, about one o'clock, to meet with a man carrying a large dish of frijoles and tortillas to some shepherds in a neighbouring field. Upon these we laid violent hands; a gourd was filled with water at a spring not very far off; a tree of unusual size afforded us protection from the sun; and notwithstanding the simplicity of our fare, we agreed, when we had completely cleared our dish of haricots and chile, into which we dipped alternately with Montezuma's spoons,* that we had seldom made a more delicious meal.

* "Las cucharas de Montezuma," is a name frequently given to tor-

We found a very tolerable inn at Aguas Calientes, but were not allowed to remain in it long, the Marquis of Guădălūpĕ, whom we had known in the Capital, having insisted upon our immediate removal to his house, where we passed the whole of the following day.

The conduct of this gentlemen may serve as an example to all the great proprietors of New Spain. He possesses fourteen Haciendas, which, in 1813, when they first came into his possession, were in such a state of dilapidation, that the income derived from them did not exceed three thousand dollars per annum.

He immediately gave up the capital, and devoted ten years to the personal superintendence of his estates, which have become the most valuable in the whole surrounding country. The reservoirs and farming buildings have been repaired, and the live stock, destroyed during the first years of the Revolution, replaced; so that the Marquis already derives from his possession an income of 75,000 dollars per annum (15,000*l.*), and looks forward to a considerable increase. His stock of horses and brood mares at Cienega de Mata, and other breeding estates, amounts to eighteen thousand; and in 1826 he sold to the Bolaños Company alone fifteen thousand fanegas of maize. He is likewise working the mines of Asientos de Ibarra, of which he appears to entertain a very high opinion. The vein is of immense width (nearly twenty varas,) and the ores extremely abundant, though poor. This renders it necessary to build reduction-works upon a very large scale, and as the Marquis wishes the mines to defray a part, at least, of the expenses, the progress of the establishment is slow.

The town of Aguas Calientes is prettily built and situated; some of the houses are very handsome, particularly that of the Guădălūpĕ family, which occupies half one side of the

tillas, which, from their flexibility, are constantly used as a substitute for a spoon by the lower orders.

Plaza. In the vicinity of the town are the warm mineral springs from which it takes its name. The water is beautifully clear, and the temperature delightful. Mineral springs abound in the neighbourhood. Some few are used for irrigation; but the generality are found inapplicable to this, or any other farming purpose, from the quantity of alum contained in the water, which, after a time, leaves a thin white coating upon the soil, and renders it totally barren. It requires some years in these cases to bring the land round again.

Aguas Calientes produces nearly one-fourth of the maize, and one-third of the frijol and chile grown in the State of Zacatecas; the average annual crop of the first being 140,952 fanegas; of the second, 7,293 fanegas; and of the third (which is sold by the weight), 4,291 arrobas. The wheat raised averages 4,749 cargas (of 300lbs.), but this is much exceeded by the annual produce of Fresnillo, where 7,230 cargas are the registered return.

The town likewise contains the largest manufactory of coarse cloth that I met with in Mexico. It is called the Obrage de Pĭmĕntēl, and gives employment to 350 men and women within the walls of the establishment. Five thousand arrobas of wool are consumed in it annually; and the cheapness of this essential article (which seldoms rises above twelve reals the arroba, and may often be purchased as low as seven), enables the proprietor, whose principal business consists in a Government contract, to deliver his cloth in Queretaro at the same price as the manufacturers of that town, who can seldom obtain wool under fourteen reals the arroba.

The colours principally used are red, green, and blue. For the first, cochineal is employed as a dye, at the rate of 4½lbs. for a piece of cloth forty varas in length, and weighing 60lbs.; such being the quality and dimensions fixed by the terms of the contract. Indigo produces an excellent blue. For the yellow, two dyes are employed; one, extracted from the seed of a parasitic plant, found in

abundance upon the Peruvian pepper-trees in the Bajio, and called Săcătlăscāl; the other, Palŏ Mŏrălētĕ, a *Tierra Caliente* tree, brought principally from Ămătlān de las Cañas. The Săcătlăscāl is much the stronger dye of the two, only 6½lbs. of it being required for each piece of cloth, (the pound is worth two and a-half reals,) while of Moralete, an arroba and a quarter must be employed, at seven reals per arroba, in addition to which there is the expense of pounding it. Mŏrălētĕ is, nevertheless, more generally used, in consequence of the difficulty of ensuring a regular supply of Sacatlascal. Either of the two with indigo, dissolved in sulphuric acid, makes a very good green.

The prices are (per vara) scarlet, twenty-four reals, green eighteen, blue sixteen, and yellow fifteen. The dearness of cochineal, which is brought from Oaxaca, and costs there three dollars the pound, and the scarcity of indigo, are the causes of the difference in the price.

At Aguas Calientes we first perceived that difference in the climate, which becomes so striking as you approach the Western Coast. The harshness of the North wind disappears, and is replaced by a soft and balmy feel in the air, unknown even in the capital, where the evenings and mornings are generally chilly. Nothing could exceed the kindness and unaffected politeness with which our hosts did the honours of their house. The Marquesa, a sister of Madame de Regla's, with all the beauty, and all the cleverness, for which the family, on the mother's side, is celebrated, was earnest in her solicitations to prolong our stay, but we were too much pressed to return to Mexico to allow ourselves to be tempted, and on the 29th of December we quitted Aguas Calientes, and took the direct road to Guadalajara, by La Villita (ten leagues distant), where we slept.

Humboldt has committed an error in his map (which has been since copied by every one else), in comprehending Aguas Calientes in the Province of Guadalajara, and not in that of

Zacatecas, to which it belongs. He likewise omits almost all the towns on the road to Guadalajara, and the rivers are very erroneously laid down; that over which the Bridge of Calderon is thrown being entirely left out, and the Rio Grande brought close to Guadalajara, which it does not approach within six leagues. The boundary line between the two States lies, in reality, between Aguas Calientes and La Villita. The first part of the road is level; the last two leagues hilly; the town itself is situated in a barranca, as are most of those on the way to Guadalajara; I suppose, for the convenience of water. We found the inn tolerable, and, in addition to the ordinary supply of provisions, we procured a quantity of iced milk, seasoned with vanilla and sugar, which after a hot ride was very agreeable.

Dec. 30.—San Juan de los Lagos, eight leagues.

This town is famous for its annual fair, commencing on the 8th of December, and for a church dedicated to the Virgin, which would be regarded in any part of the world as a fine building. In its present situation, the impression is perhaps increased by the contrast with the mud houses and wild scenery around. I am not acquainted with the circumstances that first gave celebrity to the image of our Lady, in honour of which the church was built; but it is supposed still to possess the power of working miracles, and medals, invaluable to all who believe in their efficacy, are sold at the door of the church for a mere trifle.

The town lies in a deep ravine, almost upon a level with the river of the same name: the inn is built of stone; it is very spacious, and during the fair, proves a most valuable possession, each room being let for ten dollars a-day. I was sorry not to have been able to visit San Juan during this period, for the scene is said to be exceedingly curious. Thousands of horses and mules are assembled upon the hills around, and every room in almost every house is full of merchandise of foreign or domestic manufacture, from which the merchants

of the North make their selections, and lay in their supplies for the year. Diversions of all kinds are intermixed with the business of the day. Cock-fighting, Monte, and balls, occupy the leisure hours; and as the fair is a rendezvous for all the proprietors of Haciendas within a hundred leagues of the place, with their families, there is perhaps no spot in the Federation where the national manners may be seen in such purity. The fair is now declining in importance, for so many channels have been opened of late for the importation of foreign goods, that they are becoming accessible to all classes of the inhabitants in their respective States; but the meeting will probably long be kept up for the purposes of pleasure, although no longer essential to the supply of absolute wants.

Dec. 31.—La Venta fourteen leagues.

We left Săn Jūān a little before seven, and at eleven reached Jālŏs, where we breakfasted. The distance is called five leagues, but is in reality seven. At Jālŏs we passed two hours, the greater part of which was occupied in negotiating the purchase of two horses, for one of which I gave forty-three dollars, and for the other twenty-six dollars and a carga-mule, that could go no farther. We made an unfortunate exchange of mules at Zacatecas, where we got rid of several miserable animals with sore backs, and received in return some fine-looking creatures, so little fit for work, that they every one dropped off before we reached Guadalajara. There is a disease peculiar to Mexico, called the Asoleado, to which both horses and mules are subject when exposed, while too fat, to the violent action of the sun. It is in fact a *coup de soleil*, but in lieu of the head, it affects with them the action of the heart. The blood circulates with tremendous rapidity; and even before the disease arrives at its climax, the pulsation is so violent that it may be felt shaking the frame of the animal at each throb. In this state bleeding almost to exhaustion is the only efficient remedy. Palliatives are much used by the Mexicans, but the

horse usually remains subject to a return, on the slightest exertion; and this fact is so well known, that one of the first trials to which a horse is subjected, when brought for sale, is to gallop him a hundred yards in the sun, and then to ascertain, by pressing the hand upon the withers, that he has not that peculiar throb which is indicative of the complaint. We had neglected this precaution with our Zacatecas mules, and they every one failed us. One died upon the road, and three others were exchanged in part price for horses, as the only mode of avoiding a total loss.

From Jalos we proceeded to La Venta, (seven leagues more,) a wretched Hacienda, sans meat, sans maize, sans milk, sans every thing, where we were nevertheless compelled to sleep.

On the 1st of January, 1827, we reached Tĕpātĭtlān, a pretty town, eleven leagues from La Venta, built upon an eminence, at the foot of which a little stream winds through the plain, with a belt of cypresses designating, as usual, its course. Tepatitlan is a Pueblo Ranchero, the head of a very fertile district, containing a population of 25,524 souls, and rich in maize, barley, horses, and horned cattle. The amount of grain sown is calculated at 3,553 fanegas annually; and the ratio of increase averages, in the crop of maize, sixty, and in that of barley, twelve, fanegas for each one sown.

We found the inn good, and provisions abundant. I had been remarkably successful, too, in my morning's sport, having shot, besides hares, of which we were getting rather tired, several quails, and a number of ducks of various kinds, which were abundant in the rio, or arroyo, below the town; so that we ushered in the new year by a very sumptuous repast. The weather was so mild that we placed our table in the open air, under the porch of the inn, and sate there till a late hour in the evening, talking over past adventures, and future prospects with Mr. Martin, whom I had first known in Sweden in 1816, and wondering, since chance had thrown us together in

two such distant points, in what part of the world it would be our lot again to be brought into contact.

Jan. 2.—We left Tĕpātĭtlān at seven o'clock, and reached Zăpŏtlān, or Zăpōtlānējŏ, at two. Distance twelve leagues.

Upon a "Mesa," or high Table-land, extending as far as Cerro Gordo, I shot a number of birds called by the natives Gordillos, but resembling our woodcock in eye, plumage, and general appearance. They are nearly double the size, and of equal delicacy of flavour.

Zăpōtlānējŏ, at a distance, appears quite a mass of verdure: the situation is extremely sheltered to the North and East, and the supply of water abundant; but the descent from Zăcătēcās, which must be considerable, had been so very gradual, that, notwithstanding the increasing mildness of the air, we were not prepared to find ourselves suddenly transported into *Tierra Caliente*, and surrounded by a vegetation worthy of the Vega of Cūāūtlă itself. All the fruits of which Jălāpă can boast are to be met with in this isolated spot; and we saw with astonishment, as we approached it, the dark foliage of the Aguăcātĕ and Chĭrĭmōyă contrasting with the light green of the sugar-cane, and the brilliant yellow of the orange. During the afternoon, we feasted upon Zăpōtĕs, and other delightful fruits, of which we had been long deprived; and on the following morning, we laid in a stock of oranges for the road, the value of which is never so fully appreciated as after a dusty ride beneath a burning sun.

Four leagues North-east of Zăpōtlānējŏ, we passed the Bridge of Cālděrŏn, celebrated in the annals of the Revolution for the action which proved so fatal to Hĭdālgŏ, and gave Cāllējă his title. It is thrown across a river, with banks precipitously steep, and presents a position highly favourable for defence, if attacked only in front, but disadvantageous if turned, as it was by the Royalist cavalry. On the hill, upon the Guădălājāra side, there is still a mound of stones, covered with an infinity of little crosses, which

denote the spot where the slaughter is said to have been greatest.

Jan. 3.—From Zăpŏtlān to Guadalajara, ten leagues.

The moment that we left the barranca in which Zapotlan lies, we lost sight of the luxuriant vegetation by which the Pueblo is surrounded. The fields resumed their old brown colouring; maize stubbles followed each other in endless succession; and the Table-land, with its usual characteristics, extended once more around us.

We breakfasted at the village of Puente Grande, a magnificent bridge, with twenty-six arches, thrown over the River Lerma, or Rio Grande de Santiago, six leagues from Guadalajara, and four from Zapotlan. The breadth of the river at this point is very considerable, and the volume of water in the rainy season great; but during six months of the year the greater part of the bed is dry; and from this uncertain supply, as well as from the masses of rock brought down by the waters during the periodical rains, I should conceive that any attempt to render the Rio Grande navigable would be attended with much difficulty. Many, however, regard it as the future medium of communication between the Băxīŏ and the Pacific, and look forward confidently to the time when Mexican flour, exported by this channel, will replace that of Chile in the markets of Lima and Gŭyăqūīl. Without deciding upon the practicability or impracticability of this plan, it is only necessary to say that Mexico must be in a very different state from that in which it now is, before its execution can be attempted. The work must be the work of a highly prosperous, and populous country, and not of one in which the elements of prosperity are only beginning to develope themselves. It, therefore, certainly does not belong to the period embraced in my present work; although, in 1927, its advantages may perhaps be descanted upon by some future Mexican historian.

I remained a long time at the Puente behind the rest of my

party duck-shooting, and should probably have passed the morning there, had I not received a letter from Mr. Ritchie, an English merchant of great respectability established at Guadalajara, who had had the goodness to offer us lodgings in his house during our stay in the town—written in haste, to inform me that the principal authorities of the State were coming out with him to meet us at the village of San Pedro. I instantly took the road to that place, but did not reach it until long after the carriage, and found a numerous party assembled, who had been waiting some time for us. Zacatecas had spoiled us for such civilities, or, at least, left us totally unprepared to meet them; and I was not a little ashamed of our appearance, as we took our places, covered with dust, in the gay carriages brought out for our reception.

The approach to Guadalajara lies across a flat but rich vega: the town covers a great extent of ground, and the view of it from the Hacienda de Batres (to the South-east), is very picturesque, although there is no range of mountains for the eye to rest upon in the back-ground. Mr. Ritchie's house, where we arrived between two and three o'clock, is situated in one of the principal streets, and, large as our party was, his hospitality found means to provide a lodging for us all. The servants and mules alone were sent to an inn, which, from what I saw of it, appeared to be particularly bad.

The State of Jalisco, or Guadalajara, commences, as has been already mentioned, a little to the Westward of Aguas Calientes, and occupies the whole intervening space from that town to the shores of the Pacific.

This extensive territory is divided into eight "Cantones," or districts; (Guădălăjāra, Lāgŏs, La Bārcă, Săyūlă, Ētzătlān, Aūtlăn, Tĕpīc, and Cŏlŏtlān;) and these, again, are subdivided into twenty-six departments, (*departamentos*,) containing in all 318 Pueblos, 387 Haciendas, and 2,534 Ranchos, with a registered population of 656,830 souls. Before the

separation of the district of Colima, which has chosen to become a Territorio de la Federacion, (that is, to place itself under the immediate inspection of the Supreme Government,) Jalisco contained eight hundred thousand inhabitants. The number does not now exceed that given by the census; as the Government, convinced of the inexactitude of the returns transmitted by the Ayuntamientos, has added to them one-sixth for unavoidable deficiencies.

The population of the capital, in 1823, was 46,804; but it has increased materially since that time, and in 1827, was supposed to amount to nearly sixty thousand souls. The town itself ranks as the second city in the Republic, and although its claim is disputed by La Puebla, it is, I think, fairly entitled to the appellation. The streets, however, look melancholy and deserted, most of the lower orders being occupied in their own houses, where they exercise various trades in a small way, as in San Luis. They are good blacksmiths, carpenters, silversmiths, and hatters, and are famous for their skill in working leather, as well as in manufacturing a sort of porous earthenware, with which they supply not only all Mexico, but the neighbouring States upon the Pacific. This is made partly in Guadalajara, and partly in the two villages of San Pedro and Tŏnălā, where the inhabitants have no other occupation. Rebozos and Tapalos, (shawls of striped calico, much used by the lower orders,) are made in considerable quantities; as were formerly Mantas (blankets); but this branch of trade, after suffering much in 1812, when the port of San Blas was opened by General Cruz, has been destroyed entirely by the late importations from the United States, smuggled in through Tampico, Soto la Marina, and Refugeo, on the Eastern coast.

Guadalajara derives at present little or no advantage from its foreign trade, San Blas being nearly abandoned as a port in consequence of its natural inferiority to Măzătlān and

Gūāymăs, as well as of the vexatious conduct of the Custom-house officers there; upon which subject I have already given all necessary details in Section V. Book III.

Foreign goods are introduced overland from San Luis, or Mexico. There is but one foreign mercantile house in the capital, (that of Mr. Ritchie,) and three at Tĕpīc; and it is probable that even these will soon be obliged to seek an establishment farther North, unless the opening of the ports of Manzanillo and Navidad, (hitherto little frequented,) should give a new impulse to the direct trade.

With so large a population, the revenues of the State of Jalisco might be very considerable; they have not, however, proved sufficient to cover its expenses. This is owing chiefly to the abolition of the Alcavalas, in lieu of which a Contribucion directa, or income-tax, was established by the Congress, at the suggestion of the late Governor, Don Prisciliano Sanchez. The measure was so unpopular, that the amount raised never exceeded 230,000 dollars; and to supply the deficit, some of the old alcavalas were re-established in addition to the income-tax: even with this, the contingent, amounting to 365,000 dollars a year, is not covered, and the State is 108,000 dollars in arrear with the Federation. The annual expenses of the Government are 200,000 dollars, including the salaries of the Governor and vice-Governor, with eight Gefes Politicos, who preside over the eight Cantons, thirty deputies, and eight senators, each of whom receives a salary of 3,000 dollars.

To cover these charges, there are, in addition to the branches of the revenue already mentioned, the fourth of the tithes, which averages annually from 85,000 to 90,000 dollars: the produce of the tobacco manufactory, not yet well organized, and the municipal duties, which are large, besides the three per cent. on foreign goods. These altogether produce only 500,000 dollars; though the revenues from 1812 to 1821 amounted to four millions annually. At that

time, however, San Blas was the only port in the whole Mexican territory, besides Vera Cruz, open to foreign trade; and consequently the duties upon goods intended for the consumption of the Northern States, which now supply themselves through their own ports, accumulated in Jalisco.

The mines of Guadalajara, with the exception of those of Bolaños, which I was very sorry not to be able to visit, are of less importance than those of the other Central States. Bolaños is situated in a barranca, the lowest part of which is only 3107 feet above the level of the sea. Of the works carrying on there, I have already given a description (Book VI. Section II.), to which I can make no additions. At Comanja, another district, between Lagos and Leon, the United Company has contracted for the mines of Diamantillo and Guardarraya, which, from Mr. Alaman's account, may be regarded as a mere experiment. The principal vein of Cŏmānjă is considered to be a prolongation of the Veta Madre of Guanajuato; but since the expulsion of the Jesuits, who worked the famous mine of Los Remedios there, it has been little explored. The Sierra of Comanja is partly volcanic, and partly trapp. Besides silver, it abounds in magnetic iron, lead, and tin; but the Pueblo itself was entirely destroyed during the war, and the mineral riches in its vicinity are seldom explored.

In the *Tierra Caliente*, between Guadalajara and Tepic, there are likewise some "minerales" hitherto but little worked. Of these, the only one of importance appears to be Tlōstŏtīpăqūillo, where the mines of Colonel José Chiafino appear by papers, with which Mr. Ritchie was so good as to furnish me, to have yielded, from 1806 to 1810, a clear profit of 234,932 dollars, and, from 1820 to 1824, 268,143 dollars. They are now abandoned, in consequence of the death of the proprietor.

Jalisco is undoubtedly the State in which republican ideas have made the greatest progress, but I doubt whether the

violence of the attacks directed against every thing connected with the former system has not produced, in some respects, a detrimental effect. The liberty of the press has degenerated into licentiousness; and the wish to weaken the influence of the clergy, (all powerful in a city so long the seat of a wealthy Bishoprick,) led the late governor into a contest, in which he appeared, at last, as the avowed advocate of atheism.

As in Durango, the intervention of the Supreme Government was found necessary, in order to prevent the too great eagerness with which ecclesiastical reforms were pushed by the liberal party from being productive of very serious consequences. By the seventh Article of the Constitution of Jalisco, the State sequestered the property of the church, and undertook in return to make an adequate provision for the ministers of religion. This measure was strenuously resisted by the Cabildo, which even went so far as to threaten the Congress and Governor with excommunication, if they persevered in their attempt to enforce it. The point of right was referred, at last, to the General Congress, which decided that the ecclesiastical authorities could not legally be called upon to take the oath of fidelity to the new code, upon conditions so detrimental to their interests. The Constitution was accordingly sworn without the Seventh Article, (which, however, is still retained as a part of the printed text,) and this prudent resolution put a stop, for the time, to farther innovation. Enough had been done, however, to excite a spirit of inveterate hostility between the Ecclesiastical and Civil Authorities, and, up to this day, the contest has been continued. The Governor, Don Prisciliano Sanchez, died a short time before I reached Jalisco, in a state of excommunication as one of the editors of the Astro, the paper in which the doctrines, to which I have already alluded, were promulgated; and his successor, Don Antonio Cumplido, is, I believe, involved in the same sentence. The advocates of moderate church reforms in Mexico regret this

state of things in Guadalajara. The authorities, by their conduct, have given the Cabildo but too fair a plea for crying down every attempt at innovation as a heresy; and although I am inclined to think that the influence of the Church is decreasing rapidly, it has still a great hold upon the minds of the people, and might, if driven to extremities, prove a dangerous enemy to the tranquillity of the country.

On every point not connected with religion, the Government of Jalisco has shown a most laudable anxiety for the improvement of public education. Schools have been established in every part of the State, and placed under the immediate superintendence of the Political Chiefs. By an article of the Constitution, those, who, after the year 1840, are not able to read, will lose the right of voting at the elections. In the capital, a college is established at the public expense, upon the most liberal footing. Professors of anatomy and modern languages (both Frenchmen, and clever men,) have been engaged at a salary of 2,000 dollars per annum. A professor of mineralogy from Freiberg is shortly expected, and Mr. Jones (son-in-law of Mr. Lancaster) has been appointed to superintend the Lancasterian system throughout the State, with a similar return for his services. A magnificent building is set apart by Government for this new institution, and lectures were to commence there the week after my departure.

The town of Guadalajara is handsome, the streets airy, and many of the houses excellent. There are fourteen plazas, or squares, twelve fountains, and a number of convents and churches, the principal of which (the cathedral) is still a magnificent building, notwithstanding the destruction of the cupolas of both its towers in the earthquake of 1818.

The Alameda, or public walk, is very prettily laid out, for the trees, instead of being drawn up in battle array, in lines, intersecting each other at right angles, like the streets, are made to cover a large tract of ground in irregular alleys,

while in summer the intervening spaces are filled with flowers, particularly roses, which give both life and variety to the scene. There is a fountain, too, in the centre, and a stream of water all round. Within the town, the Portales are the principal rendezvous, as, besides a number of handsome shops, well provided with European and Chinese manufactures, they contain a variety of stalls covered with domestic productions, fruits of all kinds, earthenware from Tŏnălā, shoes in quantities, mangas, saddlery, birds in cages, "dulces" of Călăbăzātĕ, and a thousand other trifles, for which there seems to be an incessant demand. As each of these stalls pays a small ground-rent, the convents to which the Portales belong derive from them a considerable revenue. They are the counterpart of the Părĭān in Mexico, but infinitely more ornamental, being built with equal solidity and good taste.

Guadalajara possesses a mint, and four printing-presses, all established since the Revolution. The mint is under the direction of an Englishman, Mr. Murray, whose history is a curious instance of the unexpected turns which a man's fate may take in life, without his own free agency being at all consulted. He was taken prisoner at the siege of Gibraltar, as a midshipman in the British service, and conveyed by the vessel which captured him direct to Lima, where, according to the usual policy of the Spanish Colonial Government, he was kindly treated, but desired to give up all idea of ever seeing Europe again. Being very young, he changed his religion, and finding escape impossible, he worked his way in the Spanish service, until being transferred from Peru to Mexico, he obtained his present situation, which he has held since 1812. He is much respected, and in very comfortable circumstances: of his former connexions he knows nothing, and he has so nearly forgotten his native language, that he thinks it useless to institute inquiries which might bewilder and perplex him, without adding in any way to his prospects of enjoyment during the remainder of his life.

We remained at Guadalajara from the 3d to the 7th of January, during which time we met with every sort of civility and kindness from the authorities, as well as the principal inhabitants of the place. The Gefe Politico Don Francisco Duque, and Don Joaquim Parres the military Commandant, furnished me with a great deal of useful information, as did Don Antonio Gutierrez y Ulloa, a most intelligent and gentlemanlike Spaniard, for many years Intendant of the State. It was under his administration that the receipts amounted annually to four millions of dollars, (from 1812 to 1818,) out of which the expenses of the army of General Cruz were covered, and all other charges defrayed.

Of the Canons, (mostly old Spaniards,) we saw nothing. Their influence is thought to be upon the wane, and the "Liberals" of the capital declare, that had they not been fettered by the decrees of the Supreme Congress, Jalisco would have given a memorable example to the rest of the Federation, and humbled the pride of the clergy at once. Upon this subject I have already expressed my doubts. It must be admitted, however, that their authority is by no means what it was. Iturbide threw himself into the arms of the high church party, which could not prevent him from being driven from the throne; and amongst the middling classes of society, a disposition to question the authority of the church, even in spiritual affairs, is daily gaining ground. In temporal matters we have seen that it is rejected altogether. If you ask any young man of the present day in Guadalajara what his religious principles are, he will tell you that he is a "naturalista," that is to say, of no religion at all. Nor is it surprising that such tenets should spread, when the disgraceful mummeries are taken into consideration, by which the friars in particular endeavour to maintain their influence over the minds of the lower orders. At Zacatecas, we saw, on Christmas eve, a figure of our Saviour paraded through

the streets, dressed in a green silk robe, with a pañuelo del sol,* fastened across the shoulders; while the Virgin Mary followed, adorned with a fashionable French hat put on a little on one side.

These images the poor are taught to worship. The rich, or rather the well-informed, may bow the knee indeed, but they deride in private the superstition with which they are compelled outwardly to conform; and religion itself shares in the feelings, which such disgusting exhibitions are but too well calculated to excite.

On the 7th of January we quitted Guadalajara, and slept at Ătĕquīzā, a Hacienda eleven leagues from the town, very prettily situated, upon the borders of a plain of *sembrados de trigo*, (young wheat,) which had been just laid under water, and was of the most delicate green that it is possible to imagine. The Hacienda contains thirteen "sitios," and the lands are mostly "de riego," (irrigated,) but the increase of wheat seldom exceeds thirty to one, and does not average more than twenty-five. We were received with much hospitality by the proprietor, an acquaintance of Mr. Ritchie's; and remained till late in the evening seated in an open corridor, enjoying a temperature unknown in the central provinces even during the hottest months.

On the following morning, (January 8th,) we left the high road to La Barca, by which our carriage and baggage mules proceeded to Ŏcŏtlān, and struck across the mountains, nearly due West, to the camp of Tlăchichīlcŏ (four leagues from Ătĕquīzā), upon the banks of the Laka of Chăpālă. This magnificent lake is laid down in Humboldt's map as little known, and the distance from Guădălājārā is likewise made to appear much greater than it really is, for it is easy to

* A large white handkerchief, worn, in the manner described, by the Rancheros, to protect the back from the sun. The impropriety, or rather impiety, of using it in a religious festival requires no comment.

reach Tlăchĭchīlcŏ in one day, the distance not exceeding thirty, or at most thirty-five miles. A little above this place, which was a military station during the Civil War, the immense basin of Chăpālă opens upon the view. It is from thirty-six to forty leagues in length, and varies from five to eight leagues in breadth: the surrounding mountains are barren, but bold, and descend at once to the water's edge, while the Island of Měscālă, nearly opposite Tlachichilco, serves as a point of repose, upon which the eye rests with pleasure in traversing the expanse of deep blue water. This island, which is now used as a Presidio, or public prison, was occupied during the years 1811, 1812, and 1813, by the Indians from the surrounding villages, who, headed by their Curas, declared in favour of the Independent cause, and maintained themselves in this strong position against all the efforts of General Cruz (then commanding in Guadalajara) to dislodge them. They were well provided with canoes, and made frequent incursions from their stronghold into the surrounding country, cutting off isolated detachments of the royal troops, and returning loaded with provisions to the lake, before a force could be assembled to attack them. Nor was their reduction effected until 1814, when a number of gun-boats having been built at Tlachichilco, their communication with the shore was cut off; and, after repulsing several assaults, they were compelled by famine to capitulate.

We embarked on board one of these gun-boats, which is still in good preservation at the camp, after breakfasting with the wife of the Commandant (La Señora Rodriguez) upon the Pescado Blanco, for which Chăpālă is celebrated. This fish is found in most parts of the Table-land, but it does not attain so large a size in the lakes about the Capital, as in those of Pāscuărŏ and Chăpālă, from whence, upon great occasions, it is sent express to Mexico, slightly sprinkled with salt, or preserved in snow. I was glad to be able to furnish

Madame Rodriguez in return, with a quantity of the water-fowl, which abound upon the edges of the lake, but are seldom tasted by the natives, as they have no guns that will kill a duck at fifty yards from the shore.

We sent our horses to San Pedro, an Indian village three leagues from Tlăchĭchīlcŏ, and proceeded there ourselves by water, stretching half across the lake, in order to get a better view of Měscālă, where we regretted not having time to land. San Pedro is situated upon the steep ridge which separates Chăpālă from the Valley of ŏcŏtlān, through which the Rio Grande pursues its course. The view of the lake from the height called La Coronilla, is almost equal to that of the Lake of Geneva from the mountains above Vevay. Its vast extent, its form, the bold outline of the surrounding mountains, and the clear blue of the sky above, render it a very striking scene, and one to which few pencils could do justice.

From San Pedro to the banks of the Rio Grande, at the point where it reissues from the Lake of Chapala, which it enters near La Barca, we calculated the distance to be about five leagues; the two first mountainous, the three last over a level plain, which we crossed at a rapid passo. Even at this pace we could hardly keep our guide (an Indian runner from San Pedro) in sight. He continued at a very fast trot over every sort of ground, now disappearing in a barranca, and now half seen, in the obscurity of the evening, fifty yards before our horses' heads, until we reached the ferry, to which he had promised to conduct us. ŏcŏtlān is situated upon the Southern bank of the river, a broad and rapid stream. We found the passage not unattended with danger; for, as we had only one servant with us, Mrs. Ward, Mr. Martin, and I, were seated in a punt just large enough to contain us, guided by a man with a pole not sufficiently long to reach the bottom in the deepest parts. We each held a horse by a lasso, while the saddles and bridles were piled up between us; the ser-

vant remained upon the bank to force the animals to enter the water, which, as it was dark and cold, they did with great reluctance; and when they got into the middle, not discovering the opposite bank, they began to swim in different directions, and very nearly upset the boat. More than half an hour elapsed before we were all landed; and Mr. Carrington, who had gone on in the morning to superintend the passage of the baggage-mules and the coach, told us that it had taken nearly four hours to accomplish it. I had bought at Sōmbrērētĕ sixteen Durango mules, from the Hacienda del Ojo,—beautiful creatures, but perfectly unbroken, and so nimble in their motions, that, if they chose to separate from their companions, we had hardly a horse fast enough to come within lassoing distance of them while in full career. Frightened at the water, these beasts spread on every side; and it was only by collecting some rancheros to assist the servants, that Carrington was enabled at last to force them into the stream, which was done by closing gradually in upon them with loud cries, and lassos whirling in air, until one more courageous than its companions plunged in, and was followed instantly by the rest.

I know few instances in which the utter inutility of English servants for Mexican travelling would have been better exemplified than in the attempt to break these mules. Not one of them had ever been in harness before, yet they drew our coach the whole way from Sōmbrĕrētĕ to the capital. The first few days, the operation of catching them was really tremendous. The mules were driven into a corral, or large inclosure, and two lassos affixed in turn to each, one to the neck, and the other to one of the hind legs. Each of these was held by two men, while, after allowing a little time for the animal to exhaust itself in unavailing efforts, a fifth approached, and with infinite precautions placed a leather bandage (the Tapa ojos) over the eyes, and then proceeded to put on the rest of the harness. During this process, the

struggles of the mule are fearful; and even when convinced of the impossibility of escape, I have seen them groan and bellow in an agony of impatience, and try to destroy, with their teeth and fore-feet, whatever came within their reach.

One by one, however, they were led forth and attached, still blindfolded, to the coach, the wheelers and leaders being always steady old mules, while the four new comers occupied the intervening space; the Tapa ojos was then raised, and they went off usually at full speed, until the nature of the road, or the resistance of their more prudent companions, induced them to moderate their pace. We never met with an accident of any consequence in the course of these proceedings, or in the operation of breaking the mules for the saddle, which was conducted in a similar manner.

The bad riders amongst the servants used to get some terrible tumbles, and they were occasionally carried up and down a barranca in rather awkward places, but no limbs were broken; and as each was laughed at in turn, the most perfect good humour prevailed; while the mules were so far subdued by constant work, that between Valladolid and Mexico they gave us comparatively but little trouble.

We rejoined our party at the Hacienda of Săn Ăndrēs, three miles from the river, where Mr. Carrington had got a lodging for us, there being no inn at Ŏcŏtlān; and, on the following morning, (Jan. 9,) we proceeded to La Barca, where we arrived at an early hour, the distance being only eight leagues.

La Barca is the head of a "Canton," containing four "departamentos," with 96,178 inhabitants. The town is uninteresting, and only worthy of remark as being the last place visited by us in the State of Jalisco, which is divided there by the Rio Grande from the neighbouring States of Guănăjūatŏ and Vāllădŏlīd. Our road lay through the last of these, and we consequently sent our carriage and mules over in the evening of our arrival. This process, occupied several

hours; in the interval I went to shoot in the great Cienega, or marsh, which commences a little to the Westward of La Barca, and extends in a line with the river almost as far as the Lake of Chăpālă. I found there a prodigious variety of every species of water-fowl,—wild ducks, geese, swans, bitterns, and herons, some of enormous size, with many others, the notes and plumage of which were equally new to me. I tried in vain to get within shot of some of the larger kind, for my progress was interrupted, at almost every step, by deep canals, or impassable swamps. At last, however, by the advice of my Indian guide, I embarked upon a bundle of rushes, which, though soon water-logged, still supported my weight very tolerably when descending the stream, while he accompanied me upon another equally primitive conveyance. By this means I contrived to shoot several ducks and a couple of wild geese; but when I wished to return with my booty, I found the attempt by no means easy. A strong current was setting towards the lake, and every attempt to propel our rush rafts in a contrary direction had the effect of immersing them still more deeply in the water; until at last, wet up to my middle, and with every prospect of sinking still lower from the quantity of water that my rushes had imbibed, I was forced to land, and to take a round of nearly two leagues, in order to avoid the marsh, and to reach La Barca, where I did not arrive until a very late hour.

Jan. 10.—To Chĭrĭnghūichărŏ, fourteen leagues.

We crossed the river early, and proceeded by Buena Vista (a large Hacienda) and the Pueblo of Tăngūātŏ to Chĭrĭnghūichărŏ, having been led to believe that by avoiding Zămōră (the usual road), we might reach Vāllădŏlīd one day sooner. From the time that we approached Tăngūātŏ, we began to remark a sensible improvement in the appearance of the country: there was more variety in the shape of the mountains, more wood, more water, and a richer vegetation. The cottages too, though small, were neat; the people cleanly and

Hidalgo had fulminated one of his iniquitous decrees of proscription. These offences drew upon the family the ill-will of the first Insurgents; and the estate was so continually laid waste, that for some years it was abandoned.

The Hacienda possesses a great extent of woodland—ground sufficient for sowing 400 fanegas of maize, the whole of which is irrigated—rich and abundant pastures—and a plentiful supply of water. A river passes through the estate, and Cienegas, or marshes, (very valuable for cattle during the dry season,) extend for some leagues around. In front of the house there is a singular volcanic mountain, the crater of which forms an "Alberga," or natural lake. The water commences about 200 feet from the edge of the crater; it is salt; and no attempt to find a bottom has yet proved successful.

The basin in which it is contained is perfectly circular, and the descent to the water's edge almost precipitous: the distance across must be 200 or 250 feet. From a little above the "Alberga" we had a fine view of the surrounding countries; and Mr. Torres pointed out to us the marsh, in the centre of which the fort of Jaŭxīllă stood, once the seat of the only independent government of which Mexico could boast.

Jan. 13.—From Cĭpĭmēŏ we proceeded to Tĕcāchŏ, (twelve leagues,) a Hacienda and Venta, which was to be our last stage on the way to Vāllădŏlīd.

The road continued to be extremely picturesque, being surrounded by hills, some of the most fantastic shapes, while others, though isolated, looked as if they had been cast in the same mould. In passing the marshes I killed nine ducks, and brought down two wild geese at a double shot, as they rose out of some rushes near the road. We found them most excellent eating, and regretted that it was not possible to add them more frequently to our bill of fare; but, except by a chance shot, it is extremely difficult to obtain so great a prize. In the lakes of the valley of Mexico they are seldom seen, though ducks, snipes, and bitterns, are found there in

prodigious numbers. I have frequently shot twenty and thirty snipes in a morning; and a great *tiro de patos* near Mexico is one of the most curious scenes that it is possible to witness. The Indians, by whom it is principally conducted, prepare a battery composed of seventy or eighty musket barrels arranged in two rows, one of which sweeps the water, while the other is a little elevated, so as to take the ducks as they rise upon the wing. The barrels are connected with each other, and fired by a train; but the apparatus, as well as the man who has charge of it, are concealed in the rushes, until the moment when, after many hours of cautious labour, one of the dense columns of ducks, which blacken, at times, the surface of the lake, is driven by the distant canoes of his associates sufficiently near to the fatal spot. The double tier of guns is immediately fired, and the water remains strewed with the bodies of the killed, and the wounded, whose escape is cut off by the circle of canoes beyond. Twelve hundred ducks are often brought in as the result of a single tiro; and during the season they form the ordinary food of the lower classes in the Capital, where they are sold for one, or at most two reals each.

In the North I saw no such masses of ducks, but they were replaced by wild geese, swans and cranes, with herons of a prodigious size, in flocks that covered a vast extent of country when they alighted, and filled the air with discordant screams when on the wing. I never could succeed, however, in securing any of the larger birds, as they were so extremely wary that it was difficult to approach them even within rifle shot.

Jan. 14.—We left Tecacho at seven, and reached Valladolid (twelve leagues) at half-past three.

There was nothing on the way to announce that we were either upon a high road, or approaching the Capital of a flourishing State. A few wretched hovels, at one of which we stopped to breakfast, and two or three miserable arrieros,

were the only objects that reminded us of the presence of man. The forest scenery, however, was fine, and we saw occasionally some stupendous masses of lava, looking as fresh as if they had been produced by a very recent eruption. The frequent recurrence of these volcanic remains is a singular feature in New Spain, for since the Conquest there has not been a single eruption of any consequence, (excepting that of Jorullo,) and most of the volcanoes now known are extinct. Yet masses of scoria, and districts covered with lava, are found in every part of the Federation; in the vicinity of the Capital, on the road to Guanajuato, in parts of San Luis, between Sombrerete and Durango, throughout Valladolid, and on the ascent from Veracruz, between Jalapa, Jilotepec, and Las Vigas, as well as in the plains of Tepeyagualco; while everywhere their vast extent proves that the convulsions which produced them must have been fearful indeed.

I know few places the approach to which is so tedious as that to Valladolid. For more than two hours you see the city apparently below you, while the road continues to wind amongst the surrounding hills. At length a rapid descent conducts you to the plain, where a long causeway built across a marsh forms the entrance to the town. The suburbs are poor and insignificant, but the high street is fine, and the Cathedral, standing alone and unconcealed by any subordinate buildings, produces a very imposing effect.

Not having any acquaintances in Valladolid, we took up our quarters at the inn of Nuesta Señora de la Soledad, where we obtained very decent apartments, with tables, chairs, and a number of other luxuries, not at all general as yet in the Mexican Republic.

The State of Michoacan comprises the territory formerly belonging to the Tarascos, a powerful Indian nation, first allies, and afterwards rivals of the Aztecs, whom they are said to have followed in their emigration from the North, Their capital was situated upon the banks of the Lake of

Pātzqŭarŏ, called by them Tzĭnzūnzăn, from the number of humming birds (Tzinzun) in its vicinity, with the feathers of which the statues of their gods were adorned.* Driven into the mountains by the persecutions of their conquerors, the Indians led a wild and barbarous life, until they were reclaimed by the exertions of Vasco de Quiroga, first Bishop of Valladolid, who devoted thirty years of his life to the mitigation of the evils, which the ambition of his countrymen had brought upon the aboriginal race. The Bishopric was created in 1536, and held by Quiroga until 1565, during which time the valleys were once more filled with inhabitants, and the natives distributed into villages, where they have continued ever since to cultivate the lands assigned to them by their protector, and, in some instances, to exercise the trades in which he caused them to be instructed.

The registered population of the State in 1822, was 365,080 souls. It may be calculated at 450,000 at the present day, adding one-sixth for omissions, and making some additional allowance for the inhabitants who have returned to their homes since the re-establishment of tranquillity, Valladolid being one of the provinces that suffered most during the War of Independence. It has been justly termed the cradle of the Revolution; most of the proprietors are old Insurgents; and, with the exception of the congress assembled by Morelos at Oaxaca, all the governments successively established by the Independent leaders, (the Junta of Zĭtācŭarŏ, the Congress of Ăpătzīngăn, and the Junta of Jăuxīllă,) sought a refuge in the territories of Mīchŏăcān. The result was almost universal desolation, and many years will still be required to repair the wide-spread ruin, which so protracted a struggle occasioned.

* The Indians of Patzquaro are still famous for this art. They compose figures of saints with the feathers of the Colibri, which are remarkable both for the delicacy of the execution, and the brilliancy of the colours.

Valladolid contains two cities, (Ciudades,) (Pātzcuărŏ and Vāllădŏlīd,) three towns, (Villas,) 256 Pueblos, 333 Haciendas, and 1356 Ranchos, distributed into eighty-three parishes, and twenty-one "Partidos," or districts.

The legislature consists of one chamber, composed of eleven deputies, who receive a monthly salary of 150 dollars, during the sessions only. The annual expenses of the Government do not exceed 120,000 dollars. The contingent amounts to 175,000 dollars, of which one-half remained due for the year 1825. The reduced contingent of 1826 was paid.

From the universal distress occasioned by the Civil War, the revenue of Michoacan, in 1827, was still very inconsiderable. The former riches of the State consisted almost entirely in its agricultural produce, the most ordinary manufactures being introduced from the neighbouring towns of the Băxīŏ. The Pueblos have now so little to give in exchange for these supplies, that the amount of the Alcavala (or excise upon home-made goods) is very trifling. A contribucion directa, calculated at two reals a-head, has never yet produced 20,000 dollars; and even for tobacco the demand is inconsiderable. The tithes, one moiety of which belongs to the State, formerly produced 500,000 dollars; they now yield only 200,000 dollars; nor is there any immediate prospect of an increase, as their falling off is attributed not only to the depressed state of the agricultural interests, but to the dissemination of ideas unfavourable to the rights of the Church, which are gaining ground every day.

The only mines now in activity in Michoacan are those of Tlālpŭjāhŭa, ŏzūmătlān, and Angangeo. There are many other districts said to be rich in the Sierra Madre, and the mines of Huĕtāmŏ, amongst others, have attracted the attention of some of our Companies; but it does not appear that their value is sufficient to compensate for the disadvantages of a scanty population, and a very unhealthy climate. The whole Western declivity of the Sierra Madre compre-

hended within the province of Michoacan is remarkable for its insalubrity. Agues of the most dangerous kind prevail there during a great part of the year, and the inhabitants are afflicted not only with wens, (as in parts of Sonora,) but with the disease called Quiricua, a sort of leprosy, which discolours the face and body with large blue blotches, without otherwise affecting the health of those attacked by it. The principal seat of the disorder is in the valleys between Tĕmăscāltĕpēc, Huĕtāmŏ, and the Coast, where nearly the whole population is composed of "Pintos:" the affection is said to be contagious, and spreads gradually towards the interior, so that a mottled race may probably be propagated into the very vicinity of the Capital.

The *Tierra Caliente* at the foot of the Cordillera, which is fertilized in part by the Rio Balsas, is rich in all the ordinary productions of the tropics; and even in the more elevated valleys, sugar was grown before the Revolution to a very considerable extent. The best sugar lands are now about twelve leagues South of Pāscuărŏ, where the proprietors of almost all the sugar estates reside; but only a small portion of the machinery destroyed during the war has been yet replaced. At the foot of the mountain of Jŏrūllŏ, there are some plantations of cacao and indigo belonging to General Michilena, but they have not yet attained any considerable value, or extent.

Nearly all the public edifices, not immediately connected with the Government, in Valladolid, are due to the munificence of the bishops of that See, most of whom have contributed to enrich, or adorn, the town. The cathedral, the hospitals, and the aqueduct, are all the works of the Church. The first is a magnificent building, and wealthy, though despoiled of a large proportion of its treasures by the Royal Commandant Trŭxīllŏ, during the Revolution. The massive silver balustrades around the principal altar escaped the fate of the lamps and candelabras, (melted down as a loan to the

Royal Treasury,) by being painted the colour of mahogany, which they retain to the present day.

The bishoprick of Mīchŏăcān has been vacant for many years; but I know no place where the recollection of the long line of Prelates, who have occupied the episcopal chair, seems to be preserved with such respectful and affectionate regret. Indeed, I have heard Mexicans, but little disposed to speak well of Spain in any other respect, admit that the conduct of the dignitaries of her Church has been in general most exemplary. Amongst the Parochial clergy in New Spain, the distance of the livings from each other, and the absence of a proper control on the part of the Diocesans, have led occasionally to a very relaxed state of morals, and converted religion into a cloak for the greatest excesses; but the bishops, in general, have been men of much simplicity, and benevolence, whose primitive habits, and unambitious lives, their Creole successors will do well to imitate.

We left Vāllădŏlīd on the 16th of January. The view of the town from the Mexico side is really beautiful: gardens and orchards form the foreground, while the lofty aqueduct, the gorgeous churches, and a bold range of mountains behind, fill up the remaining space. Our road lay through Chārŏ, and Indăpărāpĕŏ, to Sĭnăpēcuărŏ, where Mrs. Ward and the rest of the party slept. This town is the head of a Partido, or district, containing 25,174 inhabitants, and abounding in the ordinary productions of the Table-land. The name is derived from the Indian word "Tzĭnāpū," which, in the language of the ŏtŏmīs, or Tărāscŏs, signifies Obsidian, a great abundance of which is found in the vicinity of the town. By a grammar of the Tarascan tongue in my possession, the language appears to be very far from simple. The alphabet consists of only twenty-one letters, five vowels and sixteen consonants. F and L are not known. The L (as already observed) is particularly prevalent in the Aztec language; whilst the R, rejected by the Aztecs, is almost universal amongst the ŏtŏmīs. Yet the two tribes emigrated from the

North together, and continued allies, until, from too close a neighbourhood, they became enemies, and were both overwhelmed by the common foe. A pure breed of the Ŏtŏmīs still exists in many parts of Valladolid. They live chiefly in the mountainous districts, and never intermarry with any other tribe.

At Indăpărāpĕŏ I quitted the high road to the Capital, and struck off across the mountains to Ŏzūmătlān, a little isolated district, where the Real del Monte Company is working the mines of San Pedro Barreno, Los Apostoles, and La Machorra.

Ŏzūmătlān is exceedingly difficult of access, the mountains being intersected by immense ravines, and the paths so little frequented that the trace of them is frequently lost. I succeeded however, with an excellent horse, in making my way to the mouth of a Barranca more than a league in length, towards the upper part of which the village and mines are situated. The mountains on either side are lofty, and clothed with a fine growth of oaks and firs, while a rapid, though shallow, stream occupies nearly the whole of the intervening space. The road winds alternately from bank to bank, until, at a sudden turn, a platform is discovered, upon which the village stands. The only air-tight house in it is that occupied by the Company, close to the Socabon of San Pedro. The Hacienda built by them stands a little below. It is in the establishment of the reduction works that the principal expense of the Company at Ozumatlan has consisted, for the goodness of the mines had been ascertained by Mr. Dollar, (who had laid out 22,000 dollars upon them,) before they were contracted for. The Hacienda has cost about 35,000 dollars more. It contains a large water-wheel for stamping the ores, and every other requisite for a smelting establishment; this being the only process used in Ŏzūmătlān, where the ores contain a quantity of lead: and where amalgamation in the Patio would be doubly tedious, on account of the absence of sun, there being only three or four hours out of

the twenty-four, in which its rays can penetrate into the lower parts of the Barranca. At the time of my visit, nine hundred cargas of very rich ore were already in the magazines; and it was the opinion of the miners, that, as soon as the Hacienda was completed, seven hundred cargas more might be raised weekly from the Socabon of San Pedro alone. The principal vein is nearly four varas in width, and presents every indication of being both abundant, and durable in its produce. The richest ores however, containing massive crystallizations of lead and silver, (some fine specimens of which I saw at Real del Monte,) were raised from a little side vein, which was abandoned after a short trial, being found to continue such a mere thread, (hilito,) that the ores, though valuable, would not pay the costs of extraction.

Workmen are easily procured at Ŏzūmătlān; provisions are abundant, and, from its vicinity both to Valladolid and to the *Tierra Caliente* to the South and West, supplies of all kinds may be obtained with facility. But as a residence, the place is dreary beyond description, being completely shut out from the world. The result of the speculation to the Company does not appear to be doubtful; for the ore already on hand in 1827, was thought to be sufficient very nearly to cover the outlay, as soon as the completion of the Hacienda should afford the means of converting it into bars.

Jan. 17.—From Ŏzūmătlān, I proceeded across the mountains to Sīnăpēcuărŏ. The road, after emerging from the Barranca, is good for about three leagues, when an almost precipitous descent leads from the edge of this elevated platform into the valley of Sinapecuaro below. I thought that I should never reach the town, for during a whole hour I saw it below me without being apparently any nearer to it than I was when I commenced the descent. At last we arrived, and after dismissing my guide, I followed at a rapid passo the road to Mărăvătīŏ, by which the coach had proceeded three hours before me. I overtook the party at Ăcāmbărŏ, (six leagues from Sĭnăpēcuărŏ, and eleven from

Ŏzŭmătlān,) and, after taking some refreshment, and changing my horse, we continued our route towards Mărăvătĭŏ, where it was our intention to sleep. We were imprudent enough to loitre some time at Ăcāmbărŏ, in order to see the town, which, though now nearly in ruins, was a place of importance before the civil war; and the consequence was, that we were benighted on our way to Mărăvătĭŏ, (the distance being ten leagues,) where, after losing our road, and wandering over the plains for some hours, we did not arrive till near eleven o'clock. To add to our misfortunes, the cook, who had been sent on in the morning to lay in provisions, and get some rooms ready for our reception, seemed to have experienced the same fate. He was not heard of for three days, when he rejoined us at Tlalpujahua, very nearly starved, his horse having thrown him in the mountains, and made his escape, leaving him to find his way, as he could, to some Pueblo, or village, in search of which he wandered about for thirty-six hours. As a proof of the honesty of the people, I may add that the horse, being known by some of the accoutrements to be English, was brought to me at Tlālpŭjāhŭa by order of an Alcalde, to whom he had been safely delivered.

A case of preserved meat saved us from absolute starvation at Mărăvătĭŏ; without it, we must inevitably have gone fasting to bed, as at so late an hour not even bread was to be procured.

Jan. 18.—Early on the following morning we set out for Tlalpujahua, accompanied by Mr. Moro, the principal engineer of the Company, who had been good enough to undertake to pilot us across the mountains. The carriage-road leaves the elevated ridge upon which Tlalpujahua stands to the right, and winds almost round it into the valley of Tepetongo, where it resumes the direction of the Capital, while the road to the Real branches off, for the last two leagues, up the valley, or Cañada, of Tlalpujahua, which is impassable for any thing but horses and mules.

At the Hacienda of Tĕpĕtōngŏ we were met by Monsieur de Rivafinoli, with a number of Mexicans, and other gentlemen in the service of the Company. They brought us a supply of fresh horses, with carga mules for the baggage, by whose assistance the contents of the coach were speedily transferred to Mr. de Rivafinoli's hospitable house. The children were carried on horseback by two servants; the maids were mounted in a similar manner; and after a very little delay, the cavalcade took the road to Tlalpujahua by the new Hacienda of the Chĭmāl, where we stopped to breakfast. Nothing can be prettier than the approach to the Real upon this side. The scenery varies at every turn in the Barranca, while the abundance of water, and the fine vigorous vegetation of the forests on the surrounding mountains, form a most delighful contrast to the monotonous plains of the Interior, by the recollection of which we were long haunted.

We remained at Tlālpŭjāhŭa two days, and I found everywhere proofs of the unwearied assiduity with which the labours of the Association had been carried on. Only four months had elapsed since my preceding visit, yet a sensible improvement had taken place in every direction. Buildings were completed, which I had left uncommenced; machines erected, of which I had only seen the first sketch upon paper; and mines brought into activity, the working of which in September could hardly be said to have begun. The great Hacienda of San Rafael was likewise concluded; and though the amount of valuable ore raised was not yet considerable, the most sanguine expectations were entertained by the natives with regard to the result.

In these expectations, I confess that I myself fully share. I have always regarded Mr. de Rivafinoli's system of management as a model: his activity is unceasing, and his influence over the natives, as well as over the officers of the Company, unbounded; while the publicity with which every thing connected with the pecuniary concerns of the establish-

ment is carried on, renders it impossible that this influence should be ascribed to any but the real cause; that is, a conviction, on the part of the Mexicans, of the advantages which the country has derived from the able manner in which the works of the Association have been conducted. More time has indeed been required to bring the mines into a profitable state than was at first thought necessary; but I trust that the details, of which the preceding books are full, will have had the effect of convincing my readers that, in undertakings upon so large a scale, where the issue is liable to be affected, not only by unforeseen difficulties, but by so many other circumstances, for which, though foreseen, no remedy can be provided, *time* is not the only criterion by which a judgment ought to be formed, either of the probable result of an enterprise, or of the ability displayed in its prosecution. I see, at present, no reasonable motive for discouragement amongst the Tlalpujahua adventurers. Their outlay is moderate; their mines are known to have yielded rich ores; and do so still, wherever the lodes are accessible; and although the district was abandoned for nearly sixty years, (after the removal of La Borde,) it must be recollected, that during those very years the great Bonanzas of San Acasio, (at Zacatecas,) and the Păvĕllōn, with the discoveries of Catorce, Guarisamey, and the Valenciana mine, (at Guanajuato, and in the North,) naturally diverted into other channels the capitals usually invested in mining discoveries.

The question is not, whether there are richer districts than Tlalpujahua, but whether that district, now that capital and science are employed upon it, will repay the labours of those by whom the investment is made? And to this there is every reason to imagine that, within a reasonable time, a very satisfactory answer will be given.

On the 19th of January we visited the Hacienda of San Rafael, one of the most ingenious and complete establishments, now existing in Mexico. The stamping wheel has

been already described. Its effect was really beautiful, and its construction does the more honour to Mr. Moro, because he persevered in his original plan, notwithstanding the discouraging predictions of those, who pronounced its execution to be impracticable.

There was rather a scanty supply of water when we saw it; but this was an evil not to be guarded against in a year, when the maize crops throughout the country had perished for want of rain.

On the 20th we assisted at the "Bendicion" of a new machine for raising the water in the mine of Arevalo, invented by Mr. Seidenstücker, a German "machiniste," who had already given proofs of much ingenuity in his department, and materially improved the machinery of the Company. In the present instance, by inverting the ordinary mode of applying steam power, and making a rotatory motion produce a vertical one, he expected to work with one horse a pump capable of supplying the place of two Malacates. Monsieur Martin and I had the honour of standing godfathers upon this occasion, for which the Galera was fitted up with a profusion of green boughs and other decorations. An altar was raised, surrounded by flags of various colours, with the silver candlesticks of the Church ranged on each side; and the Cura, in full canonicals, pronounced a solemn blessing upon the machine, and sprinkled holy water upon every part of it; while the godfathers, with huge wax flambeaux, weighing at least six pounds each, were in close attendance upon his steps. The ceremony concluded by a distribution of wine and cakes, and a general discharge of fireworks, (cohetes) in the noise of which the Indians take a peculiar delight, although at mid-day their effect, as they hiss through the air, is entirely lost in the splendour of the sunshine.

We suffered severely from cold during our stay at Tlalpujahua, and not less so on our return to the Capital. We set out on the 21st, and rode across the mountains to the Ha-

cienda of Tĕpētĭtlān, (seven leagues,) where we were most comfortably provided for by the Administrador and his wife, who welcomed us with that easy politeness of manner, which certainly distinguishes the Spanish race, wherever its descendants are found. The children performed this long journey on horseback, without experiencing the least inconvenience, so inured had they become to every possible mode of travelling during their three months' wanderings. For their great "coche" they had formed an attachment, which remains in full force to the present day. They looked upon it quite as their home, and were impatient, in the morning, for the hour to arrive at which they were installed in it, and released from the dulness of a dark and dirty room. Nor had they suffered in any other respect: the eldest little girl, a sad invalid when we quitted the Capital, recovered her health and strength while away; and as to the youngest, she was so fortified by living constantly in the open air, that her fat and rosy cheeks were the admiration of all beholders. Even at Zăcătēcās, where no kindly feelings were entertained towards the parents, she was visited by a number of friars, who made interest with the Indian nurse to let them kiss her, and carry her about in their arms; and at several other places she and her sister were sent for by the people of the town, whose desire to see them Chapita always complied with,—for fear, as she told us, that they might cast an evil eye upon the children, if refused.

We found our coach at Tĕpētĭtlān, to which place it proceeded by the usual coach-road from Tĕpĕtōngŏ. On the 22d, we started at five o'clock, (at which hour the ground was covered with a hard white frost, and the water with a coating of ice,) and proceeded by Īstlăhūācă to Lerma, where we arrived without any other accident than the loss of two mules, which, having got loose while we were changing the "tiro" of the carriage, made their way to the river, and actually killed themselves by drinking to excess when hot.

We left Lerma on the 23d, at six in the morning, and arrived in Mexico at three, having been much delayed by the carriage, which, I thought, would never reach the summit of Lăs Crūcĕs.

The delight of returning to our beautiful home, after an absence of nearly three months, was great indeed; and the contrast between San Cosme and the villainous abodes to which we had been so long confined, made us regard it as little less than a palace. We were all exhausted too by constant locomotion, having averaged thirty miles a-day during the whole time that we were upon the road. Our horses, which had commenced their expedition fat and flourishing, were reduced to mere skin and bone; yet they all returned; not one knocked up so entirely as to oblige us to leave it behind; and many, after two months of rest, and green forage, recovered their good looks completely, and enabled me to sell them, on my departure, at a very trifling loss. Amongst the mules the damage was more considerable, several of my new purchases having turned out ill; but my original stock returned uninjured, after carrying their loads the whole way, without a single day's relief.

I have endeavoured to comprehend in the preceding pages all the statistical details of any importance in those parts of the Federation which I visited during my mining tours, (La Pŭēblă, Quĕrētăro, Guănăjuātŏ, San Luis Pŏtŏsī, Zăcătēcăs, Dŭrāngŏ, Guădălăjără, and Vāllădolīd,) with such additions respecting the more Northern Provinces as I have conceived to be most worthy of attention, and best entitled to credit.

A few particulars respecting the States of Mexico, and Veracruz, Oăxācă, Tăbāscŏ, and Yŭcătān, with some final observations upon the general prospects of the country, will comprise all that my present materials will enable me to subjoin, or indeed that the dimensions of my book will admit of.

The State of Mexico, with a population of nearly one million of inhabitants, is divided into eight districts, (Acăpūlco, Cūĕrnăvācă, Hŭejūtlă, Mexico, Tasco, Tōlūcă, Tūla, and Tŭlăncīngŏ.) These embrace a large proportion of valuable mines, as well as a number of districts celebrated for the richness of their agricultural produce. Rĕal dĕl Mōnte, Chīcŏ, Căpūlă, Zĭmăpān, San José del Oro, El Cārdŏnāl, La Pĕchūgă, the Rancho del Oro, Tāscŏ, Tĕpāntĭtlān, Zācūalpăn, and Tĕtēlă del Rīŏ, are all in the State of Mexico; as are the valleys of Tōlūcă and Cūāutla Ămīlpăs, the rich plains of Păchūcă, and the fertile Vega of Tŭlăncīngŏ. The capital of the State is Tēzcōcŏ, Mexico having been declared a Federal City, and selected as the residence of the President, the Congress, and the other great authorities of the Federation. By this decision, the State was stripped of a very considerable portion of its revenue, which consisted in the municipal duties collected at the gates of Mexico; and the difficulty of raising an equivalent for these duties at once, has retarded the acquittal of its debt to the Federation to which, in 1827, 182,712 dollars were still due. But the resources of the State are so ample, that these embarrassments cannot be of long duration.

The Legislative Assembly is composed of nineteen deputies, elected in the ratio of one for every fifty thousand inhabitants. The districts are placed under the inspection of Prefects and Sub-Prefects, one of whose duties it is to establish schools in every village, and to form a census, as well as a statistical survey of the territory of the State. But the Constitution having only been published in February 1827, these provisions have not yet been carried into effect.

Veracruz is divided into four "departments," Veracruz, Jălāpă, Orĭzavă, and Acăyūcăm.

The department of Veracruz contains four "cantons," with a total population of 63,106 souls; (Veracruz 29,987, Tămpīco 20,785, Păpāntla 7,981, Mĭsāntlă 4,353,) distributed

throughout the *Tierra Caliente* of the coast in fifty-three "Pueblos," "Rancherias," or "Congregaciones." The produce of these cantons consists in maize, frijoles, rice, cotton, sugar, woods of the most precious kinds, as mahogany, ebony, and cedar, sarsaparilla, pepper, wax, ūlĕ, (Indian rubber,) and vanilla, which is particularly abundant in Misantla, where twenty thousand roots of it were planted in 1826.

The department of Jălāpă is divided into two cantons, Jălāpă, and Jălăcīngŏ, containing forty-one Pueblos, and 53,061 inhabitants.

Ŏrĭzāvă comprises three Cantons, (ŏrĭzāvă, Cordova, and Cŏsămălūăpăm,) with sixty-three Pueblos, and 84,148 inhabitants. The population of Orizava and Cōrdŏvă is employed principally in the cultivation of tobacco and coffee. The towns contain likewise several distilleries, and a number of colmenares, (bee-hive farms,) which are increasing daily in importance.

In the department of Ăcăyūcăm there are three cantons, (Ăcăyūcăm, Tūstlă, and Nŭimăngūillo,) twenty three Pueblos, and 33,354 inhabitants. Cotton is the principal agricultural production, and twenty-five thousand "tercios" of it, (12,500 cargas,) were formerly the average annual amount raised. This is now reduced to about 800 tercios, there being no demand in the native manufactures, and the cotton grown being without value as an export, until machines for cleaning, and compressing it, are erected, none of which are at present known. Of its probable future importance, I have expressed my opinion in the third Section of the first Book.

The total registered population of Veracruz appears by the above statements to be 233,705 souls.

The receipts, from October 1824, to December 1826, amounted to 650,657 dollars, and the expenditure to 350,796 dollars.*

* Noticia Estadistica submitted to the Supreme Congress by the Governor of Veracruz, Don Miguel Barragan, 25th of January, 1827.

From the State of Oăxācă, I have been unable to obtain returns similar to those given respecting other parts of the Federation. Agriculture is highly favoured by the mildness of the climate, which produces both cerealia and the sugar-cane; but of the mineral riches of the province very little is known. Mr. Glennie entertains a high opinion of the new mines belonging to the United Mexican Company at Tĕŏ-jŏmūlcŏ, (forty leagues South of Oaxaca;) but, in general, the mines in that State have been worked with so little science, and distinguished by so few Bonanzas, that I am unable to give any positive information respecting them. Had I remained another year in Mexico, I should certainly have explored the territory of Oaxaca, and particularly the Mīstĕcă, where the cochineal is raised. The Indians employed in its cultivation are said to be a race much superior to the other tribes upon the Table-land. The women are called the Circassians of Mexico, and most of the families are affluent, above a million of dollars being annually employed in the Misteca in the purchase of cochineal. Besides these attractions, Oaxaca possesses the famous cypress tree of Santa Maria de Tule, (a village three leagues East of the capital of the province,) and the palace of Mitla. The first is ninety-three English feet and a half in circumference, yet does not show the slightest symptoms of decay; and the second may be regarded as the most curious monument of antiquity now remaining in the New World. I can add nothing respecting Mitla, to the details given by Humboldt in the second volume of his work upon Mexico, and the engravings published in his American Atlas, except the dimensions of the stones which cover the entrances to the principal hall. According to Mr. Glennie's measurements, (to whom I am likewise indebted for the dimensions of the cypress of Tule,) the three largest of these stones are:—

	Length.	Breadth.	Thickness.
1.—	19 ft. 6 in.	4 ft. 10 in.	3 ft. 4 in.
2.—	18 8	4 10	3 6
3.—	19 7	4 10½	3 9

They are all seven feet from the ground, and the ends of each rest upon slabs measuring eight feet six inches by six feet nine inches, and four inches thick.

Yŭcătān and Tăbāscŏ are two of the poorest States in the Federation. The first comprises an area of 3,823 square leagues; on parts of which, maize, frijoles, cotton, rice, tobacco, pepper, and the sugar-cane, are produced, with dye-wood, hides, soap, and other articles. But the scarcity of water in the central parts of the Peninsula, where not a stream of any kind is known to exist, and the uncertainty of the rainy season, render the crops very variable; and years frequently occur in which the poorer classes are driven to seek a subsistence by collecting roots in the woods, when a great mortality ensues in consequence of their exposure to a very deleterious climate.

The population is estimated at one hundred and thirty souls for each square league, or 496,990 in all. The territory is divided into fifteen departments, Băcălār, Cămpēchĕ, Ichmūl, Izămūl, Isla del Carmen, Jequelchakan, Jŭnūomă, Lerma, Māma, Mērĭda, Oxhūzkab, Sēyba Plāya, Sotūta, Tĭzĭmīn, and Valladolid. Merida is the capital.

Yŭcătān contains no mines. An active intercourse was formerly carried on with the Havanna, which Yŭcătān supplied with Campeche wood, salt, hides, deer skins, salted meat, and the Jĕnĕquēn, a plant from which a sort of coarse thread (pita) was made, and worked up into sacking, cordage, and hammocks. This trade was cut short by the war; and as few foreigners have been induced to settle in Yŭcatān, the inhabitants have derived but little advantage from the late change of institutions. The receipts of the State, in 1826,

amounted to 213,127 dollars. The expenditure was 207,199; so that a small surplus revenue remained.*

Tăbāscŏ is divided into three departments, and nine "Partidos,"—Vīllăhĕrmōsa, Usŭmăcīntă, Năcăjūcă, Tĕāpă, Tăcŏtālpă, Jălāpă, Măcŭspānă, Cūndŭăcān, and Jālpă,—containing in all forty-eight Pueblos, sixty-three churches, five hundred and forty-three Haciendas, and 54,862 inhabitants. During the rainy season, a large proportion of the territory of the State is under water, and the communication between the villages effected by canoes. This circumstance is particularly favourable to the growth of cacao, which is supposed to have been an indigenous plant. It is now cultivated to a considerable extent, twelve thousand cargas, (each of 60lbs.) having been exported in the year 1825. With the cacao, coffee is likewise grown, but the exportation has never exceeded three thousand quintals. Tabascan pepper (Pimienta Malagueta ŏllainada,) is found in great abundance on the banks of the rivers. Indigo and vanilla grow wild, though very little attention has been hitherto paid to them; and the cultivation of tobacco, which seems to be the spontaneous produce of the soil, has been prohibited by the decree of the 9th of February, 1824, by which the privilege of raising this plant was reserved to the districts of Orĭzāvă and Cōrdŏvă, in order to facilitate the organization of the tobacco revenue.

The receipts of Tabasco in 1825, were 40,134 dollars, and the expenditure 29,879; but the estimate for 1827, including the contingent, the establishment of a printing-press, and schools, amounted to 49,415 dollars, which it was hoped that the revenue might be made to cover.†

* Memorias de Estadistica remitidas por El Gov° de Yucatan à la Camara de Senadores, 1826.

† *Vide* Estadistica remitida, &c., dated Villa Hermosa, 19th June, 1826.

SECTION VI

RETURN TO ENGLAND BY THE UNITED STATES.—CHARACTER OF CREOLES—FEELINGS OF COUNTRY WITH REGARD TO PRESENT SYSTEM—CONCLUSION.

I PASSED three months in the Capital, after my return from the North; at the expiration of which time, my successor, Mr. Pakenham, having arrived, I set out for Veracruz, in company with Mr. Rocafuerte, and Captain Vernon, of His Majesty's sloop Primrose, who was commissioned to convey us to England, with the ratified copy of the Treaty, which had just been approved of by the Chambers.

We quitted Mexico on the 23d of April, and proceeded by Ŏtūmbă, Ăpăn, Piedras Ņegras, and Vĭrēyĕs, to Pĕrōtĕ, Mrs. Ward being no longer in a state either to travel on horseback, or to support the violent motion of a coach, in crossing the mountains between Mexico and La Puebla. At Jalapa, where we were detained several days in order to allow time for the money sent by the April "Conducta* to be shipped, we found most comfortable lodgings in a house which Colonel Dashwood had the goodness to engage for us, while his hospitality supplied all our other wants. We dined with him every day during our stay; and, under Mrs. Dashwood's

* "Conducta" implies the mules laden with silver, which leave the Capital once every two or three months for the coast, with a strong escort.

direction, we made several delightful excursions in the environs of the town, the beauties of which seemed to grow upon us as we explored them more narrowly.

On the 6th of May, having received intelligence that the Primrose was ready for sea, we slept at Plan del Rio, which we quitted at three o'clock on the morning of the 7th, in order to avoid the heat as much as possible. We breakfasted about seven at Puente del Rey, and reached the Boca del Potrero at two, where we passed the night. On the morning of the 8th we arrived at a very early hour at Veracruz, and embarked immediately, after taking some refreshment at Mr. Welsh's house while our luggage was sending on board.

I rode almost all the way from Jalapa, notwithstanding the heat, which I did not find nearly so oppressive as I had expected. The rest of the party performed the journey in litters. Hilario and one other servant from the Table-land, accompanied us, having volunteered a service, for which their countrymen in general feel the greatest repugnance, at a season when the *Tierra Caliente* is certainly not traversed without danger.

Veracruz was exceedingly unhealthy at the time of our departure. Several persons had been already attacked by the vomito, and Mr. Rocafuerte's servant, a Spaniard, shared the same fate: he was taken ill on board the Primrose, and died the fifth or sixth day. A young midshipman (Mr. Anson), who contracted the disorder while on shore for an hour in the morning with the boat that brought us off, was more fortunate. Youth and a vigorous constitution carried him through it; but he was very much reduced for a long time, and did not entirely get over the attack for some weeks.

The Primrose was under weigh when we embarked, and, the wind being fair, in a very few hours we lost sight of the Mexican coast. On the following evening, however, we again anchored off Tampico, to ship some more dollars, which were not put on board till the 12th, in the afternoon, when

we sailed definitively for the Havanna. From thence we proceeded to New York, where the Primrose remained a week, both Mrs. Ward and the children being so much reduced by the rough weather which we had experienced, that it would have been absolutely dangerous for them to have crossed the Atlantic without some rest and relaxation on shore. Captain Vernon and I took advantage of this delay to visit Washington, where we met with a most kind reception from my old friend Mr. Vaughan, under whom I passed a year of my life, when attached to the Embassy of Sir Henry Wellesley at Madrid.

Washington is but little worthy of the reputation which it enjoys. It is the mere skeleton of a great town; and the houses being mostly built in the style of the architecture by which our own country is so much disfigured, with high gable ends, small doors, and cross lights in every direction, there is little to see, and less to admire. The real capitals of the United States are the great Commercial cities, and of these the Americans may justly be proud. We passed through Philadelphia, and Baltimore, on our way, and in both these places, as well as in New York, we found ample proofs of an active, thriving, and powerful country, abounding in energy and wealth, and only requiring to be known in order to be duly appreciated. I will not fall into the error, so common amongst travellers, of passing judgment upon an empire, after a week's examination of its resources; but I will say, that those writers who have fostered the prejudices generally entertained in England with regard to American manners, and in particular as to their individual feeling towards ourselves, have rendered both countries a very great dis-service. Captain Vernon and I found our character as Englishmen sufficient to ensure us both civility, and attention, from our very numerous fellow-passengers on board the steam-boats, in which a great part of the journey to Washington is performed; and both in the capital, and at Phila-

delphia, we required no other passport to open the doors of several highly respectable houses.

Without participating in all Mr. Waterton's enthusiasm with regard to the American women, it is difficult for the most casual observer not to be struck with their appearance; nor do I know any part of the world (not even excepting England) where the display of female beauty is more striking than at New York, and Philadelphia, where, from the warmth of the climate, the light dress of the South of Europe is seen in conjunction with the freshness and bright colouring of a Northern complexion.

We found our invalids entirely restored to health by their stay at Staaten Island, from whence they removed, after performing a quarantine of four days, to the hospitable house of Mr. and Mrs. Buchanon, to whose attentions we were much indebted. On the 21st of June we embarked again, and on the 16th of July, we anchored at Spithead, after a quiet and prosperous voyage, during which we had daily and hourly reason to be grateful for Captain Vernon's unremitting kindness. The Primrose was much too small for the accommodation of so large a party as ours; and as, after a thousand ingenious contrivances, there was only room for one female servant, a Mexican woman, who was constantly unwell, the children, the eldest of whom was just two years old, could not be properly attended to, and were a frequent source of discomfort and trouble. They were nursed, in turn, I believe, by all the ship's company, and formed a particular alliance not only with the officers, who were very kind to them, but with the boatswain, and many of the men, who used to carry them about the ship, and introduce them to places which young ladies are not much in the habit of frequenting. To add to our embarrassments, Mrs. Ward was confined on board, ten days before we reached Portsmouth, when the maid's whole attention was of course devoted to her. The little girls were transferred to my cabin below at

night, and during the day were kept either upon deck, or in the only part of the ship which Captain Vernon could call his own, (half the poop-cabin,) where he slept, and we all dined, separated from Mrs. Ward by nothing but a light partition, with an opening below to allow the tiller to traverse.

I am happy in having an opportunity publicly to express our acknowledgments to Captain Vernon, for the good-humour with which he endured the breaking up of all the comfort of his pretty establishment on board. Few men would have supported so long, and so severe a trial, with such patience as himself; and fewer still would have exerted themselves, in the midst of it, as he did, to promote, by every attention in his power, the comforts of his passengers.

Mrs. Ward, notwithstanding the want of a thousand things which her situation required, but which could not, of course, be procured on board, recovered wonderfully, and on the 17th we were enabled to transport her in a cot to the Isle of Wight, where she gradually regained her strength, although much shaken by the fatigues which she had undergone.

Having thus brought my own story to a conclusion, it only remains for me to add a few observations upon points, which have either not been included in the preceding Sections, or, with regard to which, my opinions have undergone some modifications, in consequence of subsequent events; premising, as an apology for this irregularity, that, in order to prevent loss of time, my manuscript has been put into the hands of my publisher as written, and that, consequently, I am concluding, in 1828, a work, the first volume of which was in the press in December, 1827.

Our information with regard to Mexico has hitherto been so extremely circumscribed, that the details into which I have entered in the three last books, will, I hope, be excused, in consideration of the novelty of the subject.

To those who have studied the Essai Politique, the use which I have made of this admirable work in many parts of

my own will be sufficiently apparent. Indeed, to write a book upon Mexico, without referring to Baron Humboldt at almost every page, is nearly impossible. He first applied the lights of science to the New World. He discovered, and explained the peculiarities of climate and structure by which Mexico is so much favoured; and traced, with the hand of a master, the outline of that vast picture, which present and future travellers can only assist in filling up. I have endeavoured, however, in availing myself of the sanction of this great authority, not merely to transfer to my own pages information better communicated in his, but to carry on the view which he has taken of each subject up to the present day, and to institute as exact a comparison as possible between the state of things as represented by him in 1802, and as seen in 1827 by myself.

Before the appearance of the Essai Politique, the works of Robertson comprised all that was known in England, or, indeed, in Europe, with regard to the Transatlantic possessions of Spain, and from these but little information is to be derived that will apply to the present condition or prospects of the New States.

Wherever diligent research could supply the place of personal observation, Robertson's views are just, and his reasoning excellent. His errors arose from the impossibility of obtaining information with regard to many points, upon which the labours of Humboldt first threw a light. I have had occasion to point out some curious mistakes with respect to climate, and mines; and Humboldt has demonstrated the erroneousness of his calculations respecting the amount of silver raised, as well as his misconception of the value of the revenue derived from Mexico by Spain. But many parts of his Eighth Book (on the Colonial Policy of the Peninsula) are wonderfully correct; and in particular his observations both upon the mild spirit of the first Leyes de Indias, and the impossibility of enforcing them. His eulogy of the Council of

the Indies,* though sound in theory, is not equally so in practice. It produced latterly none of those good effects, which were contemplated upon its first institution. The responsibility of the higher officers before it, as a tribunal, was merely nominal. Not one Viceroy suffered by the sentence of Residencia, with the exception of Iturrigaray, who did not deserve the severity with which he was treated. The schemes of improvement submitted to it were buried in the Archivo General de Indias at Siguenza, where they still remain unnoticed and unknown. The most unjust decrees were obtained by bribery; and, latterly, the influence of the members of the Council was employed principally in stifling complaints, and supporting their respective protegés in the Colonial Audiencias against charges, which ought to have led to their immediate dismissal. In lieu, therefore, "of attributing to the wise regulations and vigilant inspection of this respectable tribunal, whatever degree of public order and virtue still remained in the Spanish Colonies," I should say that nothing had tended so directly to destroy both as the conduct of the Council of the Indies; which, by poisoning the very fountain of justice, convinced the Creoles that in the Old, as in the New World, it was equally unavailing for them to seek redress.

Robertson is likewise incorrect in what he states respecting Castes, and the natural antipathy between the Indians and the Negroes. Wherever there have been African slaves in America, it will be found that they have not only intermarried with the Aborigines, but are positively blended into a new race; and it was the extent to which this connexion had been carried, and the impossibility, (from its numerous ramifications) of proving themselves free from a taint of Negro blood, that occasioned such universal dissatisfaction amongst the Creoles, when the Cortes (in 1811) deprived of the rights of citizenship those who were in any way contaminated by African descent.

* Robertson, Book viii. p. 20.

Nor is Robertson's view of the character of the Creoles (Book viii. p. 32) at all to be relied upon. It is drawn not from nature, but from a bad likeness, sketched by no friendly hand. In considering what they were, we must bear in mind the prohibitions under which they laboured, and the very narrow circle to which their natural activity was confined. What inducement was there to acquire information, or to cultivate science, in a country where the labour of early years could be turned to no account in the career of maturer life? From the bar, and the church, the young Creole was excluded; or, at least, if he entered either profession, he knew that to rise in it beyond a certain point could never be his lot. He could not hope to be rewarded for his exertions by the approbation of his countrymen, for the press was closed upon genius; and even in private society, from the jealous watchfulness of the Inquisition, freedom of discussion was unknown. There was nothing, therefore, but an absolute thirst for knowledge, unusual even in the most polished countries, to animate him in the pursuit of acquirements, of which he was forbidden to avail himself when attained: and none can wonder if, with so few incitements to exertion, vicious indulgences occupied but too large a portion of his time. But the Revolution has proved that the Creoles are capable of better things. The estimable parts of their character are rapidly developing themselves; and the field now open for the display of that energy, of which, during the Civil War, they have given such fearful proofs, seems to have called into life the qualities requisite in order to turn it to account. From what I have seen of the Mexicans, I should say that they possess great natural shrewdness and ability; they are brave, hospitable, warm-hearted where met with kindness, and only too magnificent in their ideas of what the intercourse of society requires. From a fear of not doing enough, they often do too little; but whatever they attempt is executed with a splendour, which is at times almost embarrassing.

In 1826, being anxious to have our eldest little girl baptized, we solicited the Count and Countess Regla, with whom we were upon very intimate terms, to be her sponsors. They consented with great readiness, on condition that the management of the ceremony should be left entirely to them; and on receiving a promise to this effect, (given without any idea on our part of the consequences to which it was to lead,) a splendid church ceremony was prepared, with hundreds of wax-lights, and music, and crowds of attendants; and this again was succeeded on the following day by a dinner of twenty people, and by presents of diamonds, for which it was impossible for us to make any adequate return, while to reject them would have been regarded as a mortal offence.

From Don Pablo de la Llave, (at that time Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs,) by whom the service was performed, we likewise received a certificate of baptism, printed on silk, and inclosed in a gold frame, with the names of the child duly inscribed upon it. Frances was the only one selected by ourselves, but to this were added Guădălūpĕ, (in honour both of the Virgin of that name, and of the President,) and Felipa de Jesus, in commemoration of the only Mexican Saint acknowledged by the Church of Rome.

It is needless to add that we felt most grateful to the Regla family for their kindness upon this occasion. It had the effect, however, of preventing me from having another child baptized in Mexico, for I was determined not to lay myself a second time under similar obligations, and felt sure that had I applied to any other friends, nothing would have induced them to do less than had been done by Count Regla before them.

The extension of one of the sacraments of the Catholic church to the child of a notorious heretic, may be regarded as no mean proof of the diminution of those intolerant feelings with regard to foreigners, which, at the commencement of our communications with Mexico, were so universal through-

out the country. As late as May 1825, the Capital itself was not exempt from them; for, in the discussion respecting the religious article of our first treaty, some of the more devout amongst the members of the Senate objected to the concession of the right of sepulture to His Majesty's subjects, as a privilege to which heretics were not in any way entitled. Nor would the point have been carried without some difficulty, had not Mr. Cañedo, (a very distinguished Senator,) placed the arguments of these most conscientious persons in a proper light, by saying that, "Although he perfectly agreed with his worthy colleagues in principle, he foresaw some practical difficulties in the accomplishment of their wishes, which would compel him, though most reluctantly, to vote against them. The melancholy influx of foreigners could not be denied, nor was it to be expected that, amongst so many, some should not be summoned, during their residence in the Republic, to receive, in another world, the penalty of their unbelief in this. What, then, was to be done with the bodies? He saw but four modes of disposing of them; namely, to bury, burn, eat, or export them. To the first, his reverend colleagues seemed to object: the second, might prove inconvenient from the scarcity of fuel: in the third, he, for one, must decline any participation; and as to the fourth, dead heretics not being included amongst the exportable commodities mentioned in the Tariff, he feared that such an innovation might seriously embarrass the custom-house officers upon the coast. He should, therefore, upon the whole, incline for burial, as amongst four serious evils it appeared to him to be the least."

The speech, of which the above is a literal translation, put an end to any farther discussion, and the article was carried by a large majority. But the fact of such a question having been mooted at all in one of the chambers of the Supreme Congress sufficiently indicates how little was to be expected from the lower orders, when even the more enlightened were

not ashamed to acknowledge opinions so much at variance with the liberal institutions of the State, and the freedom of intercourse, which they professed to court.

The beauty of the climate of Mexico has, I think, been a good deal overrated. It is true that the Table-land is exempt from the diseases which prove so fatal to foreigners upon the Eastern and Western coasts, (the Vomito and the Cholera Morbus,) and that, from the greatness of the elevation, the action of the sun upon the marshes in the vicinity of the Capital does not produce agues, or other fevers, to which the *Tierras Calientes* are subject. But, on the other hand, the rarefaction of the atmosphere is fatal to those who have any tendency to pulmonary complaints; while, from the extreme difficulty of inducing perspiration, rheumatism, to which foreigners are peculiarly subject, often takes such a hold upon the constitution as to set all ordinary remedies at defiance.

Inflammatory fevers are likewise very common; and during the months when the sun is vertical, exposure to its rays is not unattended with danger. I lost a servant, upon my first arrival in the country, by a *coup de soleil;* my little girl was nearly killed by a similar attack; and I conceive the madness of a groom, who accompanied me on several of my journeys, to have proceeded, in some measure, from the same cause. Amongst the natives, scarlet fever and measles often occasion an extraordinary mortality. In 1825 fifteen thousand persons were carried off by them in the Capital alone, and their ravages extended from North to South throughout the Table-land. The number of deaths was, however, attributed by medical men more to the want of proper food and care, than to the virulence of the disease itself, which was seldom attended with fatal effects in families where proper precautions could be taken.

I have said nothing of the organization of society in Mexico, because, in fact, there is none. In the Capital,

evening-parties and dinners, except upon some great occasion, are equally unknown. After the Paseo, or afternoon promenade, which takes place between five and seven, every body goes to the theatre, and after the theatre to bed. The Mexicans have not yet acquired the European habit of meeting frequently in small parties for the promotion of social intercourse. They accept invitations with pleasure from foreigners, but cannot divest themselves of the idea that where any thing is to be given on their side, a degree of superfluous display is requisite, which renders the frequent repetition of such entertainments impracticable. It is only in their Haciendas that they indulge, without restraint, in the hospitality to which they are naturally inclined. Of the women, in general, it is unnecessary for me to speak in much detail. Their manners and education are just what a person acquainted with Spain would expect to find in a Spanish colony. So little is required of women in the Mother-country, that it would hardly be fair to expect any very great intellectual superiority amongst their descendants. The Mexican ladies, (with some brilliant exceptions, whom it would perhaps be invidious to name,) read and write in about the same proportion as those of Madrid; they speak, in general, no language but their own, and have not much taste for music, or knowledge of it as an art. They are not, certainly, amongst the exceptions to Madame de Stael's celebrated axiom, that "*hors de Paris, tout le monde parle de son voisin, ou de sa voisine,*" for in this respect Mexico is most thoroughly a "Petite ville." But in return, they have no affectation or hauteur, they are kind and unpretending in the highest degree, and do the honours of their houses with perfect ease and propriety. They possess considerable natural talents; and although in 1824 they undoubtedly were a little fonder of smoking, and a little less attentive to personal appearance at home, than would be thought engaging in London or Paris, before I left the country in 1827, a wonderful change had

taken place. Cigars were banished from all places of public resort, and, even in private were falling gradually into disuse; while, with regard to dress, European fashions had entirely taken place of those glaring colours, by which but too many of the prettiest women were disfigured on the first opening of our intercourse with New Spain. Nor can I omit stating, that from the first they showed a delicacy of feeling and tact, with regard to Mrs. Ward, for which she has always felt grateful, by abstaining from smoking whenever she was present, (and that not only in her house, but in their own,) lest it should prove in any way offensive to her English ideas of politeness, or decorum. In good society the most marked respect is always shown to the female sex, and all the obsequiousness of old Spanish gallantry kept up, although intermingled at times, with a good deal of that freedom of speech, which, under the name of "franqueza," has so much changed the tone of society in the Peninsula.

It must be recollected, however, that this license, however repugnant to the feelings of Northern nations, prevails more or less throughout the whole of the South of Europe, and that in Italy, as well as in Spain and Portugal, allusions are constantly made to subjects, which would be proscribed amongst ourselves, without any idea of their inspiring that disgust, with which they must always be listened to by a really delicate mind. It is not just, therefore, to blame the Mexicans for doing that of which they had no reason until lately to suspect the impropriety. We ought rather to hope that they may find amongst their new friends better models to follow, in which case, I have little doubt, from the improvements, which I have myself witnessed, that in a very few years, a complete reform will be effected.

As to morality, it is a subject upon which it is no business of mine to touch. There is, perhaps, not less vice in Mexico, but there is certainly not more, than in many other countries which bear a fair character in the world; and there are several

points upon which, as wives and mothers, the ladies of New Spain give an excellent example. I know few countries where, in as far as the means are within their reach, greater pains are taken with the rising generation. The children of almost every respectable family are learning music, French, and drawing; and although there is a sad want of masters, such good desires cannot fail, in a little time, to be productive of a happy effect.

This anxiety on the part of the parents to secure to their offspring advantages, which have, in many instances, been denied to themselves, is a part of that revolution, which the last few years have wrought in the feelings and wishes of the Creole race.

After three centuries of implicit obedience, and uninterrupted mortifications, they have sought, in an entire change of system, that relief, which might have been afforded by a simple modification of the old institutions, had such a concession been compatible with the principles, upon which the policy of Spain was founded during the days of her power.

It is difficult to conceive any country less prepared than Mexico was in 1824 for the transition from despotism to democracy. The principles upon which the present Government is formed, were, at first, neither duly appreciated, nor generally understood; yet, from the mere force of circumstances, they have taken root, and have already struck too deeply into the soil to be easily shaken.

Their hold upon the country is founded neither in a general diffusion of knowledge, nor in what might be termed theoretical patriotism; it rests upon a still surer basis, the passions and interests of the most influential classes of the inhabitants.

To the mass of the people all forms of government are indifferent, and many do not yet know under which they live; but amongst those who alone possess a political character, the resident land-holders, the merchants, the military, the lawyers, and the parochial clergy, considerations of local and

personal advantage, have created a decided feeling in favour of the Federal system.

In each State, a field is opened by it to every citizen, upon which few think themselves too obscure to venture, although they might not have aspired to political honours beyond the limits of their own provinces. In a small circle every thing is a source of distinction; and thus the multiplicity of petty offices created by the State Legislatures, though disadvantageous in one sense, by increasing the expenses of the country, is of use in another, by bringing home to all classes the advantages of a change, which places employment, and a sort of rank in the world, within the reach of the humblest individual.

It was natural that, in a country where the natives had been excluded for three centuries from any share in the management of their own affairs, these considerations should have great weight; but I confess that I was not prepared to see *State* interests, and *State* feelings, become so universally predominant as they have done during the last two years.

Another advantage with which the subdivision of authority has been attended, is the neutralization of rival interests. The Revolution left behind a number of turbulent, yet influential officers, who, under any central form of government, must have proved dangerous candidates for power, but who have now found in their respective States that employment which the Supreme Government could not have given to all. Many have become, under these circumstances, useful and efficient servants to the public, whose restless spirits, if not provided with a proper vent, would have involved them in enterprises fatal to the tranquillity of their fellow-citizens.

No inference can be drawn as to the feelings of the country in general, with regard to the present institutions, by those displayed in the Capital, or its vicinity; where a party spirit of the most violent kind has been gradually engendered,

which, in a very recent instance, has led to disturbances of a most alarming nature.

With regard to the origin of these disturbances, it is difficult for me to enter into any details without overstepping those limits, within which it is my duty to confine myself. As it is, however, upon their tendency to affect the tranquillity of the country that its prospects in every way depend, I may, I hope, venture to lay before my readers a few remarks, without being thought to trespass upon forbidden ground.

The two parties which, under the denomination of Escoceses and Yorkinos, have been recently arrayed against each other, are both Mexican in their origin, and entirely unconnected with Spain. The first is said to be composed of many of the largest proprietors of the country, (particularly those who possessed titles of nobility before the Revolution,) with a number of officers of distinction, and individuals of different professions, connected together by the bonds of a masonic society, supposed to be of Scotch origin, from whence their name of "Escoceses" is derived.

The reputed members of this association, (which is very ancient,) are mostly men of moderate principles, and sincere advocates of the cause of Independence. Many of them, however, belonged to the Creole army, and consequently opposed the leaders of the first insurrection, while others held situations under the Spanish Government upon the re-establishment of the Constitution in 1820, and were sent as Deputies to the Cortes of Spain before the declaration of Independence by Iturbide in 1821. It is upon these grounds that they are accused by their adversaries, the Yorkinos, of "Bourbonism," that is, of an attachment to the Mother country sufficiently strong to induce them to wish for a Prince of the Royal blood of Spain, as Constitutional king of Mexico. In this project there would have been no impropriety before the adoption of the present Constitution. I do

not myself believe, however, that it extended, even then, beyond a very limited number of individuals; and I am convinced that it does not exist as the object of a party in Mexico at the present day.

The Escoceses may more properly be assimilated to the "Federalists" of the United States, who, on the establishment of the Constitution in 1787, thought the Government founded upon it too weak, and were consequently reproached by their opponents, the "Democrats," with aristocratical notions, and a desire to convert the Republic into a monarchy. Yet General Washington was a Federalist, as was his successor, Mr. Adams, the father of the present President. In like manner, in Mexico, many of the most moderate and best intentioned men in the country may be found amongst the Escoceses, upon whose interest General Bravo, (whose mild yet unvarying patriotism I have had occasion to dwell upon in the history of the Revolution,) came forward as a candidate for the Presidency in 1824. He was defeated by the superior influence of General Victoria; but next to Victoria's name, none stood so high as that of Bravo, and none had deserved more of his countrymen.

Up to 1825, the Yorkinos did not exist as a party. In the summer of that year, a number of individuals, not connected with the Escoceses, but not violently opposed to them before, were united as a rival sect, denominated "Yorkinos," because they derived their origin from the Masonic Lodge of New York, which transmitted, through Mr. Poinsett, the American Minister, the diplomas and insignia requisite for the establishment of a branch lodge in the capital of New Spain. Without any disparagement to its members, of whom many are both useful and distinguished men, I may say that the largest proportion of the Affiliés of this society consisted of the *novi homines* of the Revolution. They are the ultra-Federalists, or democrats of Mexico, and profess the most violent hostility to Spain, and to the Spanish residents;

whom the Escoceses have uniformly protected, both as conceiving them to have lost the power of injuring the country, and because, from the large amount of the capital still remaining in their hands, they think that their banishment must diminish the resources, and retard the progress of the Republic.

Having pointed out the characteristics of the two parties, it is neither my wish, nor my intention, to animadvert upon the manner in which the contest between them has been carried on. In a country just emerging from a great political crisis, there must ever be a bitterness of feeling on political questions, which older nations can hardly comprehend, although, a century ago, our own annals might have furnished a counterpart to its violence.* In Mexico this feeling has been carried very far indeed. The Yorkinos, as new men, struggling to dispossess their adversaries of that power, which is the real object of both, were undoubtedly the assailants; but acrimony has not been wanting on the other side, and the personalities in which, for two years, the newspapers of the two parties have indulged, prove but too clearly, that, under similar circumstances, nature is always the same; while liberty, in her infancy, only tends to develope more rapidly those passions, which appear, in every part of the world, to be most deeply implanted in the human breast.

The Yorkinos have made up by numbers for what they wanted originally in individual influence. Their plans have been prosecuted with great activity, and as the desperate appeal to the country, to which their opponents have just

* Since writing the above, the discussion of the Catholic question has demonstrated that older nations than the Mexicans may witness a display of party feeling equally bitter, and equally disgusting. The difference is, that in the infancy of freedom, personalities such as those directed against the Duke of Wellington here, do not fall harmless to the ground; and that the most absurd accusations, when aimed at a man in power, instead of being laughed at, are believed.

been driven, appears to have failed entirely, if they use their victory with forbearance, the success of their candidate, (General Guerrero,) at the approaching election for the Presidency, seems to be certain. But, upon forbearance, at the present crisis, every thing depends; for of General Bravo's devotion to the cause of his country but one opinion is entertained throughout New Spain. Should there be any attempt, therefore, to punish too severely a step, which all must deplore, although none can judge of its causes without a knowledge of the circumstances by which the passions, on both sides, have been excited, and the transition from political to personal hostility effected,—blood will be found to lead to blood, and a long series of calamities may still cloud the prospects of the Republic.

I trust, however, that these calamities will be averted. There are in Mexico a number of excellent men unconnected with either of the parties, whose animosity has threatened the country with a civil war. At the head of these is General Victoria, in whose moderation, and thoroughly honourable intentions, the most implicit confidence may be placed. To him, and to his friends, I look for the preservation of tranquillity. Of its necessity he is thoroughly convinced; and his influence, if properly exerted, will, I think, be found sufficient to ensure it.

Short as the recent struggle has been, it has already done incalculable mischief, and destroyed the fair reputation which Mexico was beginning to acquire in Europe, by the fidelity with which her engagements with foreign capitalists were at first met. Dissensions, bordering upon civil war, in whatever causes they may originate, must tend to diminish the commercial demand, and with it the general resources of the country. The customs may be regarded as the basis of the whole revenue of Mexico; not only as forming in themselves its most important branch, but as facilitating the collection of all the other branches, by giving to the Executive that com-

mand of money, without which, in a new country, no system of administration can be organized, and no subordination enforced.

What my expectations with regard to them were six months ago, I have stated in the Fourth Section of the Third Book, in which I estimated their probable produce during the present year at eight millions of dollars. There is now not the least prospect that those calculations will be found correct. I am informed that one-third of the orders given by our merchants for the present season have been countermanded, in consequence of the unsettled aspect of affairs, and of the embarrassment which the expulsion of the Old Spaniards has occasioned in the commercial world; and although the storm appears to have blown over, it is very questionable whether confidence will be restored until the election for the ensuing Presidency, which takes place in October, be decided.

I shall now take leave of the only unpleasant part of my present subject. I have not traced the preceding pages without many painful feelings, for I am connected personally with most of the individuals of whom I have been compelled to speak. During three whole years, General Victoria honoured me with a most unreserved, and confidential, intercourse, while both with General Bravo, and with many of the leaders of the rival parties, I was on terms of frequent and friendly communication. I shall not, therefore, attempt to deny that I write under the influence of these recollections, and that feelings of a private, as well as a public nature induce me to hope that what has passed may be buried in oblivion; for the only mode of averting the evils, which must otherwise be brought upon the country, is for the victorious party to show itself worthy, by its moderation, of the ascendency which it has acquired.

I have already trespassed upon the patience of my readers to a much greater extent than I at first contemplated when I undertook the task of preparing my notes upon Mexico for

publication. I trust, however, that I shall not solicit their indulgence in vain for a few concluding reflections.

The want of distinguished men, or rather, of some one man so distinguished as to exercise, like Bolivar, an universal influence, has been much commented upon in Europe as disadvantageous to New Spain.

In one sense, it may, perhaps, be so, for it undoubtedly retards the progress of those parts of the country, which might be pushed forward in the career of civilization by that impulse, which power, concentrated in the hands of an individual, can alone give; but it secures, in return, the stability of the present institutions, by rendering innovations difficult; and whether those institutions be good or bad, it is not by any sudden or violent change that they can be amended.

It is likewise favourable to the gradual developement of the resources of the country, by removing those checks upon the activity of individuals, which the preponderance of any one man is generally found to create. In a territory so vast, and, as yet, so little explored, no central government, whatever its energy, or however beneficent its intentions, could possess sufficient local knowledge to do the good which it might desire to effect. Under the present system the internal arrangements of the States are left to their own care, and with some few restrictions with regard to foreign trade, they are at liberty to adopt, without restraint, any plans of improvement that may suit the peculiarities of their respective territories.

Their ability to support this system I have had frequent occasion to investigate. To a certain extent it has been already demonstrated; and the journal of my visits to the Interior will prove that, wherever a man of activity has been placed at the head of affairs, a good use has been made by the Provinces of the free agency with which they are entrusted. In Guanajuato, San Luis, Durango, Jalisco, La Puebla, and Veracruz, as well as in some others of the Cen-

tral and Northern States, important changes have taken place, and much has been done towards that gradual introduction of a better order of things, from which alone permanent improvement can be expected.

I am aware, that in giving this opinion, I expose myself to the attacks of two distinct classes of adversaries; first, those who refuse to admit the fact of any progress at all having been made; and secondly, those, who, from too enthusiastic an admiration of the new institutions, are unwilling to await the mild influence of time, and maintain that, by a proper exercise of Republican energy, roads might have been made, canals traced, rivers rendered navigable, the jurisprudence of the country reformed, a system of education generalised, and the work of a century compressed into a twelvemonth!

To the first, I should object that they have not, perhaps, taken a very deliberate view of the actual situation of New Spain, or that, at all events, in reflecting upon things as they are, they do not sufficiently consider the point from which the Mexicans commenced their new career. To the second, I can only say that I am not one of those who believe in the practicability of hot-bed reforms. It appears to me to be as impossible to force the human mind to advance too rapidly, as it would be to compel the present generation to revert to the superstitious credulity of the thirteenth century. Nor can a change of government be productive of a simultaneous change in the habits and opinions of the people governed. It may, —indeed it must, ultimately affect them: it may exalt or debase the national character, strengthen or enervate it, according as it affords more or less scope for the developement of individual talent, and more or less encouragement for its application to the public service: but no constitution, even if it came down from Heaven with the stamp of perfection upon it, could eradicate at once the vices engendered by three centuries of bondage, or give the independent feelings

of free men to a people, to whom, until lately, the very name of freedom was unknown.

It will be sufficient for me, if I am thought to have shown in the work, which I have now the honour of submitting to the public, that in three years a great deal has really been effected; that the resources of the country are unquestionable; and that the seeds of future greatness not only exist, but have begun to develope themselves to a very considerable extent. Internal tranquillity is alone requisite to bring them to maturity; and feeling, as I do, a lively interest in the welfare of Mexico, both from my long residence in the country, and my conviction that the commercial interests of Great Britain are most intimately connected with the prosperity of the New World, it is my fervent hope that this blessing may not be denied to her. Whatever else is wanting, nature and time will supply.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

PARTICULARS OF A JOURNEY FROM ALTAMIRA TO CATORCE.

On the 16th of May, 1822, we started from Altamira with fourteen four-wheel carriages, loaded with machinery, parts of a thirty-six inch steam-engine, for the mine of La Concepcion, in the Real de Catorce. Colonel Martinez, as the representative of Messrs. Gordon and Murphy, conducted the party.

We made but little progress the first day, notwithstanding the excellence of the road. At Chocolate, a small Rancho about a league from Altamira, we had the misfortune to break two wheels, and otherwise damage one of the carriages. This accident detained us three days. Having no carpenter or wheelwright with us, our situation was rather an awkward one; we had tools, however, and although I had never used them before in my life, I set to work, and by dint of great exertion, under a burning vertical sun (the thermometer, from ten o'clock to two, standing as high as 120°), I succeeded in repairing our damages so as to enable us to proceed on the 20th.

The breaking down of the carriages is partly to be ascribed to the bullocks, which were all wild; but principally to the drivers, who were a most uncivilized set of beings. They had resorted to the coast for the purpose of obtaining a livelihood, and very frequently had recourse to robbery, and murder, in order to effect it.

Colonel Martinez betrayed on every occasion the greatest timidity, and allowed the men to do just as they pleased. When they chose to stop, finding themselves incommoded by the sun, they did so without leave: and for the purpose of securing to themselves a day or two of rest, they would drive one or two of the carriages into the wood, and break the wheels.

About a league from Chocolate, another of the carriages broke down, and obliged us to halt for the day. We repaired the damage in the evening, however, and were enabled to proceed early the next morning.

We had travelled two leagues, when the drivers of two of the carriages turned out of the road, and wilfully broke two of the wheels. I recommended Martinez to go on with the other carriages, and offered to remain behind myself to repair the two wheels which had been injured: he took my advice and proceeded on the following morning. As soon as the party had left me, I set about my task, and worked hard all day in the sun, but was not able to complete the wheels. At dusk I saddled my horse and rode up to the carriages: about a mile on the road I found one of them with a wheel off, and had not proceeded much farther before I met with another quite broken down. I came up with the party about two miles distant from the place where I had been working. The next morning I returned to my operations, finished the wheels, and in the afternoon joined the main body with the two carriages that had been left behind. On the 24th Martinez proceeded with twelve waggons, and left me to refit the two which I found on the road. I completed them in time to join the party in the evening.

We pursued our route in this sort of way until the 28th, and owing to a want of proper regulations, generally fared very badly; a few ounces of sun-dried beef, some frijoles, and three or four tortillas, constituting our usual allowance. As it had not rained during the preceding year, water was extremely scarce, always bad, and very offensive to the smell.

Arriving on the 28th at the Venta de los Esteros, it was determined that the whole party should rest a day or two.

I was employed, however, in making two small carts, thinking the drivers might be able to manage them better than the waggons. Esteros is situated on the borders of an extensive lake, the alligators in which are large and numerous; accidents are no doubt frequent: I only heard of one, however, which befel a woman who was washing by the side of the lake; an alligator, leaving the water, seized her by the legs, and carried her off, the woman's husband looking on without being able to render her the least assistance. Colonel Martinez left Esteros on the 31st May, with fourteen carriages; I remained behind with two, the wheels of which wanted repair, and it took me four days to complete them. I was two days without any food beyond what the charity of a traveller passing by afforded me, which consisted of three or four tortillas. On the 5th of June I came up with the other carriages: Martinez having stopped for me at Puerto Chocollo, five leagues from Esteros. The road between Chocollo and Esteros is excellent: about a league from the latter place we entered on a very extensive plain, having all the appearance of being cultivated. We might have almost imagined that we saw the green meadows of England, so high and luxuriant was the grass. Flocks of deer fed by the road-side, and wild turkeys were seen in abundance.

We stopped at Chocollo until the 9th of June, and made three more carts, for the purpose of lightening the carriages, hoping by these means

to go on faster. The road afterwards became bad, and although not so rugged as to prevent carriages from passing, our drivers were so obstinate and self-willed that accidents were continually occurring, and three or four days were often consumed without our making any considerable progress.

On the 13th, we were stopped by a river, not on account of its water, which was very little, but by the steepness of its banks and its rocky bed, through which we were obliged to open a road for the carriages to pass. On the 14th we accomplished our task, and, on the 15th, got all the waggons over. We now began to ascend a very steep hill, and stopped about a mile up its side, on a sort of natural terrace, the level of which we found convenient for our carriages. Contrary to our usual custom, we started early on the following morning, and reached the summit of the mountain about four o'clock in the afternoon; where a considerable village, called *Coco*, is situated, the property of a single individual, by name Quintero. This place is twenty-one leagues from Altamira; and from the salubrity of its climate, it affords a safe retreat to the inhabitants of Tampico, Altamira, and other unhealthy towns on the Coast, who, during the sickly months, resort thither with their families.

We stopped there a week to repair our wheels and carriages, which, on our arrival, were in a most dilapidated condition.

We left Coco on the 23d, descended a hill rather rugged and broken, and again found ourselves on a most beautiful plain, where the oak, the elm, and the palm grew at such regular distances as almost to induce us to believe that they were planted by the hand of man: the verdure, luxuriance, and beauty of the wild plants exceeded any thing that I can describe: deer were seen in most extraordinary abundance, and Nature seemed to have exerted herself in forming for these timid creatures a safe and happy retreat. Our road, which was pretty good, led us for two days through this picturesque and fertile country. On the 25th, we passed through a small Indian village, the resident Missionary of which, together with his flock, treated us with a good deal of civility; we purchased a large stock of fowls and eggs of them: our journey on the following day, was a continual ascent: we halted about five o'clock in the afternoon at the top of a hill, which, on the other side, presented difficulties of no ordinary nature; as it was precipitous in the extreme, and so covered with wood and rocks, that nothing but great perseverance and exertion could have enabled us to descend it.

After having refreshed ourselves, a general muster of the drivers and others belonging to the party took place, when all hands began to hew trees, remove rocks, in a word, to form a road over which the carriages might pass. We worked nearly all night so effectually, that in the morning we were able to set about getting down the carriages. The steepness of the descent rendered bullocks quite useless, and our only plan was to

lower the waggons down by means of ropes, which fortunately we had brought with us.

By three o'clock, the whole of the train was safely deposited at the bottom of the hill; and the same afternoon we proceeded on two miles farther, to a Rancho called Alamitas, five leagues from Coco, a journey which it took us nearly five days to accomplish.

We stopped a day at Alamitas, to mend a wheel that had been broken in descending the mountain. We travelled on during the whole of the 29th and 30th, without any sort of accident, although our road was excessively rough: we rested on the 1st of July, at a place called Pletil, a small village pleasantly situated on the banks of a river, five leagues from Alamitas. On the 2nd and 3rd, we performed five leagues, but were delayed considerably the next day by a rivulet which crossed our road, having been obliged to level its sides for the purpose of allowing the carriages to proceed; our distance on this account did not amount to a league. On the 5th, however, we made up for the detention, by going four leagues, which brought us to the village of Apanoche. Here we were stopped by a river, which, during the rainy months, is deep, rapid, and altogether impassable; it was now however, fordable for horses, but unless some means could be found to render the stream more shallow, the carriages could not go over. I employed twenty Indians to cut down some large trees that were hanging over the river, allowing them to fall in the strongest part of the current, and by throwing stones on the branches we succeeded in forming a partial dam, which greatly reduced the depth and force of the water. The banks of the river being steep, we were obliged again to use our ropes. We employed about fifty Indians, the chief of whom could speak a little Spanish, and served as an interpreter for the rest. On our lowering a carriage into the river, these men, with six yoke of oxen, would draw it as far across as possible; but to ascend the other side, twenty yoke of oxen and all the Indians were barely sufficient, so steep were the banks. We succeeded however, by dint of hard labour, in getting all the carriages over on the 7th.

On the 8th we resumed our journey, drove on about two leagues, and stopped for the night. The road rather uneven, but very few stones. During the night the Indians carried off eleven of our bullocks; we soon got news of them however, and easily recovered them. On the 9th we had a very rough piece of road to go over, a good deal of which we were obliged to repair before we could proceed; and we stopped at about a league and a half distance from our place of starting in the morning.

On the 10th we arrived at Forlon, rather a populous village, with a small church, the first that we had seen since leaving Altamira.

Forlon is situated on the banks of a river, and is distant from Apanoche about six leagues. We rested a day at this place, and on the

12th drove on about three leagues, and halted for the night on a plain. Our road the next day was tolerably good, which enabled us to accomplish three leagues and a half.

On the 14th, finding ourselves short of water we dispatched a cart with three barrels to fetch some ;—before it returned, (on the 16th,) we were all suffering from excessive thirst ; our provisions had also failed us, and we were on short allowance, but being without water our appetites did not incommode us so much as they otherwise might have done.

On the 17th, we arrived at Croix, a large village in a most miserable state, distant from Forlon fourteen leagues, and not far from Padilla, where Iturbide was shot. Between Croix and Forlon we did not meet with a single habitation; we halted here two days, and repaired some of our damaged wheels, &c. The heat was intolerable during our stay at this place, the thermometer being seen to rise as high as 120° in the shade.

We left Croix on the 19th, and crossed a river almost immediately after starting; the road was good, and we drove on until one o'clock, when one of the carriages, owing to its having been driven out of the road, came down: nothing but a wheel being broken, I set every thing right again before the cook had got our dinner ready. We here met a coach that had been despatched from Catorce by the Obregones, to meet us, and convey us to the Real. At this stage of our journey, however, it was impossible to leave the carriages without doing a manifest injury to the enterprise; and we therefore only detached Mr. Medina to give some account of our proceedings. After dining, mending the broken wheel, and disposing of Medina and the coach, we again began to move on, and found our road so very good that we were enabled to perform five leagues in the course of the day. We halted at the top of a hill of no great height, whence we could discern most distinctly the *Saddle-hill*, near Monterey, which was said to be very little short of *ninety leagues* distant from us. We had again to make a road by which the carriages might descend,—worked the greatest part of this night, and by nine the next morning had formed a sufficient pass for our train, which at ten o'clock began to proceed.

On arriving at the foot of the hill, the road was found to be excellent, and continued so for four leagues. We started early on the following morning, and accomplished three leagues and a half during the day. We should have gone to Aguayo, but our cattle could take us no farther, although the road was a continued descent. On the 22nd, we started at eight o'clock, found the road rather uneven, and crossed by several rivulets. We broke one of our carriages during the journey, which circumstance detained us a little, but did not prevent us from entering Aguayo at an early hour. Aguayo, distant fourteen leagues

from Croix, is a large town of some consequence, lying on the eastern side of the *Sierra Madre;* it contains a good many respectable inhabitants.

We met with fruit in abundance at this place, but made a very short stay there, and arrived on the 24th at Las Misiones, a small village about five leagues from Aguayo, where we stopped two days, and proceeding on the 27th, travelled two leagues through a thick wood, in which we halted for the night. The next day we stopped at Caballero, a considerable Rancho, or rather a sugar plantation, four leagues from Las Misiones. On the 29th we reached San Pedro, another Rancho, two leagues from the former, and stopped there five days to refit; from Las Misiones to San Pedro the road is generally pretty good; and all the way from Aguayo to the latter place, the soil appeared to be extremely fertile, and cultivation pretty general.

On the 4th of August, we again began to move. On leaving San Pedro, we crossed a river, and drove on over a very tolerable road to Santa Gracia, (three leagues from San Pedro, and fourteen from Aguayo,) where we met with a broad but fordable river, which we crossed on the 6th, and halted on the opposite bank to repair some carriages that were injured. On the 7th, we left Santa Garcia, having previously made every inquiry respecting the road, and ascertained that, as far as Hoyos, we should find it very good. After having proceeded a league, however, we were stopped by an *arroyo,* six or seven yards deep, which traversed the road: there was no remedy but to form a bridge, which we effected by means of some large trees, which we cut down, and on the following morning, the 8th, drove over without trouble or danger. We proceeded on our journey over a dreadful road, and in the afternoon crossed the River de Bayo, and ascended a steep hill, at the top of which we halted, having accomplished three leagues during the day. Our road the next day lay by the side of the river for some distance; I could not have imagined it possible for carriages to go over such a road: at the worst part of it one of the carriages came down, two of its wheels having been shattered to pieces. Having a bellows with us, we soon built a forge, and began to make the iron work for an extra wheel, which, on the 10th, we completed, together with other work, and on the 11th, continued our journey over the same sort of road, by the river side, and arrived at the Rancho del Carmel, three leagues from Bayo, without accident. The next day we reached a Rancho, not far from Hoyos—the road rather uneven. On the 13th, I went to Hoyos, to look out for some timber to make felloes for wheels, but could not meet with any; I employed, therefore, two carpenters, who accompanied me into the wood, and cut down sufficient to make half a dozen wheels, took a house for a workshop, and in the evening returned to the carriages: the people had been employed all day in repairing the road to bring the

carriages into Hoyos, which, in the afternoon of the 14th, they all entered.

This place is situated very near the Sierra Madre, on the same side as Aguayo; its situation is very low and unhealthy, the fever and ague prevailing throughout the year. Catorce lies about fifty leagues to the west of Hoyos; but it is impossible for a carriage to cross the mountains, where tremendous precipices rise one over the other, to an immense height; and there is not only one ridge, but several, forming a distance of at least fifteen leagues across. We stopped here six days, made five new wheels, and repaired several old ones. There are several gold and silver mines in this neighbourhood, but they have not been worked to any great extent.

We left Hoyos on the 21st, drove on about three leagues, and halted; the road very tolerable. We started early the next morning, and had gone about a league, when, on descending a steep hill, the bullocks ran away with one of the carriages, and broke one of the large wheels—the nave gave way, which was generally the case. There is no timber sufficiently durable to withstand the dry hot air of the *Tierra Caliente*;—English timber, particularly, begins to crack and fly to pieces immediately. In any future expedition of this kind, I should recommend cast-iron naves for the wheels. We were detained four days making a new wheel, during which time the people were employed in repairing a bad piece of road. On the 26th we began to move on again, and the following day arrived at Sierra Santiago, eight leagues from Hoyos. This place, containing about two thousand inhabitants, is more elevated, and enjoys a more wholesome climate than any other that we had passed through since leaving Altamira. The woods in its neighbourhood contain a great number of wild bullocks. There are also wild horses, but not so numerous. The next afternoon we drove out of the town, crossed a small river, and halted on the other side. Starting early on the morning of the 29th, we had got on about four leagues over a good road, when the obstinacy of the drivers caused them to turn off into the wood; in consequence of which we broke two wheels, and were again detained four days. We set off again on the 2d of September, and drove three leagues. We were here, from want of pasture, obliged to feed the bullocks on "nopal," which, being extremely juicy, in places where there was no water, served both for meat and drink. The next day we had driven about two leagues, when the cattle, from want of provender and water, the heat also being excessive, were quite knocked up, and prevented us from proceeding any farther. A cart not arriving, which we had dispatched two days before for water and provisions, subjected us to great inconvenience; we fed the cattle again on nopal. The next morning we yoked our oxen very early, and drove three leagues. Finding no pasture for the bullocks, we continued to feed them on the prickly pear

plant, which if it had borne fruit at the time, might have been the means of appeasing our own hunger and thirst, which now became excessive. We resolved to set off very early the next morning, and to endeavour to reach Linares, a considerable town, about four leagues off. Accordingly, on the 5th, we were on our road by day-break, proceeded slowly, and succeeded in reaching Linares with six carriages, twelve of our train remaining behind in different parts of the road, fourteen of our bullocks having died of fatigue, or want of water and food. The road from Santiago to Linares is pretty good, but intersected by rivulets, which every now and then interrupted our progress. We had not seen a single habitation or human being since leaving the former place. The cart we had dispatched for provisions and water arrived on the 6th, also in distress; the three barrels which they had filled with water were given to the bullocks the first two or three days after starting from the watering-place. We stopped three days on the south side of Linares, waiting for some new bullocks to come up, which arrived on the 9th; and on the 10th we drove into the town, which is about the size of Aguayo, containing nearly six thousand inhabitants, and situated on an elevated plain, between two rivers, the one on the north side being the largest. There are some well-built houses there, and the country around for some distance is cultivated. On the 11th we left Linares, and crossed the river on the north side, at a small village (Camacho).

The wheels and bodies of our carriages requiring a general repair, we resolved to stop at Camacho for the purpose. It took us seven days to set every thing to rights. On the 18th we again started, and having proceeded two leagues, were stopped by a bad piece of road, which was impassable, unless provisionally repaired. We commenced operations early, and in the evening of the following day completed the road, yoked the oxen to the carriages, and drove on about a league, where the road again required some repairs. We started, however, on the following morning, and drove two leagues, when, on descending a hill, we broke one of the carriages, which accident detained us the remainder of the day. We reached Buenavista next day, and stopped two days there, to repair some wheels. On the 24th we proceeded on our journey, and having gone a league, were stopped by a rivulet, over which it was necessary to throw a bridge, which we effected during the night, and the next morning past the carriages. We had completed three leagues the next day, when our progress was again obstructed by an *Arroyo* of considerable depth,—at least, fifteen yards. Here a bridge, on account of the width, was out of the question, and we consequently set all hands to work in opening passes on each side; and, by twelve o'clock the next day, began to pass the carriages over and drove on afterwards about a league, on a good road. On the 27th we arrived at Pilon, fourteen leagues from Linares. A superior sort of cultivation was observable in this neighbourhood; the country generally was extremely fertile, and fruit and

vegetables of all kinds were plentiful and cheap. We here contracted with a man to take ten tons of castings to Saltillo, which lightened very considerably our carriages. We stopped two days at Pilon, waiting for bullocks, and loading the carts for Saltillo.

On the 30th we started, and went two leagues; and on the 1st of October we reached Callejon, a small Rancho, five leagues from Pilon, where we stopped seven days to rest the bullocks. On the 8th we arrived at Guadalupe, a small village, situated by the side of a river, where we stopped to repair the road and bridge on the other side. On the 10th we crossed the river, drove through the village, and stopped for the night. Early the following morning we drove on to Cadereita, over a tolerably good road. Cadereita is a small town, twelve leagues from Pilon, containing about a thousand inhabitants: it is a pleasant situation, and the inhabitants resort there from Monterey. On the 13th we proceeded, and on the 14th arrived at Pueblo, a large village, nine leagues from Cadereita. The following afternoon we entered the city of Monterey, situated in a large bahia, or plain, surrounded by mountains, (part of the Sierra Madre:) it lies in about twenty-six degrees north latitude. The climate is most delightful; fruit abounds all the year round, and provisions of all kinds are cheap and plentiful. It contains fifteen thousand inhabitants, among whom are a great many old Spaniards, extremely wealthy. We stopped there a day to load four carts with four tons of castings for Saltillo; and left on the 17th, proceeding for three leagues over a most excellent road.

Our route from Altamira to Monterey ran north by west half north, or nearly so, with trifling variations: on leaving Monterey, we proceeded due west. We started early on the 18th, and although our road was a continual ascent throughout the journey, we performed three leagues. On the 19th we descended over a rough broken road about three leagues; and on the 20th, yoked our cattle early in the morning and drove to Rinconada. Our road in the morning lay through a barranca, which conducted us to a hill: the road is good, but the steepest I believe, in the world for a carriage. We soon reached, however, El Puerto de los Muertos, the summit of the mountain, which derives its name, the Indians say, from a bloody battle fought there by the first conquerors and the natives. This is the only place by which a carriage can pass from the *Tierra Caliente* to the Table-land to the north of Jalapa. We stopped a little on the top of the hill to rest the bullocks, and in the evening yoked them again, and reached a Rancho, about a league and a half distant from El Puerto.

The next day we drove on smartly, and by twelve o'clock were three leagues on the road, when we halted opposite a large farm-house, the people of which were astonished at the sight of the boilers, and came running to know the use of such tremendous things. The proprietor of the Hacienda also came out to us, to whom Colonel Martinez thought

proper to mention our distressed situation, which he was no sooner acquainted with than he rode off to his house, and in about an hour afterwards we received a sufficient quantity of provisions for two days, consisting of beef and mutton, (boiled and roasted,) vegetables, bread, &c. &c. At four o'clock we left this abode of hospitality, and drove two leagues farther, and during the night felt the cold more sensibly than we had hitherto done since leaving the coast. On the 23rd we arrived at Saltillo, twenty-five leagues from Monterey. Saltillo is situated on the side of a hill: the country around presents very different features from those of the *Tierra Caliente*, where the land is so fertile, and the herbage so luxuriant. On this side of the Sierra Madre there is nothing but barren mountains and plains destitute of vegetation. Saltillo contains about twelve thousand inhabitants, and has several good streets, communicating at right angles with the Piaza, in the centre of which is a large reservoir, which supplies the town with water. We had generally from the coast to this place met with great civility and attention, but the inhabitants here showed us every possible mark of kindness and politeness. On the second day after our arrival, we dined, by invitation, with a cousin of Iturbide's and met all the principal people and authorities of the town: the dinner was most splendidly served up in the Spanish style, and to us who had fared badly during five months before, was no ordinary sort of treat. We contracted for several carts to take all our castings, except the cylinder, to Catorce, which latter, together with the boilers, were all that remained for our own carriages. We left Saltillo on the 26th of October, and proceeded four leagues over an excellent road, then stopped for the night at a small Rancho. Our bullocks by this time began to fail us; we consequently here contracted with a man to drive us to Catorce with his own cattle.

On the 27th, we travelled six leagues, and reached Aguanueva, where we stopped a day.

Our journey on the 29th was a continued and steep ascent, until at length we reached a plain, which lasted all the way to Vanegas. On the 30th, we drove nearly seven leagues, to La Encarnacion. The next day we reached Vaca, four leagues distant from La Encarnacion, a place deserted by human beings, and infested by wolves and jackals: we rested there one day, and on the 2nd of November proceeded to Buena Ventura, four leagues from where we started in the morning. On the 3rd we reached San Salvador, after driving three leagues, and on the following morning started early and arrived at El Salado; deriving its name, no doubt, from the water, which all over the plain we found to be very strongly impregnated with salt: we fared better here, however, in other respects, than we had done since leaving Saltillo. On the 5th, we arrived at Llana Blanca, four leagues distant, and observed on the road hundreds of *Perros de Campo*, so small that they do not frequent the woods but form burrows, and live under ground like rabbits. On the

6th, we travelled five leagues, and stopped at Lomo Prieto, and the next day went four leagues and reached La Punta, a large Rancho, where we were invited to the principal habitation to take chocolate, and were also in other respects extremely well treated in their way, by its aged occupiers. On the 8th we arrived at La Perdida, whence we obtained a full view of the Catorce mountains, saw all our road distinctly before us, and even descried " El Potrero," our destination with the carriages. We collected in the evening several heaps of palm-wood and made bonfires, which were seen by the people at El Potrero. On the following day we reached Vanegas, three leagues from La Perdida, where we offered up our thanks for having met with fresh water. Vanegas is noted for its mineral-waters, or hot-baths: the road from Saltillo here is south, or very nearly so: there is an Hacienda de Plata here belonging to Don Matias and Don Francisco Aguirre. On the 10th, we went three leagues and stopped at Pachon, the road ascending all the way: we started early on the next morning, (the 11th,) and had not proceeded far on our journey when we were met by a great number of men, women, and children, who had come out to meet us, and to escort us to El Potrero, where we arrived about twelve o'clock, and found thousands of people waiting to see us. The Obregons had made interest with the administradores of the different mines to dispatch all their men to the Potrero, so that immediately on our arrival the castings might be conveyed to Concepcion, the mine where the engine was to be erected, at least two miles up a very steep mountain. All our baggage and small boxes of machinery were taken up that day, and we arrived at our future residence about five o'clock in the afternoon, having been exactly twelve months between London and Catorce. We left London on the 11th of November, 1821, and arrived at Catorce on the same day, 1822.

On the 12th we visited the mine, and found the shaft of a most tremendous size, the timber having become rotten and fallen away into the shaft, which, to within an hundred yards of the surface, was full of rubbish, &c. Every thing was in ruins; nothing but the walls standing of several old houses, which gave one the idea of an ancient castle that had been besieged a hundred years before: there was not the smallest stick of timber in all the mine.

Having brought my journal thus far, a few observations may, perhaps, not be uninteresting relative to our future proceedings after reaching Catorce.

We remained idle for want of funds until the 1st of April, 1823, when we began to clear away for the foundation of the engine-house, and on the 9th I started for Matehuala in search of wood for the pumps, but did not find forty yards of timber ten inches in diameter in the place. I made inquiries, however, at Matehuala, and was informed by the people there, that there was a Rancho, called Laca, about twelve leagues off, in the neighbourhood of which there was a fine wood, containing trees of

all dimensions. I accordingly proceeded to Laca, but found, on my arrival there, timber no larger than two feet and a half long, and seven inches in diameter, just the size of billet-wood. There was no remedy, however, but to continue my researches, as I was resolved not to return to Catorce before I had obtained the object of my journey: I consequently proceeded to Solida, sixteen leagues from Laca, and in the skirts of the Sierra Madre. It is a species of Rancho, or Hacienda, to the people of which I applied on my arrival, and was informed that the pine and walnut tree, (nopal,) grew in abundance in a canada four leagues off. The good people, however, began to dissuade us from visiting so fearful a spot, assuring us that five individuals had been murdered there in the preceding month by the wild Indians, who infested the woods; and, as a proof of their veracity, they showed us some arrows stained with blood. They added, moreover, that twelve months before seven men had been killed by the Indians in the very place where we should have to cut the timber. These frightful accounts so alarmed my guide and attendant, that he positively refused to accompany me unless an escort was obtained from Catorce: I consequently went along with the Indian who had come with us, and fearlessly entered the wood, which was about two hours' ride from the house. The valley was nearly two hundred yards wide, overtopped by tremendous mountains, and clothed with wood of all kinds. We immediately found pine trees of all dimensions, some sixty yards high; but on proceeding farther into the wood, the size of the timber decreased: it consisted chiefly of oak and walnut-trees. In this part of the wood we saw seven crosses fixed on the spot where the seven men had been killed by the Indians.

I must confess that I did not feel quite secure: the melancholy stillness which reigned around, broken occasionally by the rustling of a falling leaf or a distant echo, added to the corroborating monuments before me, awakened a lively recollection of the tales which had so alarmed my servant, and caused me, perhaps, rather more speedily than I might otherwise have done, to retrace my steps to the pine-trees, seventy of which I marked, and returned late in the evening to Solida. On the two subsequent days I continued to visit the canada, and marked two hundred and twenty trees, making altogether four hundred yards of pumpwood.

Thus, after a great deal of fatigue and disappointment, I at length succeeded in my object, and on the 21st of April arrived again at Catorce.

The week after my return, I set about getting the boilers and cylinder up to the mine. To the eyes of the natives it appeared impossible ever to convey them entire up the mountains; but in less than four days, by means of pulleys and a six inch rope, I succeeded in drawing these heavy pieces of machinery to the top: the zig-zag shape of the road rendered the task more difficult than it otherwise might have been.

The next thing I had to do was to fix a boring-mill, for boring the pumps, to which I applied a winch, that we had brought with us for lifting our heavy pieces of machinery: four of the natives could turn it quite easily, and bore about twelve feet of seven and eight inch caliber per day; whereas two Englishmen in the same time would have done double the work. The indolent sluggish sort of patience to be observed among the labouring classes of this country appears truly surprising to the eye of an Englishman. A man, while turning the winch one day, no doubt half asleep, allowed the pinion to catch his thumb, which was immediately jammed between the wheels, and separated from the hand.

This little accident, although a serious inconvenience to the individual, proved advantageous to the concern, for none of them were afterwards seen sleeping, and they paid more attention to their work.

On the 25th of September, we screwed down the cylinder; on the 11th of October, hove the beam into the house; and by the middle of November the engine was completely fixed, and ready to work. The shaft, however, was not ready to receive the pumps before the 15th of January, 1824, when I began to put the work in: from the collar, or mouth of the shaft, to the water, measured two hundred and forty-eight yards English; yet by the 20th of April we were quite prepared to start the engine. It is a great awkward shaft, and I had, moreover, a great deal of it to repair, and no one to assist me but the natives. The only Englishman that came with me was an engineer, by the name of Newhale; he was addicted to daily fits of intoxication, which rendered him totally incapable of attending to his business; the consequence was, that his duty devolved on me six days out of seven, and were it not that I was fully acquainted with the different parts of the machinery, our proceedings must have suffered a great deal more delay than they actually did. People who embark in undertakings of such a nature as the one we are engaged in, cannot be too particular in the selection of individuals, either for the managing or operative arrangements, on whose experience, activity, and skill, success in a great measure depends. We found on starting the engine that the water rose with difficulty; the pumps were defective, and notwithstanding my binding them as strong as possible with iron, the greatest part of them burst, on the water attaining a moderate height. We consumed full three months in this ineffective trial: I had repeatedly, during this period, assured Colonel Martinez that we never should succeed in draining the mine with wood-pumps: in the first place, the timber was bad, and before it reached the mine all the bark was rubbed off, and the tree left bare: besides, the great distance (one hundred and forty miles) which it had to be brought, subjected it to the heat of the sun for weeks together, and after boring in this altitude, where the quicksilver in the barometer stands at twenty degrees and a quarter, the air was so extremely rare

and dry, that it extracted all the substance, and occasioned the pumps to crack and split in all directions. I tried to remedy the evil by dividing the column of water, by this means reducing a considerable degree of the pressure; but this plan, however, did not remove the natural defects which we had to contend with; and after some time the timber would not resist a column of water ten yards high.

We continued to go on in this unprofitable manner until the 7th of November, 1824, when it was determined that I should be commissioned to the United States for iron-pumps. I accordingly left Catorce on the 22nd, with instructions, that if a foundery could not be met with in that country for casting the pipes, I should proceed immediately to England. I went by the way of San Luis Potosi, through Tula to Gallos, across the Sierra Madre by Santa Barbara, which stands in a delightful valley, picturesque and fertile, formed by the Sierra Madre and another chain of mountains: from thence to Rio Limon, Horcasitas, and Altamira. I was detained at Tampico till the 16th of December, when I embarked in an American schooner and sailed for New Orleans, and after a tempestuous passage reached Balize on the 2nd of January, 1825. The distance from Balize (at the mouth of the Missisippi) to New Orleans, is one hundred miles. I went in a steam-boat to the latter place, which it is unnecessary to describe. The number and size of the steam-boats plying on the Missisippi is extraordinary. At New Orleans I obtained information of a foundery established at Louisville, fifteen hundred miles up the river, which appeared to be on a scale in every way competent to the size of the castings required. On the 10th I left New Orleans, and reached Louisville on the 25th, where I made immediate application to Mr. Prentice, the proprietor of the foundery, who told me that he should require twelve months to execute my order, and recommended me to proceed to Cincinnati, three hundred miles farther up. I accordingly left on the 26th, and reached Cincinnati the following morning. I found, on my arrival there, that there were four founderies in the neighbourhood, for the proprietors of which I sent immediately, and contracted with them on the very day of my arrival. In four months the order was completed.

The weight of the pipes was sixty-three tons five hundred, at six dollars per cwt.; the last pipe was cast on the 20th of May, and on the 23rd I left Cincinnati.

In consequence of a twenty-two feet fall in the river at Louisville, I transported the castings below it in flat-bottomed boats, and from Louisville to New Orleans I took freight in a steam-boat. Having reached the latter place on the 4th of June, I chartered a small schooner and loaded her with the castings, and on the 22nd of June arrived at Tampico: we were, however, detained until the 17th of July outside the bar, there not being a sufficient depth of water for us to cross. On the 28th all the pumps were discharged. I was to leave the following day, but

the person that I depended on to dispatch the castings on the arrival of the carts from the Interior, was taken ill: the fever raged with violence, and the weather was so bad as to render travelling impossible. The carts, however, came down on the 26th of August, on the arrival of which I completed my business with all possible dispatch, and left for Altamira. The following scene is, perhaps, worthy of being described:—in a single room at Altamira, I observed on one side a dead body laid out, opposite which were two unhappy creatures on the point of expiring: in the centre of the room was a large heap of plantains, round which were seated several persons eating of them most voraciously, and one or two resting against the bier of the deceased, at the foot of which were two men, one playing the violin and the other the guitar; while, to complete the picture, three or four damsels were dancing near the door.

I stopped here until the 10th of September, and left for fear of fatal consequences. Before arriving at Catorce, I was seized with the most dangerous feverish symptoms, and on the 26th, the day after my arrival, I took to my bed, where I remained until the end of December; fatigue and exposure to the night air, and a sudden change of climate, having brought on an illness which very nearly proved fatal to me, and from the effects of which I have scarcely yet recovered. In 1826 the castings arrived, (in February and March.) On the 18th of the latter month I began to fix them in the shaft, and on the 1st of June, I again started the engine: we worked for a fortnight, and made a considerable progress in lowering the water, although we were stopped a short time by the want of fuel; but the engine continued in activity until the 24th of November, with few intermissions, during which time we cleared away the greatest part of the water and rubbish in the shaft.

Since the 25th of November, we have been idle for want of funds.

ROBERT PHILLIPS.

Real de Catorce, 4th January, 1827.

From Tampico to Altamira, we brought all the machinery through the lake in canoes; the distance is six leagues.

B.

THE Province of Texas lies between the 27th and 36th degrees of North lat., and the 94th and 103rd parallels of West longitude. It contains about one hundred and sixty millions of English acres. In the Northern part the climate differs but little from that of the South of Europe, of Buenos Ayres, and the Cape of Good Hope. To the South the White settlers from the United States experience no ill effects from exposure to the sun. Few countries possess so large a proportion of rich land, or are so capable of supporting a dense population.

The coast is low, and swampy during the rainy season, when it becomes unhealthy. It is skirted by a number of islands separated from the main land by narrow straits. The most considerable of these is San Luis, or Galveston, the eastern-most point of which shelters the harbour of that name. The bay of Espiritu Santo is the next harbour of importance, and this, from the numerous shoals, cannot be frequented by vessels drawing more than eight or ten feet water.

The anchorage is generally good, and as the water shoals gradually, vessels approaching the coast may be guided entirely by the lead.

Few countries are better supplied with navigable rivers, streams, and rivulets, than Texas. Nevertheless, excepting along a part of the coast, and on the banks of the Red River, near the Great Raft, no such inundations take place as to render the adjacent district periodically unhealthy. The depth of the water on the bars at the mouth of the principal rivers is not yet accurately ascertained, but it is believed to be only from ten to twelve feet. The fact that a large schooner mounting twenty-two guns ran about twenty miles up the river Colorado, in the year 1820, would seem, however, to prove that this supposition is founded in error; but another schooner, which entered the Brazos in 1825, with difficulty got over the shoals, and, from the strength of the current, was in imminent danger. The rivers, at a short distance from their mouths, are generally narrow, deep, and clear, with a moderately rapid stream. They abound in fish, to which the North American settlers have given the English names, trout, carp, tench, &c., although what I saw differed widely from the fish of the same name in Europe. The Red River also produces a species of fish called gar, or gare, which is equally voracious with the shark, and has attacked persons bathing. The above-mentioned river is the most considerable in Texas, to which, for some hundreds of miles, it serves as a boundary with the United States. It takes its name from the colour of its water, which flows through a soil of rich red loam, and enters the Missisippi about 400 miles from its mouth. Steam-boats run from New Orleans to Natchitoches, 300 miles above the junction of the two rivers, once or twice weekly; except during the autumn, when a chain of rocks prevents their passing higher than Alexandria, 120 miles lower down. About 150 miles above Natchitoches, is the Great Raft, *i. e.* an accumulation of drift timber, which for many miles forms one connected mass all across the bed of the river, and obstructs the navigation, except when the water is very high. Keel-boats have already proceeded some hundreds of miles above the Raft; and there appears to be no doubt that, when this obstacle is removed, the river will be navigable to a very considerable distance, indeed, it is generally believed, almost as far as New Mexico. The Government of the United States directed Captain Birch, together with another officer, to examine accurately the Great Raft, and to ascertain the possibility of removing or avoiding it. From their Report it appears, that by

merely cutting a canal, at an estimated expense of 30,000 or 40,000 dollars, boats may pass through the Chiodo, a chain of smaller lakes, not only avoiding the Raft, but also a detour of about 100 miles. The object which the Government of the United States had in view was to open a channel for communication with New Mexico, and for the Indian traffic.

Some branches of this trade have already proved very lucrative; for, in addition to small quantities of the precious metals,—copper, wool, and very valuable hides and peltries, have been obtained in exchange for articles of little value. The Indians require but few things;—beads, small looking-glasses, common guns and rifles, a kind of baize, red and blue, called by the North Americans strouding, knives, awls, vermilion, and ammunition. Of spirits they are passionately fond, and will make any sacrifice to obtain them; but to supply them with these, which act almost as a poison, and have not unfrequently given rise to assassinations, and other atrocities, is prohibited by law. The hides, and skins, and peltries obtainable, are those of the buffalo, horned cattle, horse, panther, leopard, bear, deer, antelope, racoon, black fox, musk rat, and beaver, and they are of the best quality.

The rivers Brazos and Colorado de Texas are the next in importance to the Red River. Both are navigable to a very considerable distance from the coast; but near their mouths are subject to occasional inundation. The Guadalupe is scarcely inferior to those already named. The Nueces, Trinidad, and San Antonio, are likewise fine streams, and in size about equal to the Sabina, which forms the boundary. The Navasoto, Angulino, and Nekas, San Jacinto, and Arroyo de Cedros, are navigable to a great extent, except at certain periods; and the Arroyo de la Vaca (or Lovelace River), which runs but a short distance into the interior, has, it is stated, nine feet water upon its bar. The rivulets and minor streams are innumerable. As in Devonshire, almost every valley has its stream or brook; and judging from the small fish which I observed in them, I should conceive the greater number to be perennial.

The low lands, which extend along the coast, are admirably adapted to the cultivation of rice. In some parts sugar, and in others cotton, may be produced, similar to that of the Sea Islands. The central part of Texas is prairie, nearly level, and abounding with a most luxuriant vegetation; the banks of the rivers being lined with timber, or skirted by ground, gently undulating, and covered with trees. Here the depth of rich alluvial soil is very considerable, and cotton, wheat, barley, rye, Indian corn, indeed, every production, both of more temperate climates and of Europe, is raised in equal abundance and perfection. The prairies, in their natural state, afford a constant supply of excellent pasture. The banks of the San Marcos were selected by the Spaniards as excelling in fertility, for the establishment of a colony, projected in 1804; and those of the Colorado and Nueces are also spoken of in very

high terms by all who have visited them. In the North-western-most part of the mountainous district of San Saba, the ground is in general rocky and sterile. Towards the east there are also extensive hills, covered with fir-trees. This land is poor, but would evidently produce wine, since the vine grows there spontaneously, and in great abundance. There are three sorts, two of which are small and sour, but the grape of the other, although the skin is thick, is large and sweet. The valley of the Red River is stated, by the numerous North American settlers, to contain some millions of acres, exceeding in fertility even the celebrated Missisippi bottom, the valley of the Roanoke, or, indeed, any lands to be found in the United States. They have styled it the "Garden of the West," and the cotton which it already produces, far excels the Alabama, Tennessee, or, indeed, any excepting that of the Sea Islands. I here ought to remark, that growing cotton possesses one great advantage. Children, so young as to be unable to engage in any other occupation, can be employed in picking cotton, and at the age of nine or ten, probably do fully as much as grown up persons. Every species of grain thrives admirably in this fertile tract, and it is thought that the ribbed sugar-cane, lately introduced from the Phillippines, and which arrives at maturity a month sooner than the common sort, would answer well there. In the valleys is found the red, or pencil cedar of the largest growth, also a great quantity of the Bois d'arc, of which the Indians make their bows. It is of a beautiful yellow colour, susceptible of the highest polish, not heavy, but exceedingly tough and elastic. In addition to these, trees of all the varieties which flourish in the United States are to be met with; white, red, dwarf, or scrub, and post oaks; (of the former of which staves are made; while the latter is so strong, hard and tough, that it is frequently employed in lieu of iron to make the screws of the cotton presses;) together with iron-wood, hickory, and many other woods admirably adapted for the lathe. The sugar-maple is also very valuable: an auger-hole being bored in its trunk in the spring of the year, a small spout is inserted, and the liquor, which is subsequently evaporated to a consistency, is caught in a vessel. A single tree has been known to yield one hundred and fifty pounds of sugar; the average daily produce being from three, to four, or six, pounds. I found its flavour very pleasant, but do not think it is nearly so sweet as the common sugar. Humboldt's prediction, that carriages would pass from Washington to the city of Mexico, has been verified. North Americans have, in their convenient and light Dearborne, or Jersey waggons, repeatedly passed into the Interior of Mexico from the United States. Roads are very easily made through Texas, as the country is either flat or gently undulating. To clear away the wood costs little trouble; and although the rivers are numerous, being generally narrow and deep, they oppose no obstacles but such as can be easily surmounted. The fact that Mr. Couci, an enterprising Frenchman, with about forty others, nearly all his coun-

trymen, passed through Texas with several large waggons laden with goods, in June 1826, is the best proof of the facility with which every difficulty such as those which are usually met with in a new country, is here overcome. The Dearborne, or Jersey waggon, just mentioned, is admirably calculated for journeys through countries where rivers or other natural impediments may render it necessary that each part be speedily reduced to a small size or weight, so as to be rendered portable. It is taken to pieces with the greatest ease, and a raft formed of a few trunks, or the larger branches of trees, then suffices to convey it across the rivers, or the whole is progressively passed by hand over any other obstacle.

Those who have been settled in Texas a few months, really enjoy more comforts (and these, in addition to the opportunity of realizing a handsome property,) than any peasantry with which I am acquainted. One act of liberality and hospitality which is constantly practised by all his neighbours towards a new comer, whose character is found unexceptionable, would do honour to the most highly-civilized people. They all assemble at the spot which he has fixed upon for his residence, with their axes and draught-oxen, fell the timber, and build for him his log hut. This generally consists of three apartments, one for sleeping, another for eating, both closed in all round, while in the centre, which is left open on both sides, he keeps his saddles and tools, and takes his meals during the hot weather. The kitchen (also a log-hut) is usually separated from the house, as is also the smoke-house, where his meat is smoked and kept. The log-hut is by no means an inconvenient residence; indeed, some of them are roomy, neat, and durable, very strong, and well calculated to afford protection from every inclemency of the weather.

The wild animals to be met with in Texas, are the buffalo, or bison, known in this country as the bonassus, which enters Texas from the north, in vast herds during the winter; the panther, leopard, bear, otter, beaver, antelope, deer, racoon, black fox, &c. Turkeys abound: there are two species of the partridge; swans often arrive in great numbers, together with immense flocks of wild ducks and geese. The flesh of the buffalo, especially its hump, is excellent, and generally prized far above beef; the bear's ham is also considered a great delicacy. But by far the most interesting animal is the wild horse. From Barbary, the Arab transplanted into Spain, passed from thence to the New World, and turned loose by the first European settlers, it has peopled the rich plains of Texas with droves innumerable. The mestang, or wild horse, is not often large or heavy, but shows blood: it is well-made, hardy, active, and, if caught young, very docile, although whenever an opportunity offers, apt to rejoin its wild brethren. The piebald, light brown, chesnut, and dun colours prevail. Their defect is the tenderness of the hoof, which is too frequently to be met with amongst them, as bred on soft ground; whereas, throughout Mexico, those which are reared on a hard rocky soil, have a solidity of hoof which renders shoes unnecessary, even

to the fore feet; the hind feet are seldom shod. The mode of catching them is similar to that by which wild elephants are caught in India. A space sufficiently large to contain a drove is inclosed with stakes, trunks, and branches of trees; the entrance is narrow, but gradually widens outwards, and a herd is driven, or decoyed into it by a horse taught for the purpose. I have seen instances of attachment on the part of a young colt thus caught to a careful master, far stronger than any that I ever before witnessed in a horse.

Of the many tribes of Indians, who either occupy fixed habitations, or wander over certain districts of this vast country, the Comanches are by far the most numerous. Their principal occupation is the chase of the buffalo, which they follow to the north during the summer over the vast plains which lie between the head-waters of the Red River, the Arkansas, the Bravo del Norte, and the Missouri. In the winter, when the snow compels the innumerable herds of these animals to seek a milder climate, the Indians deposit the skins which they have obtained amongst the mountains of San Saba, and pursue the buffaloes to the frontiers of Cohahuila. At this period they have not unfrequently stolen across the River Bravo del Norte, killed the herdsmen, and carried off the cattle from different parts of the adjacent districts. They have also occasionally ventured to attack the Haciendas and hamlets, carrying off the inhabitants, some of whom have been sold, as is currently reported throughout Cohahuila, as slaves, on the borders of the United States. The main cause of these atrocities is the iniquitous traffic carried on with some of the borderers, inhabitants of the State of Louisiana and its vicinity, who encourage these Indians, and purchase from them the fruits of their robberies. They also render them more dangerous enemies by supplying them with fire-arms and ammunition. The establishment of a Mexican Consul at Natchitoches, will, however, serve as a check to this evil; and whenever a properly regulated population is settled at Pecan-point and its vicinity, through which all the communications with the Comanches now pass, it will be put an end to altogether.

These expeditions are almost invariably undertaken at the change of the moon, when the darkness of the nights aids the surprise, or facilitates the retreat; while the subsequent full moon enables the Indians to drive off the cattle and horses, which are the principal object of their incursions. The Spanish Government considered these evils of far less magnitude than the effects which were likely to be produced, were such steps taken to suppress them as would throw too much light on the state of these vast territories. Measures sufficiently energetic have, however, been adopted during the last two years; and having spent some time, in 1825, in the immediate vicinity of the scene of the devastations formerly committed, I am convinced that it will be found no difficult task to repress them for ever.

Indeed, the chief of the many tribes who solicited lands for their set-

tlement in the western part of Texas, stated to the Mexican Government, that his warriors were prepared, under a Mexican leader, to attack and drive the Comanches into the Great Desert (Bolson de Mapimi), or to reduce them to subjection, on condition that a proportion of the territory which they occupy should be given to the victors. Nor can I doubt their success, since the rifle, and some little knowledge in the art of war, acquired during their struggles with the North Americans, would far outmatch the bow, and wholly undirected courage of the Comanches.

If a wandering tribe can be said to have a residence, that of the Comanches is the mountainous district of San Saba, which they cross both in the spring and autumn, and where they deposit their families occasionally during their long expeditions. These Indians generally kill the buffalo with their bow and arrow, their horses being trained to carry them close to it, and on its right side. Sometimes they pursue, and with a sharp iron (crescent-shaped), passing its left flank, sever the ham-string of the right leg, when the animal falls away from the horse: they sometimes almost shoot it with the rifle. The scent of the buffalo is however so acute, that it can be only approached from the leeward side: it is timid until wounded, but then its impetuosity is irresistible, and its attacks are repeated until it falls. Being both active, and from its vast bulk very powerful, the charge of an old bull is described as tremendous. The long shaggy hair which covers its head and breast, gives it a terrific appearance, as it rushes headlong at whatever it perceives, (often the smoke of the rifle,) blowing and snorting with astonishing loudness. Should it discover and throw down its antagonist, it gores and tramples upon him until (if desperately wounded) it falls dead by his side. The horns of the buffalo are short, but very sharp-pointed, although thick at the base. Being very hard and black, they are highly-prized for cups and other purposes. Its flesh, when fat, is excellent, especially the hump: the skins, covered with an excessively thick hair, nearly approaching to wool, are much used in the Northern parts of the United States, more especially as a wrapper when travelling in the sledges or sleighs, over the ice or snow. The Indians give a softness and pliability to these skins greater than that of the buck, or even doe-skin of Europe. The following is, I believe, the process adopted:—after tanning with sumach and bark, the skin is stretched over a hole in the earth, and smoked: the brains of the animal and alum are also rubbed into it. It is subsequently painted in cheques, diamonds, and similar figures, the colours being very durable.

Until the year 1823, excepting the wild Indian tribes, there were no inhabitants except at the town of San Antonio de Bexar, and in its immediate neighbourhood; at the fort of the Bahia del Espiritu Santo, and in the environs of Nacogdoch. The whole number hardly amounted to three thousand souls. Many small grants had been made to individuals of lands near the rivers Sabina, Nechas, and Angulino, but nearly all of

them remained untenanted. The first persons who took efficacious measures to carry into effect extensive schemes of colonization in Texas on their own private account, were Mr. Austin, an inhabitant of Louisiana, and Colonel Milam. The former, after traversing this vast country near the coast, fixed on the spot between the rivers Brazos and Colorado, where he obtained a very extensive grant from the Spanish Government. Embarrassments, owing to the failure of a large proportion of the banks of the Western States, together with the Revolution, prevented his reaping the fruits of his exertions. His eldest son, Stephen Fuller Austin, succeeded to the claims, and to the indefatigable and enterprising spirit of his father, who died about the year 1820 or 1821. In 1823, he obtained from the first Independent Congress the recognition of the grant; and though inundations, which there was no reason to anticipate, have twice done serious injury to the infant colony, he has the merit of having succeeded in peopling a wilderness, and providing a number of industrious families with an ample subsistence, as well as with the means of acquiring not only comforts, but wealth. The settlers on his lands are all North Americans; nevertheless, it is but justice to state, that in the late business, when a few of their countrymen proclaimed Texas independent of Mexico, (the Fredonia scheme,) his and their conduct proved their fidelity to the Government of their adopted country; Austin, at the head of all who were capable of bearing arms, having offered to take them up in defence of the legitimate Government. This colony is in the neighbourhood of some small tribes of Indians, whose pilferings it has been often necessary to chastise. Colonel Benjamin Milam, endowed by nature with a strength of mind and spirit of enterprise almost peculiar to the inhabitants of the Western States of America, associated with the Indian tribes in order to explore the more Southern parts of this extensive country. He subsequently engaged in the war which gave Independence to Mexico; and his courage, activity, zeal, and love of freedom, caused his rapid advancement. Finding that the lands on the South-west bank of the Red river were, in every respect, by far the most valuable in Texas, indeed, as he and all those who have examined them declare, far superior to those of any part of the United States which they have visited, he determined on settling there. Being, however, unable to obtain a grant in that quarter, he succeeded in his application for one on the river San Marcos, precisely at the spot where it was formerly intended by the Spanish Government to establish a colony.

The colony here alluded to was to have consisted of about 3000 persons, and was placed under the direction of a very intelligent officer, General Grimarest. It was on the point of sailing from Cadiz, when the capture of the four Spanish frigates took place, in 1804; and the subsequent hostilities rendered the scheme impracticable. The lands destined for its reception, which are the richest, and most advanta-

geously situated in all Texas, are now granted to settlers, principally from the United States; the only persons who have examined the country, or indeed, it may almost be said, ever visited it, except momentarily. So very considerable a proportion of the population of the adjacent districts has flowed into Texas from the United States, that there are now at least ten times as many inhabitants as there were only four years ago: indeed, from the neighbouring territory, (Arkansas) alone, r one of its most respectable land proprietors assured me, 16,000 out of 46,000 persons have quitted it in order to establish themselves there. Along a very considerable part of the road, that leads from Natchitoches to San Antonio de Bexar, better lodging and provision are obtained in greater abundance, and at a lower price, than on many of the principal roads in Spain. The hospitality of all is most meritorious, and the usual price of each meal, (which consists almost invariably of pork, eggs, bacon, butter, maize cakes hot, coffee, and sometimes venison and other meats,) is only one shilling (two reals.) This country might easily absorb the whole of the surplus population of Great Britain, a nucleus being formed by the settlement of about one hundred industrious agriculturists, who, after the first year, might supply grain for at least ten times their own number: cattle, and more especially pigs, will increase most rapidly, almost without any care or trouble, in the woods. Thus each successive year would, by affording increased sustenance, allow the number of settlers to be tripled, at the least.

Nature has evidently given to Texas commercial advantages, which she has denied to almost every other part of Mexico; indeed few countries, if any one, are more favourably situated for carrying on an extensive and lucrative foreign and domestic traffic. The principal export doubtless will be cotton, which grows in the greatest abundance, and is in quality inferior only to that of the Sea Islands. As the capital employed in raising it is very inconsiderable, the Texas colonist will be able to undersell every competitor in foreign markets. His healthy lands, cultivated by free and cheap labour, cost him comparatively nothing; whilst the North American and West Indian require an interest on a large sum employed in the purchase of property and slaves, subject to many contingencies. Pot and pearl ashes will be obtained in clearing the lands. Texas will supply the West India Islands with timber, salted provisions, flour, and whatever else they now require from the United States, at least equal in quality, and at a lower price than they can be obtained from thence; mules and horses will also be exported to Cuba, and the Antilles. The Southern parts of the United States are already supplied from thence, and from Cohahuila with both; but more especially the former, which are sometimes embarked at the Brazos de Santiago, close to the mouth of the river Bravo del Norte, but more generally conveyed by land. It is thought that Texas may prove well suited for the growth of the Merino wool, both on account of the climate, and

the extent of uncultivated land, over which they may be allowed to graze at liberty. The North Americans have exported wool from Cohahuila, but I have been informed, that although the staple is long, it is by no means fine, and there is a burr in it, which it requires much trouble to extract. The latter disadvantage will not be met with in Texas, except possibly amongst the mountains of San Saba; for I have observed throughout Mexico, that wherever the land is arid, burrs and thorny plants of every description abound, although wherever water is abundant, they are scarcely to be found. Swamps, stagnant water, and a rank vegetation, together with the disorders arising from marsh-miasmata, render a large proportion of the Southern parts of the United States little better than a sickly desert. A circumstance that I have no where else observed increases the inundations, which are the real causes of these evils, to a very great extent. The ground is so level, that not only do the more considerable rivers overflow, but by their reflux into the smaller tributary streams, produce the same effect on both sides to a very considerable distance. This I remarked more particularly when ascending the Red River: a current from the Missisippi ran up it, not much less than one hundred miles. Nearly all the rivers of Texas, on the other hand, are "encaissés," and except near their mouths, seldom, if ever, produce inundations prejudicial either to property or health. Nevertheless, during the rainy season there is a sufficient rise in the rivers of Texas to render even the smaller branches navigable, and afford opportunities of conveying the produce of the Interior by water-carriage to the coast. Texas is bounded on the Western side by the arid mountains of San Saba and by elevated plains, which serve only to afford pasture to the buffaloes and other wild animals, (the Bolson de Mapimi.) On the South side lie Cohahuila, New Leon, Tamaulipas, and San Luis Potosi, which, although in parts exceedingly fertile, contain large tracts of land in which the sterility of the soil and the want of water will always reduce the population to a very limited number. Consequently it may, in a great measure, be considered as an Oasis, and must always have considerable influence upon the destiny of the circumjacent districts.

C.

NOTES ON THE STATE OF SONORA AND CINALOA.

The river Canas, the mouth of which lies in latitude 23 North, is the Southern boundary of Cĭnălōă, and separates it from the territories of Jăliscŏ, or Guădălăjără. After crossing the frontier, the first town of importance is Rŏsărĭŏ, (about twenty-four leagues from the river,) which is handsome, and contains six thousand inhabitants. It took its first rise from the discovery of a famous mine of the same name, which is not only one of the oldest in the Republic, but has produced immense quantities

of silver, and has been worked to almost the same extent as the Valenciana, at Guanajuato. Unfortunately, water got into this mine some years ago, which the owners are unable to drain, from the manner in which the shafts are sunk; there being three shafts, one below the other, at different levels, instead of one perpendicular shaft extending to the lowest levels. They succeed, however, in keeping about one hundred and sixty yards clear of water, and still extract silver from the upper works with some profit. Since the opening of the port of Mazatlan, Rosario has become a place of great commercial importance, being the depôt of merchandize for that port, as Tepic is for that of San Blas. The merchants from various parts of Cinaloa, now resort to it in order to purchase their stocks, and dispose of their produce: I saw upwards of two hundred bars of silver, and a considerable quantity of gold, in bars and grains, (some of from ten to twenty ounces,) in one house, belonging to Ignacio Fletes and Robert Wyley, (the former a native of the State, and the latter a Scotchman,) who carry on a very extensive business, and have vessels constantly trading between India, China, and Mazatlan. Besides these, there are many other considerable merchants. Rosario is likewise the residence of the Commissary-General of the State, and other public authorities: the streets are narrow, but well paved, and the houses built principally of stone, which gives the town a very airy appearance. It is, however, hotter than any place that I have visited, being built in a ravine, and very confined. Below the town there is a stream which falls into the Pacific a few leagues below. It is navigable for canoes, by which people frequently go o Mazatlan, the distance by water being short. There is a considerable trade carried on from Rosario with Durango, and latterly with Guadalaxara, the Indiamen preferring Mazatlan to San Blas as a port. Mr. Wyley is the only Englishman established there, and is much beloved by the natives. There are several foreigners who occasionally visit the place, but the residents are principally settled in the Presidio of Mazatlan, which may be termed the half-way house between Rosario and the Coast. I should not do justice to the character of the natives, if I omitted to state the manner in which we were treated by them. The Commissary-General, Don Miguel Riesgo, and Mr. Fletes, had both of them, (hearing of our intended visit to the State,) provided apartments in their houses for our reception; but as our party was numerous, we declined accepting them, and procured an empty house for ourselves. Mr. Fletes, however, finding that it was our intention to proceed to the upper part of the Province, (about four hundred leagues,) on horseback, proposed that we should accept a passage in a schooner which he had in Mazatlan ready to sail to Guaymas, and dispatched an express that night to stop the vessel, and to have her provisioned for our whole party, which consisted of Don Pedro Escalante, Lieutenant-Colonel Parres, Lieutenant Hardy, R.N. myself, and five servants. It was in vain that we refused to ac-

cept the offer, and equally so to induce him to accept of any return. The vessel was detained, a bull killed, wine, brandy, tea, sugar, and fruits put on board, and instructions given to the agent of the house in Mazatlan to receive us, and make us as comfortable as possible until we sailed, while men were sent with us to the Coast to bring back our horses and mules, and to take charge of them until our return.

From Rosario to Mazatlan, the distance is twenty-five leagues: there is nothing worthy of attention upon the road, except the Presidio of Mazatlan, which is a large square, surrounded by merchants' houses, and about thirty or forty Indian dwellings. It is the residence of the Collector of the Customs, and his attendant officers, as well as of the Commandant of Cinaloa. The climate and water are very good, the Presidio being considerably elevated above the port, from which it is distant nine leagues. There were several English residents in 1826, the principal of whom were a Mr. Hoskins and a Mr. Short.

The port of Mazatlan is by no means a safe one, having many dangerous shoals and islands at the entrance. There were, however, two East India merchantmen in it when we arrived, with several small schooners, which trade along the coast, and a brig bound to the Sandwich Islands. One of the India ships was the Merope, Captain Parkins, who treated us with much politeness; the other belonged to Fletes and Co. commanded by Captain Wyley. The town, which is a miserable place, consists of about one hundred houses, or huts; built of poles, and sticks, plaited and tied together, and covered with plantain leaves and dried grass: it forms a half circle round a small bay, about one mile above where the vessels lie. It has no fortifications or defence, except the shoals and rocks, with which nature has provided it. The morning that we went on board the schooner to go to sea, one of the boat's crew put his hand down on a shoal and brought up an oyster, out of which we took five small pearls of a very good colour and shape.

We sailed from Mazatlan on the morning of the 22d January, and arrived at Guaymas on the evening of the 6th February, after a very tedious passage, with continued head winds, and calms. This voyage is generally performed in eight days. While sailing up the Gulf, we had to cross continually in beating from one side to the other; and had a fine opportunity of seeing nearly the whole of the California coast, and its islands which are very bold and romantic. Mr. Hardy had the best charts he could procure, but we made some very considerable corrections in the situation of many of the islands, which, however, would be of little importance to the navigator on account of the height and boldness of the coast. On the Sonora side the water is very shallow, and the land cannot be approached by any vessel of great draught of water within several leagues. We had no means of ascertaining the elevation of the ridge of mountains on the California coast, but they may fairly be reckoned at from two thousand five hundred to four thousand feet, being much

higher in some parts than others. They rise majestically from the water's edge in a very abrupt manner, and their summits display a thousand heads or peaks of very singular forms, and in some places complete table-lands, with fine slopes. In the morning, when the first beams of the sun glance on these mountains, they produce a magnificent effect, and in the evening after sunset, their rugged, gloomy appearance is terrific. I doubt whether in any part they are passable even for a man on foot betwixt Cape Palmo and Loreto. There is a harbour above the island of Santa Cruz, which, I am told, is capable of receiving vessels of any draught of water, and is perfectly sheltered from all winds. I have likewise been informed, that a brig might enter the mouth of the river Mayo, the boundary of Sonora and Cinaloa, which is a very important point, being close to the celebrated mining district of Los Alamos, and the town of El Fuerte, the seat of the State Congress. The port of Loreto is surrounded by a fertile district, whose inhabitants possess large herds of cattle, and make excellent cheese and butter; they likewise grow good grapes, and very fine olives. It was the first settlement up the Gulf, and has been rendered famous by its pearl-fishery, which has produced some splendid fortunes. In the Gulf there are many whales of various kinds; large sharks too abound, to the great danger of the pearl fishermen, who always go down armed with a long knife. The manta, or blanket-fish, is also a very formidable enemy: it has two fins which appear like the arms of a man, and with which it seizes its prey. The shores of Sonora likewise abound in sea-wolves, but I do not know that they are sought after.

Guaymas is situated in latitude 27. 40. North. It is an excellent harbour, secured from all winds by the elevated hills which surround the bay, and by Bird Island, which lies in the entrance: between it and the main land there is a narrow channel of deep water. Guaymas is undoubtedly the best port in the Republic, and is capable of holding two hundred vessels. When we arrived, there were only one brig and some small schooners in the harbour; but the Collector of the Port told me that, in 1824, he had seen there, at one time, twenty-eight vessels of different sizes.

The town of Guaymas is small, and contains about two thousand inhabitants and three hundred houses, chiefly built of mud-bricks, and thatched. They are now building a number of good houses, in a modern style, but only one story high. The trade of this place is carried on in small vessels from Acapulco, San Blas, and Mazatlan: it consists in manufactured goods, brandy, paper, refined-sugar, cocoa, coffee, tea, &c. &c. the returns are wheat, flour, corn, beef, copper, silver, gold, hides, furs, &c. &c. Guaymas is naturally so strong a position, that it might, with little expense, be rendered impregnable, being completely closed in on all sides by the hills. The heat in summer is insupportable, but not unwholesome: most of the inhabitants have houses about two leagues to

the eastward, on an elevated plain. This is called the Rancho of Guaymas; it is larger and better built than the town itself, and has gardens and good water. In the port there is no fresh water; it is supplied from a well three miles off. There are only two Englishmen in Guaymas, and one Spaniard. The Government has a small garrison of about thirty men, commanded by a Captain Commandant. The inhabitants are very hospitable to strangers, very lively in their dispositions, fond of the guitar, dancing, and singing.

At Guaymas we procured horses and mules, and pursued our journey to the Interior, after laying in a stock of provisions and water for two days.* The first day we arrived at a small rancho, or farm, called Cieniguilla, fifteen leagues, where we slept, and the next day made the rancho of Santa Cruz, (fifteen leagues;) having passed through a country with little to interest the traveller, except the goodness of the road. On the third day we entered Petic, about ten o'clock P. M. six leagues.

The country through which we had travelled† was almost a dead flat, and at this season of the year not a blade of grass was to be seen, nor a leaf on the trees; in fact, there are only two kinds of trees in the whole district; one of which is common to all the Internal provinces, bearing a leaf like the locust, but much smaller, and full of prickles; the other is a tree which I have never seen in any other part of Mexico, with a light green stem; its leaf, or blossom, from the dryness of the season, I could not ascertain. The most surprising thing to the European traveller, is to see so much cattle, and game so very fat, in a country where it would appear that they had nothing to eat or drink. At a distance from the roads, there are, probably, streams issuing from the mountains, which water some small valleys, or ravines, but lose themselves subsequently in the sandy plains, as is commonly the case in this State, even with considerable rivers. In the mornings and evenings we saw abundance of hares and deer, which allow you to approach near enough to shoot them. The soil appears to be a light clay of various colours, but generally grey, intermixed with sand. A few leagues to the right and left, are ridges of mountains, not of a considerable height, of reddish and grey hues, full of strata, running east and west. On the road you frequently cross a stratum, of from three to four hundred yards in breath, of a whitish light marl. There are others of a deep red, and some with a mixture of pebbles, with metallic spots and veins. In many places you find white stone, similar in every respect to the carbonate of lime, which is found in the silver minerals in this state. In one ridge

* In the months of March, April, May, and June, there is no water on this road for man or beast.

† This country bears a great resemblance to that part of Texas which lies between La Bahia de Espiritu Santo, in Texas, and Loredo on the Rio Grande del Norte.

of mountains near Petic, I observed an immense stratum of a shining black substance, which resembled coal, but I could not go out of my way so far to examine it; above and below there appeared to be a grey substance, rather of a lilac hue: the rest of the hill was of a dirty blueish tinge. About one mile before you enter Petic, there is a small Indian town, of the Seres tribe, four hundred in number. These Indians were formerly very numerous, and occupied all the country between Petic and the coast; they were by far the most cruel of all the Northern Indians, but from their wars with the Tiburones, and the troops of the Presidios, they have been almost exterminated. I was told they used to form ambuscades near the road from Guaymas, and to shoot the unwary traveller as he passed with poisoned arrows; they never spared a captive, but always put him to death. They were, however, not less cowardly than cruel, and if a person detected one of them with his bow drawn, he would immediately retreat and look out for another position, from whence he could strike his blow unseen.

Petic is a city with eight thousand inhabitants, situated in a plain near the confluence of the rivers Dolores and Sonora, which rivers, singular as the fact may appear, are entirely lost in the deep sands below Petic, and have no entrance into the Gulf unless by some subterraneous channel. The town is very singularly built, for there is no appearance of a street, the houses being scattered in every direction, with as little attempt at order as if they had been blown together in a storm. In the centre is a large square, with the church on one side, and some good houses on the others; indeed there are many excellent houses in Petic, particularly a new one built by an old Spaniard, by name Monteverde, which is like a palace, and is adorned with a great number of paintings and prints; it is in a style superior to any thing that I had met with since I left Guadalaxara. On the east side of the town is a very high hill, of a kind of lime-stone, the height may be two hundred and fifty feet, very difficult of access; near the summit, if you strike the rock with a small stone or piece of iron or wood, it will ring like a bell so loud as to be heard over the town, from which singularity it is called La Campana.

Petic is the depôt of commerce for the whole of Upper Sonora and the port of Guaymas, from which place all the imported goods are brought, and exchanged for the produce of the Interior. The merchants are very rich, the neighbourhood is fertile and well cultivated, and affords abundance of the necessaries, and many of the luxuries of life. The vine thrives well, and the inhabitants make from it a white wine little inferior to Sherry in flavour, and which would be equally good with age. The brandy which they distil from the grape is excellent. In Petic you begin to meet with that fine beef, for which Sonora is so justly celebrated; it is so cheap that a full-grown fat bull is sold for from four to six dollars; they seldom kill cows for food, but leave them to breed, and when they are old feed them for the fat, to make soap and candles, and

the hide. The wheat of Sonora is excellent, and affords the best bread in the Republic; the people here do not, as in the neighbourhood of Mexico, eat tortillas of maize, but make them of wheat, prepared in a similar manner. Vegetables of every kind are plentiful, and there is a good supply of fish, so that a family of five or six persons may live comfortably in Petic on about six dollars per week. The character of the natives is very lively, and assimilates to that of all the Internal provinces, whose inhabitants are generally descended from Biscayans and Catalonians. Their diversions are music, dancing, and singing; cock-fighting and bull-baiting; the latter is falling into disuse. The favourite dances are the jarave, bolero, and the waltz, in which they introduce very fantastical figures, and pretty simple songs. All classes are passionately fond of cards, and will play at Monte, Lottery, Vingt et un, and other similar games, for six or eight hours at a time. These amusements are general throughout the state, and the subject of their conversations. Every man has his favourite riding horses, which he takes as much care of as of any member of the family, and is always speaking of their good qualities and exploits.*

From Petic our road lay westward, a little inclining to the north. We left it on the 17th February, and arrived early at a fine Hacienda, or estate called La Labor, the owner of which was an old Spaniard, but married to the daughter of the former proprietor. This was the neatest place that I met with in Sonora. While dinner was preparing, the owner took us to view the grounds and gardens, which were very extensive, and laid out in the English style. The house was new, of red-brick, and strongly resembled the very large comfortable farms in some parts of England. He told us that his lands were so productive, that hé had reaped 240 fanegas of corn for one fanega sown. In the preceding year, he had expended 15,000 dollars in cutting a canal from the river, by which means he could irrigate so considerable a quantity of land, that he expected to realize that sum annually. At dinner the lady appeared, and took the head of the table, which was served on silver plate, with a profusion of excellent things. We had the best of wines; old Catalonian brandy, &c. after which coffee and choice liqueurs were presented to us. Every thing was of a piece in this comfortable establishment, for the beds with which they provided us were most luxurious. In the morning we took leave, and arrived at San Miguel de Horcasitas to breakfast, fourteen leagues from Petic, after passing through a fine country on a good road.

San Miguel was formerly a town of great consequence, and the residence of the principal families in the State. The Custom-house was kept there before the building of Petic; it was likewise the residence of

* In Petic there are three Englishmen, two Americans, and eight Spaniards, all Biscayans, except one Catalan.

the Captain-General of the Province, and the gayest town in the North. It is prettily situated on an eminence above the river Dolores, which overflows and fertilizes a fine valley to the north of the town, divided amongst a number of Indian families, who derive from it a comfortable subsistence. The families of note still remaining there are the Escobosas, Aguilars, Guiterrez, and Rodriguez. There are now two churches, and about two thousand five hundred souls. To the north of this town are immense ridges of mountains scarcely accessible, full of rich minerals of gold, silver, and copper. A friend of mine, Mr. Loisa, a merchant of Petic, has an estate about eight leagues from San Miguel, to the eastward, on which he has a mine of copper, which he works himself. The making it into bars costs four dollars per quintal, which sold for fourteen dollars when delivered in Guaymas; and as Mr. Loisa's own mules carried down the copper, and returned loaded with merchandize, the freight was of little importance. He made about twenty cwt. per week; the copper of Sonora contains much gold, for which reason the Chinese give a great price for it, being well acquainted with the art of separating the two metals.

Below San Miguel there are some fine estates, with mills to grind flour, worked by the water from the river, conveyed through canals, in order to give the necessary fall.

It may be well to mention, that although there are no inns in the towns, or indeed in the State, strangers, without any letters of introduction, are sure to be well received, and treated with attention during their stay. We had letters to the principal people in every place, and Mr. Escalante, my companion, was himself a native of Upper Sonora, and related to most of the oldest families in the country, so that we considered ourselves at home wherever we went. Our horses had been left at Mazatlan, and we had travelled from Guaymas with hired horses and mules, which we had engaged to send back from San Miguel.

The gentleman, at whose house we stayed in San Miguel, Don Victor Aguilar, has a fine Hacienda, about six leagues from the town, to which he sent for horses and mules, to convey ourselves and our luggage to our next friend's house at Babiacora, a distance of twenty-eight leagues: his wife and daughters busied themselves in putting up provisions and wine for the road, (for, in Sonora, one travels with a complete larder on a mule's back,) and when we attempted to make some return for this supply of mules and provisions, Don Victor told us they did not do things in that way in his country, where it afforded them infinite pleasure to welcome strangers, particularly foreigners who did their State the honour of a visit, and that the longer we stayed with them the greater would be their satisfaction. All being ready, after a good breakfast, we set out, and about five o'clock in the evening, arrived at a pretty town called Ures, (twelve leagues,) when the Alcalde gave us the ruins of a convent to sleep in. Ures is a very pretty town, the streets open

and regular; in the centre there is a large square, with a church very substantially built of stone, and an extensive convent, built by the Jesuits, now in ruins. The town is situated on the southern bank of the river Sonora, which overflows and fertilizes a very extensive valley of uncommonly rich land, considered as the most productive district in the State. To the South of Ures there are vast plains, which extend to the Coast. To the north and east the country becomes mountainous; the ridges generally running from north to south, divided by the rivers Dolores, Sonora, and Barispe, until beyond that river you commence ascending the great chain, or Cordillera, called by the Mexicans Sierra Madre, or Mother-mountains. Ures being sheltered from the north and east winds, is never cold, but in the summer is excessively hot, as it receives the full power of the south breezes, which come over the sandy plains of Cinaloa, and cause much more heat than the rays of the sun; for the hot air penetrates into every corner of the houses. After an early supper, Escalante and myself visited a church that we had noticed, as we passed, with a building attached to it, which we found was a Hospicio, or receptacle for aged and infirm friars. In this we saw the only friar now remaining in the State, who very politely invited us into his room, which was neatly fitted up. This old man, who told us that he was upwards of ninety years of age, was tall and upright, with white hair and beard, and wore upon the whole a very venerable appearance. He related to us many of the most remarkable incidents of his life, which had been spent from his youth in the northern parts of the Province amongst the Missions. He recollected the expulsion of the Jesuits upwards of seventy years ago, and declared that if they had not been driven from Sonora, it would have been one of the richest and most powerful States in the Republic; as a proof of which, he referred us to the numberless establishments which they had formed, and to others in a half finished state, which the eye meets in every direction, but which, unfortunately, from an entire want of knowledge of the arts and sciences, and the little attention that Government has paid to these people, have all been neglected, and suffered to decay. This old friar was a very interesting person. He had been well educated, (indeed most of the Missionaries who were sent into these parts were men of ability and enterprise,) and seemed to have a more perfect knowledge of the character of the people than any man that I ever met with. He stated them to be brave, active, and industrious, possessing uncommon natural abilities, and generous to a fault. They are void of that gross superstition and prejudice, which exist in many parts of the Mexican States, and make no distinction between a Catholic and a good man of any other creed. The old man told us that he could still read very small print without the aid of glasses; I should like to have spent a day with this living chronicle of olden times, but our plans did not admit of it.

Our next day's journey lay through a very romantic ravine in the

mountains, along the banks of the river Sonora, which winds in a very crooked manner between two ridges. We crossed the bed no less than two hundred times in the course of the day; it is from this stream that so much gold has been extracted, the rains washing it from the mountains, which rise on each side almost perpendicularly, and depositing the small flakes of gold in the sands. No doubt great quantities might be taken out by intelligent people, as it is natural that the larger grains should bury themselves at some depth, and the natives never think of looking below a foot deep in the sand. The ridge on the left of this ravine is full of mineral veins, all of which contain more or less gold; and as gold in grains is generally discovered on or near the surface, it is very probable that in the shelves and interstices of these mountains, a large quantity of this precious metal is deposited by those tremendous periodical rains, which continue from June to September.

About two o'clock in the day we quitted this canada, and entered upon the estate of Concepcion, the property of a Bustamante, and well watered by the river Sonora. At four o'clock we arrived at Babiacora, and went to the house of an old friend, Don Santiago Dominguez Escolasia, curate of Babiacora and Conche, and member of the State Congress. In this day's journey we passed several farms in openings in the glen, with some good mills for grinding wheat, and a few small arastres, or mills, in which the Indians separate the metal which they pick up. I observed, that what they had been working last were gold minerals.

Babiacora is a town of three thousand inhabitants, more than three-fourths of whom are Indians of the Opata tribe. There is nothing particular in the place itself, for, like all the towns in this country, it has a very large square in the centre, and a neat little church. The Opatas are the most civilized of the Indian nations; they live in thirteen towns,* and are very industrious people, of a darkish brown colour. Their dress is similar to that of the Indians of Mexico, which is a white cotton jacket, loose, but closed up all round: short pantaloons of the same, with shoes open on one side and projecting round the ankle. They seldom go barefooted; every man has a blanket, and every woman a long scarf: they are good carpenters, masons, shoemakers, and house-painters; and manufacture blankets, shawls, coarse cotton, saddles, pack-saddles, bridles, &c. with considerable quantities of soap. The Opatas are most useful citizens, and have, on many occasions, proved their loyalty to the Mexican Government, by assisting the Whites in repelling the attacks of the Apaches, and other nations. This tribe alone has the privilege of bearing fire-arms; and at this day they are formed into militia companies in several towns, particularly in Oposura, where some

* The population of each of these towns includes those Indians who live in huts, or small ranchos, in the vicinity, and who regularly attend on Sundays in the Plaza.

of them are incorporated with the Whites, and form companies of two hundred men, well armed and trained. They are very brave, good warriors, and a terror to the others; their chief is a fine stout man, named Salvador: he holds the rank of general, and receives from the Supreme Government in Mexico fifty dollars per month. He is generally respected by the inhabitants, and implicitly obeyed by the tribe.

Babiacora is situated on a Table-land, about one mile from the river Sonora, elevated one hundred and fifty feet above the valley, over which it commands an extensive and pleasing view. The vale of Sonora extends from this town about twelve leagues north, and is considered one of the most fertile and productive districts in the State. It contains the towns of Conche and Sonora, besides a number of Haciendas and farms, and a considerable population.

In the neighbourhood of Babiacora there are many silver mines, most of which contain a greater or less proportion of gold. The principal are Dolores and San Antonio, to the south-west of the town, Cerro Gordo to the south-east, and Cobriza on the Cerro de San Felipe, in the valley above.

The mine named Cerro Gordo, is situated about four leagues south-east of Babiacora, on a very high hill, and appears to have been one of considerable interest, from the great quantity of refuse minerals thrown out on its sides. The quantity of water contained in it cannot be ascertained, as there is not any perpendicular shaft. There are ruins of fortifications about the mines, to defend the workmen from the Apaches. From the steepness of this hill, a *socabon* might be driven far below the bottom of the works from a fine plain. According to the accounts I received from two old men, called Padilla and Arbayo, the mine must have produced very rich ores. The vein is half a yard in breadth; but this must be understood (and the observation applies generally to all the mines in Sonora Alta,) to mean that part of the vein which produces metals that can be reduced by smelting; for the natives, neither understanding the process of amalgamation, nor being able to procure quicksilver, have left untouched fine broad veins of azogues, or ordinary ores, in most of the mines, as may be proved by making experiments on the rejected ores, thrown out on the surface, some of which produce from twelve to thirty marcs per monton.

The mine of Cobriza de San Felipe, eight leagues north of Babiacora, and three leagues from the town of *Ituapaca*, with the Haciendas and farms of San Felipe, Agua Caliente, and Los Chinos, in its neighbourhood, is said to have been abandoned when producing pure silver, which the miners cut out in small pieces, by means of large scissors, or shears. It was the property of two women, named Loretas, but known in Sonora by the name of Guadalaxarenas. The Apache Indians made such repeated and desperate attacks on this district, that they were obliged to abandon the mine, during which time some water got in, and a consider-

able fall from the hill above choked up the mouth. However, a man, by the name of Vicente Estrada, succeeded, a few years since, in clearing away this rubbish, and gained the galleries; but before he could procure means of draining off the water, another huge rock fell in, and again choked up the mouth of the shaft. In 1826, another man was making a similar attempt, but in consequence of a formal denunciation of the mine being made by Padre Escobosa, he was obliged to suspend his operations.

The mine of San Antonio, on the hill of Tacapuchi, is three leagues from Babiacora, to the south-west. It is a new mine. The metals produce at the rate of fourteen marcs per monton, of ten cargas, of three hundred pounds each.

Dolores, one league from Babiacora, produces silver in the same proportion, with a mixture of gold. With respect to population, provisions, wood, water, horses, mules, &c., these mines are very advantageously situated; the distance to Guaymas, by the nearest route, being only seventy leagues, and the road very good.

Eighteen leagues to the west of Babiacora is the town of Oposura, the capital of the Opata nation, and the residence of many of the principal inhabitants of this part of the State. It is a large town, containing upwards of four thousand inhabitants, and situated upon the southern extremity of a fine plain, on the banks of a river of the same name, which falls into the river Yaqui, above Onabas.

Oposura, though little known in Mexico, is one of the oldest establishments in the province, and the residence of many of the most respectable families, descendants of those who first settled in this State; amongst which, are the names of Morenos, Peralta, Mazo, Bustamante, Vasquez, Mallen, and Teran. As early as the beginning of the last century, the Jesuits had erected a famous convent and church there: the former is now in a ruinous state, but the church is entirely built of red brick and stone, decorated with many pictures and an image of the Virgin, which possesses diamonds, pearls, gold, silver, and precious stones, to a very considerable value. The square is very spacious, and surrounded by the houses of the principal families; besides which, there are several very good and regular streets, which render Oposura by far the prettiest and gayest town in the State.

The Whites are in greater proportion to the Indians than in any other place, and the Indians themselves seem in a more thriving condition, having better land, and more live stock. Below the town, for a considerable distance, the lands are divided amongst the inhabitants, and water from the river is carried through each lot by canals, so that here they can produce vegetables all the year round. Each family grows corn, wheat, frijoles, sugar, &c. for the annual provision: most of them have horses, mules, and horned cattle, which breed and feed in the adjacent plains and mountains.

At certain seasons they collect the cattle, when each proprietor affixes his mark. It is by the number of cattle which a man possesses, that you estimate his wealth: very few have money, except the merchants. When they kill a bull, eight or ten families divide it, and so each kills in turn. When a merchant arrives with goods to offer, the people select what they want, and pay in mules, bullocks, horses, &c. In this way they manage almost all their affairs, without the necessity of money. I resided in Oposura nearly three months in the house of the Cura, it being a central point, from which I made various excursions, so that I had a good opportunity of gaining a thorough knowledge of the manners and customs of the natives. To enter into minutiæ, would require much time; I shall therefore confine myself to an outline. The men are a fine race, much superior to any in the Southern provinces of New Spain; they are very lively, and industrious, and strangers to care. The women are generally well-grown, handsome, with good shapes and complexion: a great many have blue eyes and light hair, which is a proof that they are not of Moorish extraction. They pride themselves on not mixing their blood with the aborigines. The women are continually employed in domestic affairs, and are excellent wives, and mothers. They make all the men's clothing, as well as their own shoes, which are of silk, and stuff, and they are very celebrated for needle-work of every description, ornamental as well as plain. Their embroidery is not excelled by any thing in Europe, if it is surpassed in China. Both sexes are passionately fond of dancing and cards, and the intercourse of society is constantly carried on in order to gratify these tastes.

About eight leagues to the north-west of Oposura, are the old and celebrated mines of San Juan Bautista, of Sonora, which was the seat of Government for this province long before Arispe was built. In fact, it was the main object of my journey from England in 1825, to visit this mineral. Ten days after our arrival in Oposura, the priest, Dr. Julian Moreno, informed us that he had ordered every thing to be prepared for our journey to these long-forsaken mountains; that on the following day his servants, whom he had dispatched to the Hacienda for the purpose, would bring horses and mules for the whole party, and that he himself, with a number of the principal inhabitants, and the Alcalde at their head, would accompany us. Two of the Cura's sisters, and four other ladies, announced their determination to be of the party, and prepared provisions of every description for a week, besides plenty of wine, and brandy.

On the 8th of March we set out, our party consisting of forty-five persons, including servants, cooks, &c. and we arrived at San Juan, preceded by a musician mounted on a mule, playing a guitar; for nothing can be done in Sonora without music. On the present occasion the ladies were interested in the question, as they wished to dance in the evenings. On our arrival, we found nothing remaining of a place once so famous.

but the outer walls of the church, one room of which was entire, while we soon made another tenable with bull's hides, and blankets, which we appropriated to the ladies. The greater part of the men slept in the open air. Here we remained four days, and completely investigated the whole of the surrounding mountains, returning every evening to the camp, where the women prepared every thing for our comfort.

The "mineral" of San Juan is a mountain of itself, encircled by others to the North, West, and South, of considerably greater elevation. It is three thousand yards in length, from East to West, and fifteen hundred yards in breadth, where broadest, terminating at both ends in a point, and is entirely surrounded by a ravine, which discharges itself at the east end into a large open plain. This mountain, or hill, has an elevation of six or seven hundred feet where highest, at which part the principal vein, called Santa Ana, crosses from North to South. This is crossed by another vein, on the Northern slope of the mountain, called El Rosario. These two mines have been worked to a considerable extent, and have produced, according to existing documents, and tradition, in which no one varies, immense wealth. They now contain a great deal of water, (at least fifty or sixty varas,) which would require new shafts and whims to take it out. In this same hill there are twelve other distinct veins, some of which have been worked for the sake of those small threads of very rich silver which appear to have formed the centre of the vein; but the azogues, which are very abundant, and yield from twenty-four, to ninety-six, ounces of silver, for three hundred pounds of ore, (according to experiments made on the spot by an azoguero, whom we brought with us from Real del Monte,) are untouched. The ores, by smelting, have yielded one-half pure silver; and tradition says, when they were obliged to abandon Santa Ana from water coming in, they left off in a vein of pure silver, one-third of a yard in breadth. The above twelve veins vary from one yard to six in breadth, at the surface: the depths to which they have been worked, are as follow:*—Santa Ana, one hundred and forty varas; Rosario, sixty; Cata de la Agua, five; Guadalupe, four; Gazapa, twenty; Texedora, twenty; Santa Catarina, twenty; Arpa, twelve; Prieta, twelve; Bellotita, twelve; Coronilla, twelve, Fontana, ten.

Half a league to the north of Santa Ana is the mine of Descubridora, with a vein of azogues, fifteen varas in breadth. This mine is thirty varas deep, and the metals contain ninety-six ounces to three hundred pounds.

One league to the westward, is the mine called Bronzosa, with an immense vein, which may be traced at least one mile upon the surface. It has been considerably worked, but has water in it.

* Not one of them has a shaft, except Santa Ana, which is eighty-four yards deep to the water; below the water there is no shaft.

Two leagues farther west, is the mine called Cobriza, a new mine, twenty varas deep. These two last mines bear a high character.

On the fifth day we returned to Oposura, after a very fatiguing but interesting excursion.

The valley of Oposura, through which the river of the same name winds, is about twenty-six leagues in length, commencing at the foot of the mountains of Nacosari to the north, and terminating at the town of Tepache to the south. In some places it is from three to four leagues in breadth, and in others not more than half a league. In this small space there are, besides Oposura, the towns of Tepache (population 1,000); Icori, 2,500; Cumpas, 1,000. The villages, or ranchos, of Moreno, 200; Barispe, 4,000; Jamaica, 200; Ojo de la Agua, 400; La Noria, 50; Tembabi, 300; and other settlements, 100. The population, including the town of Oposura, is not less than 10,600 souls, and the valley produces annually 20,000 fanegas of grain; 180,000lbs. of brown sugar in cakes; 105,000lbs. of soap; 2,000 horses; 350 mules; 150 asses, and 3,500 cows and bulls, besides sheep, &c.; 4,000 blankets; 900 dressed bulls' hides, with a good deal of cotton and tobacco.

To the north, is the mining district of Nacosari, sixteen leagues from Oposura, and fourteen eastward from Arispe, which is a town of 3,000 inhabitants, now the residence of the Commandant-General of the State, Colonel José Joaquin Calvo, and his staff. The entrance from the plain of Nacosari is up a very narrow glen, two leagues in length, down which there flows a tolerable stream of water, which is lost in the sand, about one mile from the entrance; but I was informed that, in the rainy season, it is a stream as far as Ojo de la Agua, the source of the river Oposura. Just before you arrive at Nacosari, the glen expands into a beautiful vale, planted over with fig-trees, pomegranates, peaches, and other fruits, with a variety of ornamental shrubs, and plants, which were once arranged with order and taste, but now form a confused thicket. The remains of numerous canals are visible, through which water has been conveyed over every part of this vale; and the old men say their fathers used to speak of this spot, (once the residence of a community of Jesuits,) as being the most delightful place in all Mexico: it is certainly the most singular situation that I ever saw. At the upper end are the remains of a church, with mud walls, and several dwellings without roofs. There are the ruins, likewise, of some reduction works, but so dilapidated that it is impossible to judge of their former nature or extent, as they have been abandoned upwards of sixty years, and entirely destroyed by the Apaches. The mountains, which rise almost perpendicularly from this spot, are full of strata, of a great variety of colours; some of them present a mixture of bright red, yellow, green, and other varied tints. In traversing these mountains, you meet with many excavations; but the principal mine, called San Pedro de Nacosati, is a phenomenon.

The vein runs east and west, and is laid open from the surface more than one thousand varas, to the depth of seventy varas; the breadth of the aperture is about two yards, but on each side are immense quantities of rubbish thrown out. Much dirt and sand have washed in and covered the vein; but general report says, that the mine has no water in the interior, and that the ores were so rich that the best yielded from twenty-five to thirty marcs of silver for twenty-five pounds of ore.

The mines of Churunibabi, Pinal, Huacal, Aguage, and many others, are situated to the north, and north-east, of Nacosari, at no great distance from San Juan del Rio, built upon a stream which falls into the Yaqui. These minerals are equally rich with those already described. Pinal contains a greater proportion of gold than silver. It is recorded in the archives of Arispe, that the former owner, a lady, by name Maria Quijada, lent, at one time, 700 marcs of gold for the use of the Government.

Churunibabi is a very old mine, worked in the same way as San Pedro; as, indeed, are all the mines in this part of the country. The direction of the vein is east and west; the breadth two varas. The last persons who undertook to work this mine, were three men by the names of Escalante, Vasquez, and Coulla. They cleared away the rubbish at one end until they found a pillar, left to support some of the old workings, from which they took ores that produced 70,000 dollars, and yielded seventy marcs of silver per carga, of 300lbs. Not immediately finding the principal vein, they divided the money, and discontinued their works. The mine is laid open from the surface 400 yards in height. Tradition says that the first discoverers found the vein of virgin silver half a vara in breadth, that it was abandoned in the Apache war, with the vein as described above two varas, and ores of seventy marcs per carga. The richness of these ores appears almost incredible, but when we consider the great quantities of bars of silver that Sonora has produced, without the aid of quicksilver, the metals must have been very rich and abundant.

Ten leagues to the west and south-west of Nacosari, and six to the north of San Juan, are the mines of Toubarachi and San Pedro, Vigilia, with ores of from six to eight marcs per carga.

To the west of Arispe are the mines of Santa Teresa, of gold and silver, completely virgin, and the Cerro, or mountain, of San Pedro, which contains innumerable mines and veins untouched.

In all the districts above described, the roads are only passable for horses and mules, the country being very mountainous, but not of very great elevation. None of these mines are more than six or seven leagues from rapid streams of water, sufficiently considerable to work almost any machinery.

The mines of La Agame, near Horcasitas, are famous for the abund-

ance and richness of their gold ores. Those of Lampazos and Palos Blancos, five leagues to the south-west of Tepache, are likewise excellent veins and rich ores.

I have here mentioned the most considerable mining districts, but in Sonora almost every mountain and hill contains silver and gold. Even in the plains, beds of native gold have been found in grains, varying in size from one, to sixty, ounces, as in Cieneguilla, San Francisco, San Antonio de la Huerta, Mulatos, Baucachi, and various others. Silver has been found in immense balls in Arizona.

Besides the towns already named, those of most note in the northern part of the State are Dolores, Cucurpe, Tuape, and Opodepe on the river Dolores; Banamita, Cinaguessci, and Sonora, on the river Sonora; Bacuachi and Barispe, to the north of Arispe; there are likewise some good settlements on the Ascension river, and in the Pimeria Alta.

The valleys through which the rivers Sonora and Dolores flow, are much more fertile and abundant than the valley of Oposura, particularly in grain; they are also considerably larger.

Of the Indian tribes to the North of Arispe and Fronteras, little is known, except by the natives of the country. No dependance can be placed on the accounts given by the Spaniards, who were cruel colonizers, and have always provoked that barbarity, of which they so much complain. I have seen much of Indians, and am acquainted with most of the tribes that inhabit the vast country that stretches from Florida, by Texas and Cohahuila, to the Pacific. I have invariably found them kind and harmless, when well treated. The Apaches of the North are an extremely independent and high-minded people. They have very light complexions, and will not live in towns, or in a domesticated state, but subsist entirely by hunting. They are very brave, good horsemen, handle the lance remarkably well, and are good marksmen with the bow and arrow. The Governor of the State, Don Simon Elias, told me, that if an Apache leaves his hut for one minute, on his return he examines his bow, turns over every arrow, and looks at the point and feather, so that he is always prepared for enemies, or game. The continued wars carried on against them by the Spaniards for many years, and conducted by cruel and rapacious officers, gave them the greatest abhorrence of their conquerors, but they entertain no antipathy towards the Creoles born in the State; and frequently when the Spaniards were obliged to sue for a suspension of hostilities, they sent two brothers, called Geronimo and Leonardo Escalante, to treat. These men exercised so great an influence over the Indians by their mode of treating them, that they always succeeded.

In the part of Sonora last described, the climate is charming, the thermometer ranges betwixt 50 and 84; the atmosphere is always dry and clear. The inhabitants require no fires in the houses in winter, nor are they oppressed with the summer heat. In the mountains, the evenings

and mornings are sometimes chilly. The natives live generally to a good old age: the women are prolific, and bear from eight to twenty children, and in some instances have exceeded that number. In Oposura many of the women have what are termed "buches" (wens), in their necks, like the Savoyards. Some few are very much disfigured with them; they attributed it to some peculiarity in the water, the effects of which are confined to this particular spot, for the inhabitants three leagues above and below it are free from any thing of the kind.

In this northern part of the State the curacies are of immense extent, many of them from thirty to forty leagues in length. The Curas have to do the whole duty without any assistance, to attend three or four chapels, to perform mass, and baptise, to confess the sick, and bury the dead. The severity of this duty is the more felt, because they know how many are living in large cities rolling in wealth, without occupation. The Curas of Sonora are in general plain, well-educated, sensible men, very lively and sociable, and except when in the performance of their duty, dressed like rancheros, or other citizens. They join in all the little diversions of society, and from what I could observe, and hear, they take the greatest care of their flocks, and are much looked up to by every class of people.

I left the North of Sonora on the 8th of May, 1826, with sincere regret, after having spent three months there, which I shall ever consider as the most agreeable part of my life. The route to the capital, El Fuerte, is nearly due south from Oposura; it lies through a country of little interest, the road winding continually through deep glens between ridges of mountains of a secondary class. On the way there are many towns and villages, numerous estates and farms. The principal towns are Tepache, Batuca, Onabas, Mobas, and Los Alamos. The rivers which cross this road are the Oposura, Yaqui, Chioc, and Mayo. The inhabitants are courteous, and hospitable to strangers. The distance is one hundred and twenty leagues. Alamos is a very fine town, between the rivers Mayo and El Fuerte, about sixteen leagues from the mouth of the latter, and thirty leagues from the former, the whole of which is a plain. It contains some celebrated mines, worked to a considerable extent, and with great skill and regularity. They belong to many different proprietors, being mostly divided into small shares; but the principal miners are the family of Almados, four brothers, who have amassed great wealth, and are said to possess at least half a million each. The eldest, José Maria, has in his house upwards of five hundred bars of silver. The mines of Alamos are much of the same description as those of Catorce, with veins of from six to eight varas in breadth, and ores of from fourteen to thirty marcs of silver per monton, which are generally reduced by amalgamation. The mines and reduction-works lie nearly five leagues to the north of the town. There are, however, a few to the south-east. Alamos contains some very good streets, well paved,

and the houses are generally built of stone, or brick stuccoed white. Those which surround the square are of more modern architecture, and belong to the principal miners and merchants, who are numerous and wealthy. There are many capitalists in Alamos with from two to four hundred thousand dollars in silver and gold; and I have been informed by respectable authority, that the merchants and miners have at least six millions of dollars in specie and bars. Provisions are excessively dear, being brought from a great distance, for the country round is very sterile, or at least has no water to fertilize it. That used in the town is drawn from deep wells, and is very bad, and scarce. Wheat and corn are sent to Alamos from Ures, and the rivers Oposura and Dolores. Yet the inhabitants live sumptuously. They differ very much in character from the natives of Upper Sonora, for they are proud, reserved, and unsociable even amongst themselves, and have no amusements except gambling, which they carry to excess. The new church of stone is a very elegant building; it was only finished in 1826. In the inside of the altar they have placed in the wall, in carved stone, the arms of the King of Spain. The Alameda is a pleasant and agreeable promenade, formed of avenues of poplars, with stone seats. There are two companies of volunteers, or militia, consisting of about two hundred men, commanded by Don Francisco Almado. Alamos is noted for containing the greatest female beauty in the Mexican Republic, the daughter of a very respectable merchant. The population may be estimated at six thousand souls, and from three to four thousand more are employed in the mines.

To the westward and north-west of this place, as far as the river Yaqui, and up that river to near the Presidio of Buenavista, lies a fine and fertile country, inhabited by the Yaqui and Mayo Indians, who are very numerous, and live in towns. Those of the Yaqui tribe are Belen, Huadibis, Raum, Potan, Bican, Torin, Bacum, and Cocorun, which extend along the Southern bank of the river, surrounded by beautiful gardens, highly cultivated, each family having one. Belen alone is on the north bank, and nearest the Gulf of California.

The Mayo towns are Santa Cruz, in the mouth of the river Mayo, which contains nearly ten thousand inhabitants, Echajoa, Curimpo, Nabajoa, Tuia, and Camoa; the whole are on the southern bank of the river Mayo, and they contain altogether a population of sixty thousand souls. These Indians are excellent labourers and miners;* and besides those who live in the country above described, thousands are scattered through all Upper Sonora, in the towns, on the estates, and in those mines which are worked. They are a dark brown race, tall and well made, entirely in a state of nature, and they possess the finest country and climate in all Sonora. They go nearly naked, only using a piece of cotton, which they throw round the loins, or a small blanket. Their

* I do not mean to say, that they are acquainted with mining, but they will move a hill from one side of a river to another, if they are ordered.

weapons are the bow and arrow, but they do not point them, and are quite inoffensive. The Yaqui is naturally docile; their chief is a general by title, named Cienfuegos, (or one hundred fires.) He is a very intelligent good man, and took great pains to explain to me the character of the people, the situation of the towns, their population, and distance from each other.

The Governor, Don Simon Elias, informed me likewise, that in the great plains between the rivers Mayo and Yaqui, are large lakes, which, at the rainy season, overflow the country, and leave behind a slippery black mud, which produces a most luxurious pasturage, abounding in an infinite variety of herbs. He described a bean as being very abundant, which agrees with the vanilla. He is a man of undoubted veracity, and explored, with his troops, the whole country in the end of 1825.

The road from Alamos to El Fuerte is excellent for coaches, and the distance twenty-four leagues; the direction a little to the southward of east. The country is almost entirely without population. El Fuerte formerly contained no more than a few scattered houses, but has risen within these three or four last years, to the rank of a considerable town, and is fast increasing. The situation is charming, for El Fuerte is seated upon the southern banks of the river of that name, which is a quarter of a mile in breadth, at an elevation of about thirty yards above it, and commands a fine prospect both up and down the stream. Since Sonora and Cinaloa have been incorporated into one of the Federal States of the Mexican Republic, this place has been made the seat of Government, the residence of the Governor, the Congress, and Tribunal of Justice. The Governor of the Mitre likewise resides there. This is the point where the Spaniards rested in their conquests to the north for many years, and established a fort on an eminence between the town and the river, which gave its name to the town: it contains at this day at least four thousand inhabitants.*

At length the pieces of native gold and silver, and the gold dust, which the Indians brought down to trade and barter with their new neighbours, induced the Spanish Government to push their conquests farther, and the country was occupied as far as the Rio Colorado. The name given to the district by the first settlers was Senora, which has been corrupted to Sonora. In El Fuerte there is a good church, and a fine square, round which there are some excellent houses, very spacious, and built of stone. The Congress consists of eleven members; five from Upper, and six from Lower Sonora, who hold their sittings in a large hall in a private house, which has been furnished them. As in Alamos, every thing is dear and scarce. It was proposed in 1825, to build a

* Cortez, on his voyage up the Gulf, made no establishment north of San Blas.

mint, in order to coin the metals produced in the State, but the contract has not yet been carried into effect. The heat in El Fuerte is extreme in summer, from March until July. Continued winds prevail at this season from the south-east, and after passing over the whole of Cinaloa, which is a whitish sand, penetrate into the houses, and render it impossible to sit still even in a cloth coat. To avoid as much as possible this inconvenience, they place the doors and openings for windows fronting the north, when the situation will admit of it. The only comfort a person finds at this season, is to eat melons, which are abundant and cheap, and to bathe in the river in the morning before sunrise, and in the evening. Hitherto I had seen no rain in Sonora, but on the 18th of June, we began to obseve to the eastward, indications of the approach of the rainy season, which generally commences about the 24th. I was now ready, and had made arrangements with my friends to leave them behind, and return alone with my servant to Mexico; and set out accordingly, accompanied by one of the Members of Congress, who was going to see his family in Culiacan, from whom I derived much interesting information on the road.

From El Fuerte, the roads through the whole of Cinaloa, in the travelling season, are superior to any that I ever passed over, not excepting the macadamized ones of the present day. They are of a sandy clay, almost without a pebble, and perfectly even, and smooth. On the way from El Fuerte to Culiacan, there are several respectable towns, and a number of small ranchos. The towns of most consequence are Cinaloa, Mocorita, and Morito, none of which however deserve a particular notice. The distance between the two places is about eighty leagues. Culiacan is one of the oldest towns in Cinaloa, and in respect to size and regularity is superior to any, as it contains eleven thousand souls. It is prettily situated on rising ground, above a river of the same name, on the south bank, just above its confluence with the river Mayo, and is sixteen leagues from the sea. The square in the centre of the city is surrounded by the fine houses of the principal inhabitants, from each corner of which the streets branch off at right-angles, and are intersected by others, which run east and west, north and south. The church is an ancient and capacious building, and contains some respectable paintings. The lands in the vicinity are very fertile, particularly the valley through which the two rivers wind, and which contains many fine estates, and farms so well cultivated, as to present to the eye a very varied and pleasing prospect. There are three or four families in Culiacan who pride themselves on the antiquity of their names; the Espinosas de los Monteros, Las Vegas, Las Roxos, and Martinez. So afraid are they of mixing their blood with any of inferior quality, that four daughters of Martinez have married four brothers of Las Vegas, and the youngest daughter is waiting for another Vega, who is too young to marry. Though the people are usually proud, like those of Alamos, they are more friendly and hospitable. The young men are very polite,

of genteel address, and display the height of Mexican fashion in their dress. The ladies of Culiacan are justly celebrated for their fine complexions, and graceful forms. They are remarkably fond of music and dancing; the instrument which they prefer is the harp, but several play on the piano-forte and guitar, and they sing well. I remained there six days, well entertained the whole time with a variety of amusements and diversions peculiar to this part of the country.

While I was in Culiacan the rains commenced, on the exact day when they always expect them, viz: the 24th June. In the short space of four days all nature seemed changed, for on leaving Culiacan and proceeding to Cosala, instead of passing through a country without seeing a blade of grass or a leaf on the trees, for days together, every thing was clothed with verdure; grass had shot up from two to three inches high, even on the roads; the trees were throwing forth their leaves and blossoms, and every thing promised a most luxuriant scene.

Cosala is thirty-five leagues from Culiacan, to the South, a little Easterly, and covers nearly as much ground as the latter, but is more interspersed with gardens: it is well built, but not with so much regularity, and contains no more than five thousand souls. In respect to the commerce of the two, there is little difference; both have a very considerable trade.

Cosala is a mining district, and within five leagues of the town there are several good mines, but the principal one is that which belongs to Don Francisco Iriarte, called Nta Senora de Guadalupe, which contains a vein of gold of considerable breadth. The mine is perfectly dry, at a good elevation from the plain, and might be worked to ten times the present extent; but the owner bears the reputation of being so capricious, that instead of working the mine, he sometimes allows it to lie idle for five or six months, and when at work, never takes out more than four arrobas, (one hundred lbs.) of gold per week. It is said, that he has more than two millions of dollars in gold and silver in his house, but this, from the character of the man, it is impossible to ascertain. He lives very economically, but seldom goes abroad, and has three sons and a daughter, who never go out of his sight; and, notwithstanding his enormous wealth, his sons keep a shop in Cosala. It is said that in 1825, some foreigners offered Don Francisco Iriarte one million of dollars to allow them to work his mine for two years, but that he refused, alleging that he did not want money, and that if he did, he could take a million out himself.

In Cosala, the people have wens in their necks, as in Oposura, but they are even more common, and extend to the men as well as the women; they are also frightfully large, some having double ones. I saw a whole family of women, who had bunches of three or four: they looked like pelicans. They attribute this disease to the water of the neighbourhood.

During the rainy season, the traveller seldom attempts to journey

down the coast, as the roads, from the heavy rains, break up, and become impassable: the rivers, too, swell, and the crossing them becomes dangerous. I therefore resolved to cross the Sierra Madre at this place, and to return to Mexico by Durango.

From Cosala to the foot of the mountains, the distance is only five leagues, due east. You stop at a little rancho, called Santa Ana, in the neighbourhood of which there are some veins of silver and magistral. The inhabitants of this place, about twenty in number, had all of them wens, and some are so dreadfully disfigured by them, that to look at one of them is disgusting.

At Santa Ana you enter a glen (La Quebrada), and soon get enveloped by the mountains, which rise almost perpendicularly. The glen is very narrow, and the bed at the entrance is composed of a coarse gravel, with which, after ascending seven or eight leagues, immense blocks of porphyry, granite, lime-stone, and alabaster, are intermixed. There being little sand in the Sierra Madre, at all seasons of the year there is a small stream running down this canada, but not sufficient to impede the traveller; but after a succession of heavy rains for eight or nine days, the waters increase considerably, and I found it very difficult to ascend. The glen is so crooked that it was necessary to cross it every two or three minutes, and in many places to ride up the stream from twelve to eighteen inches deep some distance, there being no side-paths. This would have been impracticable for horses; mules only could have passed over a bottom composed of loose stones, of all sizes and forms, under the water, and even they frequently sink a foot or more at a step. The first night we slept in a shed, that we found about five leagues up the glen, completely drenched with rain; and the following day we accomplished eleven leagues more to the rancho de San Jose, where we passed a most uncomfortable night. Early in the third morning we performed six leagues more, which were worse than any which preceded them; for the ascent through the canada became so steep, that we were continually annoyed by cascades or falls of water, from three to twenty feet in height. In some places it was necessary to dismount and lead the mules, or we might have been washed away if the animals had lost their footing. However, we cleared this glen about one o'clock, and arrived at a few huts, called Los Vivores, situated upon a plain, three leagues in breadth, which seemed to form a first tier of the Sierra Madre, about four thousand feet above the level of the sea. The morning had been delightfully fine, and the continued change of mountain scenery, clothed with an endless variety of trees and shrubs in full bloom, with the hollow roaring of the waters, and the echo of our voices, had an enchanting effect. I observed nothing of volcanic appearance in these mountains. They seemed generally to be formed of lime-stone, granite, and porphyry, of various kinds. The soil was a red and grey clay. Towards

the bottom there are fine beds or veins of beautiful jaspers; the strata of minerals are also very abundant, not only silver, but iron and copper. Towards evening I resolved to gain the summit of the Sierra, and to sleep at the top, which now lay before us, and seemed almost perpendicular. I confess, that I felt a little repugnance, after so much fatigue, to cross a place, which, to me, appeared terrific and impassable; but my guide told me that the road was good and dry, and that there was no danger. The evening was fine, and in less than half an hour after commencing the ascent, I found myself amongst young pines. We continued to ascend by abrupt windings, so steep that we could see nothing behind us but the plain below, nor before us, more than a few yards of the road. The path, however, was good, and about six feet in breadth; and a little after seven in the evening, we gained the summit, on which we found a plain, with good pasture, and a lake of water. This place was called La Laguna. The pine trees about it were of immense size, some of them being fourteen or fifteen feet in girth. I conceive that we must have ascended, in the course of the evening, four thousand feet at least, which brought us to the edge of the summit of the Cordillera. There we had to suffer the worst night that I ever experienced; having left Cosala only three days, one of the hottest climates in the Republic, and being now compelled, at the elevation of eight thousand feet, to sleep in the open air, in such a rain as I seldom, if ever, saw, without any shelter but the pine-trees. It thundered and lightened incessantly until daybreak, when we started, and reached the rancho of San Antonio, sixteen leagues, about four o'clock. This was a hard day's work, but I would rather have died upon the road, than have slept out a second night. The first three hours of this day's journey were over a very rugged surface, interspersed with other plains of small extent; after which, we entered an open fertile tract, with rich pastures and fine limpid streams, which took a south-westerly direction, and must some of them find an issue through the glen which I had passed, while others fall into the rivers south of Cosala. The forests were very extensive and luxuriant, and in many places there are openings in the woods, which resembled some of those artificial scenes that are formed in parks, in England, with a fine herbage, streams of chrystal water, and the foliage of the trees feathered to the ground. I regretted much not having a companion to enjoy such scenery with me, for so much beauty did not seem intended to gratify a single eye. After entering upon a more open plain, I discovered a number of cattle, which seemed to bespeak some establishment, and half an hour brought me to San Antonio, a rancho of about eight houses. I went to the best, where I was hospitably treated, but not until I had convinced the landlady and her daughters that I knew the creed and commandments, the Lord's Prayer, &c., and agreed that the Priest of Gavilanes was the best man in the world, though I had never seen or heard of such a person. I stayed

here all the next day to rest my mules, and was really astonished when the people related to me stories which they had heard of the English. I found this place half-way between Guarisamey and Papasquiaro, two celebrated mining districts, and met a quantity of quicksilver and other materials, going to Guarisamey. The arrieros told me that they should return to Durango with silver bars. I was now on the Table-land, in the State of Durango, and in every direction I saw great herds of cattle, for which Durango is famous, with herdsmen, called Vaqueros, mounted, and always on the full gallop, but could see no houses. They told me they had their habitations at a great distance from the road, in situations where the cattle came to water, when they could count them, &c. &c.

Twelve leagues from San Antonio, there are an immense number of large caves, which surround a circular valley about one hundred yards in diameter. The road lies down a canada, through which a fine stream of water runs. I found, from the remains of old fires, that this was a regular stage for travellers, and I accordingly got a comfortable cave prepared for my own lodging. I have often met with, and heard of, echoes, but nothing that at all resembles this. The caves are of different stories, some a little distant, and the voices re-echoed a hundred times. At night I sung, and played the flute, and was wonderfully struck with the effect. The cave which I slept in, was one hundred and fifty-six feet in length, ninety-six in height, and forty-five in breadth.

Fourteen leagues more brought us to the great caves, called Las Cuevas de San Miguel. In this day's journey, I found the daisy, meadow-boat, lupins, marsh-mallow, crocus, daffodil, and a variety of English flowers, with white clover, and a herbage, which had, in general, the appearance of the herbage in England, in April or May, except that in this country and climate nature displays a greater variety of flowers at the same time. The large cave of San Miguel I found to be two hundred and forty feet in length, eighty in height, and one hundred and fifty in depth, with a regular arched roof. In the back wall there are twenty-three openings of different sizes: I penetrated about one hundred and eighty feet into one of them, but from the intricate windings and subdivisions inside, not having any light except a piece of pine wood, and not being able to persuade my servant to follow me, I was obliged to abandon the attempt to explore the most curious natural excavation that I had ever seen. From this place to Palomas, the distance is ten leagues, to Laguna Colorado seven leagues, and to Durango seventeen. The country is of the same description as that through which I had already passed, except that the population increases much as you approach Durango. On the 19th of July, I arrived there; and went to the house of the Canonigo Don Cayetano Salcedo, an old friend of mine, where I rested fourteen days.

ADDITIONAL CHAPTER.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS. — LATE POLITICAL CHANGES.—PROGRESS OF THE MINING COMPANIES.—GENERAL INTERESTS OF MEXICO, HOW LIKELY TO BE AFFECTED BY RECENT EVENTS.

WHEN I completed, in May 1828, the last Chapter of Mexico, I found myself compelled to acknowledge that the situation of the Republic had changed for the worse, since the commencement of my labours.

The horizon was already overcast, the clouds were gathering, and although it was not impossible that the storm might pass over, it was equally difficult to affirm that this would be the case, or to predict the consequences if it were not.

Notwithstanding these threatening appearances, I submitted to the public a work, the general tenour of which was highly favourable to New Spain, and I considered myself to be warranted in doing so by the facts, upon which my opinion rested.

I had seen Mexico during a period of great, and deserved, prosperity; I had witnessed the developement of its resources, the organization of its government, the creation of a respectable revenue, the gradual fusion of foreign and native interests; and when I recollected the feelings of satisfaction with which these advantages were contemplated by the most

influential portion of the community,* I did not think that I hazarded too much in assuming that the good sense of the country at large would neutralize the bad spirit prevalent in the capital, and prevent the intrigues, of which it was the focus, from extending to the rest of the Federation.

The fallacy of these hopes has been but too clearly demonstrated by the experience of the last twelvemonth.

There was wanting in the new Republic that practical knowledge of affairs, which tempered the violence of political animosities in the British Colonies on their admission into the rank of an independent State;—there was wanting, too, a Washington, to guide by his precepts, and to inspire moderation by his example; and although nothing was requisite but time, in order to bring to maturity the seeds of prosperity germinating in every part of the Republic, it appears not only that this has been denied them, but that the harvest has been trodden under foot by the very men, who ought most studiously to have watched over its preservation.

It may be said that such a result, far from being unprecedented, has found a parallel in the history of every free country;—that the field opened to private ambition by great political changes is one of the curses, with which revolutions are attended; and that, in the infancy of society, the inactive good wishes of the many are a feeble defence against the mischievous activity of the few. All this I admit; and had Mexico been in the first stages of a revolution when I quitted its shores, I should have regarded its progress as fallacious, and looked for no permanent improvements, where there was no experience to guarantee their stability.

* I mean to designate by this term the population of the States, whose sentiments I had an opportunity of observing during my visits to the mining districts, and who certainly, in the early part of 1827, desired nothing but a continuance of the tranquillity which they were beginning to enjoy.

But such was by no means the position of New Spain. A civil war of fourteen years' duration had laid waste the fairest portions of its territory; the pride of former days was gone; and the inhabitants, taught by a long series of calamities, looked to the re-establishment of order as the only remedy for past misfortunes. Heaven seemed propitious to their wishes: internal tranquillity was restored; and with the castle of Ulloa, which surrendered in 1825, their external enemies lost possession of the only practicable road, by which a foreign army could attempt to penetrate into the interior.

Was it natural to suppose that advantages so dearly bought would be sacrificed at the shrine of party hostility? Yet such appears to have been the case; for it is in vain that I endeavour to trace to any general, or national, cause, the lamentable changes which have occurred.

In as far as my means of information extend, they have originated in the struggle between two great rival factions, careless of the evils inflicted upon the country, provided their own aggrandizement were secured, and alternately the friends, or the opponents, of the Executive, as they saw occasion to turn its embarrassments to account. By working upon the passions of the multitude, the ascendancy of one of these factions has been established; but in order to accomplish this, it has been necessary to raise a spirit, which it will not be easy to control; for, with such a precedent as the pillage of the capital before them, how can the lower orders be taught to submit anew to laws, which they were called upon to violate, when it suited the purposes of their leaders that they should be infringed?*

* In one of the documents contained in the last papers, I observe a confession remarkable alike for its naiveté, and its truth. "In the late changes, the only circumstance that has been thoroughly brought home to the understanding of the people, is "el Saqueo," the possibility, or privilege, of plundering."—*Vid. Espiritu Publico*, January 1829.

Without attempting to trace too much in detail the differences in which this melancholy state of things has originated, I shall submit to my readers a sketch of the recent events, as an introduction to those remarks upon the prospects of the country, which, after the lapse of a twelvemonth, they have a right to expect.

At the close of the last chapter of my first edition, I stated that there were in Mexico two great Masonic Societies, the Escoceses, and the Yorkinos, whose leaders were candidates for the Presidency, which would become vacant in April 1829, by the expiration of the term for which General Victoria was elected in 1824.

I added, that these societies were both Mexican in their origin, and entirely unconnected with Spain; although the Escoceses were accused of "Bourbonism" by their adversaries, to whom they, in their turn, attributed a plan of proscription, directed in the first instance against the old Spaniards residing in the Republic, but calculated to alarm all ranks of proprietors by the injustice shown towards this ill-fated class.

Upon the justice of these imputations it was not my business to pronounce. I left it to time to develope the intentions of the parties, and contented myself with pointing out the difference in their organization, (the great proprietors of the country being ranged on the one side, and the *novi homines* of the revolution on the other,) which sufficiently accounted both for the opposition of their political views, and the obstinacy with which they disputed that power, which it was the object of both to obtain.*

The first open breach of the law of the land, proceeded undoubtedly, from that party, which ought to have been most scrupulous in its observance, in as much as it had most to ap-

* It is from this difference in their original composition, that the terms of aristocrat, and democrat, have been more recently employed, as synonymous with Escoces, and Yorkino.

prehend from its violation if infringed. The declaration of General Bravo, (the head of the Escoces Lodge,) against the President, (December 1827,) whom he accused of acting under Yorkino influence, and sanctioning schemes highly injurious to the country, completely changed the position in which he, and his friends, had previously stood.* The advocates of order and moderation, appeared in the character of enemies to the established system; while the Executive was compelled by their aggression to throw itself into the arms of the Yorkinos, whose chief, General Guerrero, assumed the command of the Government troops. Bravo, whose object was an amicable arrangement,† would allow no blood to be shed in the quarrel which he had imprudently provoked: he surrendered at Tulancingo, and was banished by a decree of the Congress,‡ with a number of his adherents, amongst whom was General Barragan, the Governor of the State of Vera-

* My readers must not judge too harshly of General Bravo's conduct, by the manner in which justice obliges me to speak of its effects. His political errors can only be understood by a knowledge of the motives by which he was actuated. These may be found in a manifesto published by him on quitting Mexico, some extracts from which I annex, together with the plan of Montano, to which Bravo gave his sanction, and Victoria's proclamation in reply. These documents contain some curious facts, and show the light in which the proceedings of the Yorkino Lodges were viewed by their adversaries.—*Vide* Documents i. ii. and iii.

† It may seem strange to take arms as a preliminary to an amicable arrangement, but Bravo, in his manifesto, urges, and not without some reason, the fact, that the right of armed petition had been sanctioned by the Government during the disturbances which preceded the proposals for the expulsion of the Spanish residents; since petitions in favour of this measure, drawn up by the leaders of armed Insurgent parties, were most graciously received by the Executive. He therefore wished to give the cause of moderation the benefit of a similar support, and was surprised to find what was denominated patriotism on the one side, designated as rebellion on the other.

‡ 15th April, 1828.

cruz, to whom I have expressed my obligations, in my personal narrative, for the civilities shown us at Jalapa.

It was thought, at first, that the triumph of the Yorkino leader in the approaching contest for the Presidency was ensured by the removal of his most formidable competitor; but the period fixed by the Constitution for the election, (September, 1828,) was still distant, and before its arrival, another candidate was brought forward in the person of General Gomez Pedraza, whose services as minister of war I have had occasion to commemorate.

In his favour the whole of the Escoces party united with a portion of the more moderate Yorkinos, who, under the denomination of Guadalupes, deserted the principal lodge, which supported General Guerrero, and, by giving their interest to his rival, turned the scale in his favour. After an arduous contest, Pedraza was elected President by a majority of two votes, and the Escoceses looked forward to the enjoyment of a long period of tranquillity under his firm and vigorous administration.

By a strange anomaly in the Mexican Constitution, a term of nearly seven months intervenes between the election of a President, and the time when he takes possession of the government. He is nominated in September, but does not enter into office until April in the following year. In the interim, the management of affairs continues in the hands of his predecessor, upon whose vigour, and watchfulness, the reception to be experienced by the President elect materially depends.

The danger of such an interregnum, (for interregnum it may be called,) would be apparent even in an old, and well-regulated, community; but it increases a thousand fold in an infant state, where the passions are more easily excited; and, in the present instance, it has been most awfully demonstrated.

Before a single week had elapsed, the partisans of General Guerrero determined to redress by an appeal to arms the injus-

tice sustained by their chief, upon whose elevation to the Presidency the ascendancy of the Yorkino Club naturally depended.* With this view, General Santa Anna was selected, a young man, whose name has figured in the most turbulent periods of the revolution since 1821, and who would, probably, have acted a very conspicuous part, had his consistency been equal to his spirit of enterprise, or his political talents commensurate with the influence which he knows how to exercise over his troops.

At the head of a body of 500 men this officer took possession of the Castle of Perote, and published there an address,† by which he informed the nation, that the will of the majority, as expressed by the States, was not the sense of the real majority of the inhabitants, who were, undoubtedly, unfavourable to General Pedraza; and that he had taken it upon himself to rectify this error by proclaiming Guerrero President, as the only effectual mode of maintaining the character, and asserting the dignity, of the country.

Principles so subversive of all liberty, particularly in the mouth of a military man, require no comment of mine. They were protested against, most energetically, by the President,‡ and in answer to his appeal, addresses poured in from the States, reprobating Santa Anna's treasonable views,§ and vow-

* In stating the line adopted by the Yorkino party, I record facts as they appear to the impartial observer, and not as they are represented by those more immediately engaged in the contest. The "best interests of the country," and "the welfare of the people," are terms which every faction employs; but to which, in Europe, we are inclined to attach very little weight, when applied to a country in a state of revolution, and accompanied by acts, the violence and illegality of which, nothing but a revolutionary fever can excuse.

† Vide annexed documents, No. iv.

‡ Vide documents, No. v.

§ In the September papers, no terms could be discovered forcible enough to express the abhorrence felt for a man, in whose honour, in January, odes and declamations innumerable may be found. Such is human nature,—such revolutionary consistency.

ing to sustain the Federal system at the expense of their hearts' blood. Perote was invested by a Government force, which behaved well in an action that took place under the walls of the castle; and though Santa Anna succeeded in effecting his escape, with a portion of his original adherents, in the direction of Oaxaca, so little disposition was shown in the provinces to espouse his cause, that many fondly imagined the danger to be past. In the capital, indeed, there were some indications of a different spirit; but this was confined to the Yorkino leaders, one of the principal of whom, Don Lorenzo Zavala, (Governor of the State of Mexico,) was denounced to the Congress as a correspondent of Santa Anna's, and confirmed the accusation by his flight.* The mass of the population, on the other hand, was orderly and quiet; and as General Guerrero himself appeared resolved to await the course of events, there was little to announce the calamity, which was about to overwhelm the devoted city.

Unfortunately, in addition to the disputed Presidency, there was another question which had long been agitated in Mexico, and never set at rest,—the expulsion of the old Spanish residents; against whom, collectively, and individually, the Yorkinos had declared themselves, while the Escoceses, with whom the Spaniards were connected not only by intermarriages, but by a community of interests as capitalists and proprietors, were equally determined in their defence.

As the rights of these unfortunate men, though but little respected in Mexico, ought not to be disregarded by the impartial historian, it may be as well to state here, succinctly, the position in which they were placed by the Revolution of 1821.

* Mr. Zavala has published a manifesto explanatory of his motives in thus avoiding a legal investigation. It is exceedingly curious, as affording a Yorkino view of the late struggle, and I consequently recommend it to the attention of my readers. I have taken the liberty of adding some notes, as I have done to Bravo's Exposé; but only where explanations are indispensable.—*Vide* Document No. vi.

Iturbide, when proclaiming at Iguala the independence of New Spain, guaranteed in the name of the nation to such of the Europeans as should choose to adopt Mexico as a country, and not oppose its emancipation from the Peninsula, a full participation in the rights, and privileges, which the Creoles might acquire by their political regeneration. He promised them not only security for their persons, and property, but oblivion for the past, and an absolute identification of interests for the future; declaring the Spaniard and the Mexican alike eligible to all Government offices, and consequently alike interested in promoting the prosperity of the state. These promises were confirmed, expressly, by the first National Congress, which sanctioned the engagements contracted by Iturbide; and even after the fall of the empire, and the refusal of Spain to ratify the treaty of Cordova, similar obligations were recognised (tacitly at least) by every subsequent congress, no distinction having been established, either by the Federal Act, or by the constitutions of the States, between the different classes of Mexican citizens, with the exception of some few offices of the highest order, which none but a Mexican by birth could hold.

The Yorkinos allege that, in this arrangement, Iturbide evinced an undue partiality towards the Spaniards, with whom he had acted against his own countrymen during the ten first years of the Revolution; while the Escoceses assert, that a desire to neutralize the opposition of a body of eighty thousand individuals, powerful by their union, their knowledge of the country, and their wealth, at a time when Spain had still a formidable force in the interior, sufficiently accounts for concessions, which were not less politic, than just. Nor can it be denied that the nation reaped the fruit of these concessions in the facility with which Novella, and the Spanish troops who occupied the capital, were reduced, as well as in the rapid, and unanimous, adoption of the plan of Iguala by the provinces: for, however futile resistance

must ultimately have proved, the Spanish residents unquestionably had it in their power, at that time, not only to retard the progress of this national movement, but to maintain a struggle fraught with danger to the State. They did not do so: they not only abstained from taking part with the Royalist army, but many of them, (as General Negrete in the North,) contributed by their individual efforts to the success of the Independent cause. That intimate union with the Creoles, which Iturbide contemplated, was not, indeed, subsequently effected, because it was not in human nature that causes of dissatisfaction should long be wanting between two classes, whose relative positions had been so suddenly reversed. But no overt act of disaffection,* much less of hostility, can be alleged against the Spaniards as a body; and although they formed, perhaps too much, a separate caste, divided into little isolated communities, this may be attributed as much to a knowledge of the prejudices entertained against them by the Creoles, as to a dislike, on their part, to identify themselves with the natives. Most of them had been residents in Mexico from a very early age: many had married Mexicans; and their children were, to all intents and purposes, Mexican citizens:—time and the ties of family had obliterated, with all, the traces of their native land;† and their adopted country had, consequently, every reason to rely upon their obedience to her laws during the few remaining years of their existence.

* It may be said that the conspiracy of the Padre Arenas contradicts this; but the Escoceses have always maintained that this plot was rather a trap laid by the Yorkinos for the Spaniards, than a conspiracy of the latter against the State.

† A remarkable proof of this may be found in the fact, that few or none of the Spaniards, driven from Mexico, have ventured to return to Spain. Most of the principal capitalists have established themselves at Bourdeaux, and have given a great impulse to the trade of that town. Others have taken refuge in England, and the United States: others in the Havana, (where I believe that more practical liberty may be found, than in many of the New Republics,) but all have avoided the Peninsula.

Such I know to have been the sentiments of the more moderate Mexicans upon this great question, and to me, I confess, it appears that justice and expediency were equally interested in its decision.

The Spaniards who remained in the Republic in 1828, were principally those, whose capitals were either invested in agriculture, or sunk in the mines, or actively employed in trade; and who, consequently, could not withdraw them from circulation, as many of their more wealthy countrymen had done, when first they found reason to doubt the protection of the Government. There is no class of Creoles, or foreigners, qualified either by education, or fortune, to occupy, the place held by these useful citizens in the fabric of society. Their expulsion must paralyse the industry, and diminish, for many years, the commercial importance of the country. It is, therefore, both politically, and morally, wrong. C'est plus qu'un crime; C'est une faute: and it is probable that the Mexicans will not have less cause to repent of it, than the Spaniards had to deplore the banishment of the Moriscoes, and the French the repeal of the edict of Nantz. But such considerations are of little avail, when party spirit presides over national deliberations: reason and justice are then alike neglected; moderation and equity become mere empty sounds; and, provided a rival be humiliated, or a favourite leader exalted, it matters little by what means the triumph of the moment is secured.*

* I am aware that many moderate men differ with me respecting the proscription of the Spaniards, and think that, although attended with temporary inconvenience, it will be productive of permanent good. I have stated my reasons for being of an opposite opinion; but, at the same time, I neither wish to lay down this opinion as a law, nor to apply it generally to all the new States. It must be subject, of course, to local modifications in each; for, even in Mexico, I am far from denying that there are many individuals whose removal will be an advantage to the country. What I complain of is, the want of discrimination in their selection, and the conversion of a great national measure into a question of party hostility.

From this universal failing Mexico does not seem to be exempt. Baffled first in the election, and afterwards in their attempt to induce the States to reverse their own act by adopting the plan of Santa Anna, the Yorkinos appear to have seen no other mode of excluding Pedraza from the Presidency, but by identifying the election of General Guerrero with the proscription of a class, whose wealth allured the plunderer, while their political situation rendered resistance impracticable.

It is difficult, at this distance from the scene of action, to say with whom this project originated, or to determine whether it was carried into execution with the connivance, or merely through the weakness, of the Executive. It is only certain that it has succeeded. Towards the end of November, while a portion of the Government forces, under General Calderon, were besieging Santa Anna, who had shut himself up in a convent in the vicinity of Oaxaca,* the Capital became the rendezvous for a number of individuals, who, after serving as partizans in the revolutionary war, had been condemned to unwilling obscurity during the season of tranquillity by which it was followed. Amongst these, were General Lobato, Colonel Stavoli, and several other officers, whose lives were spared by the lenity of the Government after the insurrection of January 1824, when Mexico was for three days in the possession of its rebellious garrison. Their presence augured little good, and prepared many to expect an explosion, although neither the time, nor the exact point at which it would break out, were ascertained, until the actual commencement of the disturbance.

* Santa Anna surrendered at discretion to General Calderon, on the 14th of December; but before that time, the fate of Mexico rendered success at any other point of little avail, and the captive General, in the course of twenty-four hours, assumed the command of the army by which he had been reduced.

On the night of the 30th of November, 1828,* a battalion of militia, headed by the ex-Marquis of Cadena, and assisted by the regiment of Tres-Villas, under the command of Colonel Garcia, took possession of the artillery barracks at the Acordada, surprised the guard, seized the guns and ammunition, and signified to the President their determination either to compel the Congress to issue a decree for the banishment of the Spanish residents in the course of twenty-four hours, or to carry, themselves, this resolution into effect, by massacring all those who should fall into their hands.

It is asserted by the moderate party, that if this communication had been received with proper firmness, the insurrection might have been quelled at once: but I cannot discover that the President had, at the moment, a sufficient force at his disposal to render his interference effectual. The fine regiment of Toluca, indeed, consisting of about 900 men, remained faithful to the Government, as did a part of the 8th regiment of cavalry, and a brigade of artillery; but a large detachment of the regular troops had marched, on the 27th of November, with the Conducta, to La Puebla, and the forces assembled in, and about, the palace were so much reduced by their absence, as to render the success of a *coup de main* very questionable. The night was therefore allowed to pass in fruitless explanations. On the following morning, the Insurgents were joined by General Lobato, Mr. Zavala, (the ex-governor of the State of Mexico,) the Yorkino deputy Cerecero, with a party of militia, the Tolsas, and a number of other officers of equally notorious character, together with a vast multitude of Leperos, to whom Lobato did not hesitate to

* I have borrowed the principal circumstances recorded in the following pages from a manuscript journal, communicated to me by a person who has been one of the sufferers by the late events. Its accuracy as to facts, is confirmed by Mr. Zavala's statement, although in this, things are of course represented in a different light; and the two together occupy a place, which, from the suspension of the periodical papers during the first week of December, it would have been difficult to fill up.

promise the pillage of the Capital as the reward of their co-operation. Encouraged by these reinforcements, they declared their ulterior views by proclaiming General Guerrero President; while the General, after haranguing the populace from the windows of the Acordada, quitted Mexico, accompanied by about thirty followers, and took up a position at Santa Fé, (three leagues from the gates,) where he employed himself during the two following days in assembling a force to support the measures of his partizans, should they stand in need of his assistance.*

On the other side, the Executive received a small accession of strength, by the arrival of a detachment of cavalry, under General Filisola, who was appointed military commandant of the town, and was joined by a few volunteers, (principally officers connected with the moderate party,) who came to the palace to offer their services, for the protection of the Congress, and the re-establishment of tranquillity. These favourable dispositions appear to have been checked by an unfortunate distrust of the President, whose connexion with many of the Yorkino leaders inspired the Escoceses with a belief that he was himself implicated in projects, which could hardly have escaped his observation during their progress towards maturity. Their suspicions were increased by the reluctance which he evinced at first, to take any decided steps against the men who bid defiance to his authority, (a reluctance which may have proceeded merely from an aversion to shed Mexican blood;) and the Congress assembled in the palace, not only refused to entrust General Victoria with extraordinary powers,

* Mr. Zavala states that the election of General Guerrero was a secondary object with the insurgents, their first wish being to redress the grievances under which the country was labouring. This is a distinction without a difference, for according to the views of the Yorkino party, it was only by the elevation of their chief that the evils of which they complained could be removed.

but thought it necessary repeatedly to call upon him to assert his authority by a vigorous use of those, with which he was constitutionally invested.*

The whole of the 1st of December was consumed in discussions, and preparations. On the 2nd, the Government, alarmed by the progress of the insurrection, and more particularly by the release of the criminals confined in the public prisons, who, with the assistance of the Leperos, overpowered their guards, and effected their escape, resolved to hazard an appeal to arms. The Insurgents were driven from the Alameda, as well as from the churches of San Juan de Dios, and Santa Veracruz, by the regiment of Toluca, (which is said to have behaved with the utmost gallantry during the attack ;) and, until a late hour in the evening, a cannonade was kept up between the artillery barracks, and the palace, which however, did but little injury to either, from the greatness of the distance.

During the night the firing ceased, but it was renewed on the morning of the 3rd, when the Insurgents, whose numbers were augmented by the arrival of a body of 300 militia from Tlalpam,† succeeded in regaining possession of the posts which they had lost on the preceding day, after a sharp contest, in which their leader, Colonel Garcia, and several inferior officers fell; while, on the Government side, Colonel Lopez, and many others, were killed.

* The Congress sitting in December was that elected for the years 1827 and 1828, and the majority of its members, particularly in the Senate, were supposed to belong to the moderate party, and consequently to be protectors of the Spaniards, and friends to Pedraza. It is probable that the attempt to invalidate his election would not have been hazarded, had not the sessions of this assembly been drawing to a close.

† A town in the State of Mexico, where the Yorkinos acquired a decided ascendancy early in 1827, by the result of the elections, which established a Yorkino congress and government, in lieu of the Escoces interest, which had previously predominated.

The moderate party attribute this reverse, in a great measure, to the conduct of General Victoria,* who, either from irresolution, or from a secret understanding with his opponents, is said to have interrupted the operations of his own forces, by summoning their officers to his presence, and detaining them in the palace, while their men were left to fight without a chief. The fact, however, is, that in addition to the indecision of the President, there was a great disparity of strength between the contending parties, the regiment of Toluca, which was the principal support of the Government, having lost 400 men, while the numbers of its opponents increased hourly. Under these circumstances, it is not strange that discouragement should have spread amongst the troops, who, towards evening, slackened their fire, and lost ground everywhere; while, during the night of the 3rd, many officers, convinced that they had been involved in a struggle, the issue of which could no longer be doubted, sought safety in flight.

On the morning of the 4th, a white flag was hoisted at the Acordada, and the firing ceased, by the President's order, on the part of the garrison. But it was soon seen that this appearance of pacific intentions was not to lead to any permanent arrangement; for the Insurgents having received a reinforcement from Chapultepec and Santa Fé, under the orders of General Guerrero himself, who entered the town during the suspension of hostilities, the firing recommenced at every point.

The termination of this calamitous struggle was however rapidly approaching. The few parties of regular troops, who

* The violent manner in which Mr. Zavala inveighs against General Victoria's conduct, is the best reply to this accusation. Both parties accuse him of indecision; it is therefore to be presumed that he had no secret understanding with either. Irresolution in repelling an attack, aimed alike at his authority as President, and at the moderate party by which it was supported, is probably the worst charge that can be brought against him.

still attempted to maintain their posts, were surrounded by masses of Leperos, headed by Insurgent officers, and gradually driven towards the palace, where many, it is said, broke their muskets against the walls, or upon the pavement, in honest indignation at the mode in which they had been abandoned by their leaders. The Congress, which, up to that time, had continued its sessions, dissolved itself, after drawing up a protest against the violence to which it was compelled to yield; while the President, upon the approach of the mob, quitted the palace, and repaired, in company with Lobato, to the Acordada, where he entered into a conference with the Yorkino chiefs. I am willing to believe that this step was taken with a hope of averting the disgraceful scenes which ensued, for Victoria's is not a mind that could take pleasure in contemplating them. But if such were his object, he was soon taught the inutility of his interference, and the nullity to which a magistrate, who fails in quelling an incipient rebellion, must ever be reduced by its success.

The Leperos, to whom a six hours' pillage had been promised,* spread themselves, like a torrent over the town, where they committed every species of excess. Under pretence of seizing Spanish property, the houses of every individual, Mexican or Spaniard, who was marked out as a desirable victim by his wealth, were broken open, and plundered. Small field-pieces were discharged against the doors, when hatchets did not prove sufficiently effectual; and, by

* The moderate party accuses General Victoria of having lent the sanction of his presence, as chief magistrate of the Republic, to the mob, by which the capital of that Republic was plundered; but this I entirely disbelieve. The hope of effecting an arrangement calculated to preserve some vestiges of constitutional authority, sufficiently accounts for his presence at the Acordada; nor can a man, who, during his Presidency, has given proofs of great moderation, be accused, with any sort of justice, of having encouraged excesses, the extent of which I should be sorry to think that General Guerrero, or any of his friends, foresaw.

this summary method, an entrance was secured to the mob, without the possibility of resistance.*

The Parian, or great commercial square, where most of the retail merchants of Mexico have their shops, was the first object upon which they spent their fury, and so completely was this emptied of its contents in the course of a few hours, that on the following morning, when some appearance of order was restored, pieces of French and English cloth, worth from two hundred, to two hundred and fifty, dollars each, were sold publicly in the streets, for eight and ten dollars, by the barbarians, to whose lot they had fallen. Ornaments of all kinds, plate, jewels, and a thousand family relics, experienced a similar fate; and a license having been given by the authorities, (I know not who had the credit of signing the order,) for the sale of the effects thus acquired, numberless individuals were seen bargaining in the streets for their own property, and endeavouring, by repurchasing it, to rescue something from the wreck.

These disgraceful scenes were checked, after the lapse of two days, by General Guerrero, whom the President appointed Minister of the War Department in lieu of General Pedraza, who, on the night of the 3d, convinced that resistance was hopeless, quitted the capital, and retired towards Guadalajara.

His retreat was a timely one, for his head was loudly demanded by Lobato's followers on the morning of the 4th; and had he been still in Mexico, it is probable that the President elect would have fallen a victim to the tender mercies of his rightful subjects.†

* The speeches of several deputies and senators, on the opening of the Sessions of the new Congress in January, sufficiently establish the fact, that a large proportion of the houses plundered belonged to Mexicans, and not to Spaniards.

† The fate of Colonel Gonzalez, who was taken prisoner, and shot in cold blood at the Acordada, on the 3d of December, and the violence

It was at first apprehended that a civil war would be the consequence of his escape; but General Pedraza, persuaded that of all the calamities that could afflict the country this would be the most fatal, resolved to remove the cause, by withdrawing from a scene where his presence could only perpetuate discord. The merit of such a resolution can only be appreciated by a knowledge of the means which he still possessed of prolonging the struggle; and these were considerable. The States of Guadalajara, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato, were eager to espouse his cause; Veracruz evinced the same determination, and upon the forces stationed at La Puebla and in Oaxaca, he could have placed implicit reliance. But the contest must have been a bloody one, and Pedraza had the generosity to sacrifice his individual rights to the preservation of the peace of his country. He refused the proffered services of his friends, and recommended submission even to an unconstitutional President, in preference to a civil war. After an interval of alarming hesitation, his advice was adopted, and the Confederation, though menaced with a premature dissolution, continued to hold together.*

The troops quartered at La Puebla were amongst the first to declare in favour of the victorious party; a resolution, in which it is allowable to suppose that they were a little influenced by the opportunity which it afforded them of plundering the Conducta, then on its way to Veracruz, which they did, to the amount of 250,000 dollars. In this, I am assured, however, that they only obeyed the orders of their command-

used towards Don Juan Guzman, the Judge commissioned by the Senate to conduct the trial of Mr. Zavala, who was attacked and wounded in his own house, on the evening of the 4th, sufficiently justify this apparently uncharitable supposition.

* General Pedraza is now living in England. It is to be hoped, that when the passions which have forced him into exile have subsided, the experience which he will acquire during his residence in Europe, may be turned to account in the service of his country.

ant, who, on the night of the 23d December, opened the room in which the chests of dollars were deposited, and, after securing 120,000 dollars as his own share, encouraged his men to provide for themselves.

Their example in conjunction with that of Mexico decided the issue of the struggle throughout the Republic. The military commandants in the States, declared in rapid succession in favour of the expulsion of the Spaniards, and the Presidency of Guerrero.* The troops followed the impulse given by their leaders, and formidable bodies were assembled with the avowed object of carrying these measures into effect. They met with no opposition. The Escoceses yielded to the force of the torrent. Pedraza formally resigned the Presidency, and obtained permission to quit the territories of the Republic, which was thus left without a legal head, until the meeting of the new Congress† for the years 1829 and 1830, which opened its sessions on the 1st of January 1829. Guerrero was declared by this assembly to be duly elected as President, having next to Pedraza, obtained the majority of votes. General Anastasio Bustamante, a distinguished Yorkino leader, was named Vice President; a Yorkino ministry took the place of those members of the former administration who were supposed to have been favourable to Gomez Pedraza;—the accusations brought against Mr. Zavala, for correspondence with Santa

* Some of these compositions are exceedingly curious. The papers are full of them, and it is singular to remark the complacency with which their authors enlarge upon their own patriotism, and protest their devotion to the Federal system, at the very moment that they are endangering the liberty of their country by a flagrant violation of its laws.

† The old congress never met again after the 4th of December, although great exertions seem to have been made by General Victoria, to induce the members to reassemble, in order to convince the States that the Executive was not acting under undue influence in its sudden conversion of rebels into confidential members of the administration.

Anna, were pronounced to be frivolous and unjust. Santa Anna himself was declared to have deserved well of his country, and was named minister of war* in reward for his services. Lobato was appointed commandant of four different States; while a general amnesty was passed in favour of those, whose patriotic zeal against the Spaniards, had betrayed them into the commission of illegal acts, and a *projet de loi* submitted to the Chambers, in order to effect, in the shortest possible space of time, the removal of this obnoxious race.

Such are the principal occurrences by which the autumn of 1828, and the beginning of 1829, have been distinguished. A struggle, the commencement of which I witnessed four years ago, has been brought to an unexpected, and disastrous conclusion. I use the term, not with reference to the individuals who have been brought into power by the late events, (for against them, personally, I have no bias,) but as applicable to the measures by which their ascendancy has been attained. It is difficult to be sanguine in our expectations of future good, in a country, where, the very first time that the inhabitants have been called upon to exercise the prerogative of choosing their principal magistrate, the choice has not been made without sacrificing all the advantages obtained during the three first years of the presidency of his predecessor. That this has been the case in the present instance it is impossible to deny, for no one at all acquainted with the state of Mexico in 1825, will

* Santa Anna has shown a great unwillingness to accept of this situation, or at least to visit the capital in order to enter upon its duties. It is thought that he distrusts the intentions of some of his new friends, and the more recent Yorkino papers prove this feeling to be reciprocal. Indeed, from the first it was a matter of surprise to those acquainted with the man, not that Santa Anna's name should appear at the head of a plan for overthrowing the Government, but that he should have embarked in an enterprise, the object of which was to effect another person's elevation in lieu of his own. Time will show the nature of his real intentions.

maintain that there existed a feeling against the old Spaniards sufficiently general, or sufficiently strong, to account alone for the recent disorders. They were viewed with dislike, it is true, by the lower orders, and this dislike was not unnatural, when the events of the civil war are considered: but as long as it was the pleasure of the Government to prevent these sentiments from displaying themselves in overt acts, they never assumed a character at all dangerous to the public tranquillity. It was only when the proscription of the Spaniards became identified with the ascendancy of one of the two parties, which disputed the management of affairs, that the opinions of their adversaries were represented as indicating the sense of the country; while, by the acquisition of this factitious importance, the minds of those who desired a law of expulsion, were gradually worked up to the proper state for producing an explosion, if circumstances should render it advisable. Nor did they arrive at this point, until the prospect of plunder, on the one side, and the assurance, on the other, of the determination of the Executive to preserve a strict neutrality between the victims and their persecutors, gave them courage to break through those barriers, which two years of a tolerably efficient administration had taught them to respect.

It is alleged, and not without reason, by the moderate party, that the prejudices of the common people against the Spaniards, if they existed at all, must have been infinitely stronger in 1824, than they could be in 1828, when, from the consistency acquired by the new system, there was less reason to be apprehensive of their return to power, while the recollection of their former abuse of it naturally became fainter, in proportion as the period itself was more remote. They add, that if in 1824 the authority of a divided Executive proved sufficient to check the attempt made by Lobato and his adherents to dictate a law of expulsion to the Congress, it must have been infinitely more easy to curb a similar spirit, when

the nation was united under one system by the Federal Act; and they infer from the gradual growth of this spirit during the last twelvemonth, that it was fostered in secret by the very hand, which professed in public to restrain its excesses.

Upon the truth of these suppositions, I do not pretend to pronounce; but notwithstanding my sincere regard for General Victoria, I must admit, that his conduct has given an appearance of probability to the charges of his adversaries, while, if they are proved hereafter to be well founded, he must be regarded as responsible for no small portion of the evils which have ensued.

Those evils, I repeat, do not consist in the elevation of the Yorkinos to power; for in this, abstractedly speaking, there is no disadvantage. They consist in the total disregard of legal restraints, by which that, which ought to have been a simple change of administration, has been attended; and more particularly in the fatal lesson, which the army must draw from the part which it has been invited to take in carrying this change into effect.

It is difficult to point out any one thing so decidedly incompatible with the existence of a republican system as the intervention of officers and soldiers, deliberating collectively, signing representations according to military rank, and voting by regiments, in the civil process by which the chief magistrate of the country is selected.* Yet this is what has turned the scale in Mexico. "The country (to use the expression of a Yorkino paper) had been surprised into a majority of votes in favour of an unworthy candidate." The protest of Santa Anna in the first instance, and those of the

* In many of the addresses to Congress recently framed, I observe that it has not even been thought necessary for each individual to affix his signature to the common remonstrance; but that one Captain signs in the name of all the captains, one lieutenant in the name of all the lieutenants, while a private of each company, (who can write,) vouches for the readiness of his comrades to stand by the decision of their officers

military commandants in the States afterwards, who espoused Guerrero's interests as soon as the fate of the capital was known, "opened the eyes of all good Mexicans to the error which they had committed, and induced them to retrace their steps." What security is there that, at the next election, a similar mistake may not require a similar correction? And if the army be entrusted with the privilege of thus revising the acts of its fellow-citizens, how are we to suppose that the power of deposing a President, can be withheld from those, who have taken so leading a part in his elevation?

The answer to these questions must, I fear, lead to conclusions but little favourable to the prospects of New Spain; and the more reason I find to question the stability of its government, the more I deplore the errors by which it has been reduced to so precarious a situation. That General Victoria possessed, two years ago, an influence, by a proper exercise of which he might have averted the dangers that now menace the country, I am fully convinced; and if the assertions of the moderate party be correct, there has been a great want of discrimination in the policy, to which the loss of this influence must be ascribed.

The decided advocates of expulsion, whether the measure be right or wrong, have acted a much fairer, and more manly part; but still, there are circumstances in General Victoria's position, which must not be forgotten in our strictures upon his conduct. Placed between two parties, with the principles of neither of which he, perhaps, entirely agreed, his object, during my residence in Mexico, certainly appeared to be to preserve a balance between them. His ministry was a divided ministry: he had friends, to whom he listened in both lodges; and although there was an occasional leaning towards the Yorkino side, a sufficient degree of impartiality was shown to give the Escoceses reason to hope, that the influence of Government would never be decidedly thrown into the scale of their opponents.

Bravo's rash appeal to arms put an end to this temporizing system. The President was placed by it entirely in the power of the Yorkinos; and, whatever may have been the exertions of the moderate party subsequently, I am inclined to imagine that the ground, which they then lost, was never regained. That they might, by a more prudent conduct, have found in General Victoria an auxiliary instead of a foe, the very accusations now brought against him demonstrate; for, had he been inclined to embrace the principles of the Yorkino party in their full extent, there was nothing to prevent him from doing so constitutionally, by adopting them as the rules of his administration. Not to have done this indicates irresolution, to say the least, and proves too, that of all the faults a chief magistrate can have, in turbulent times, irresolution is not the least dangerous.

If the President in 1826 had identified himself with the cause of the moderate party, the Yorkinos would never have acquired sufficient weight to become dangerous. If, on the other hand, he had declared himself a Yorkino, and an expulsionist, the banishment of the Spaniards would have been considered by the Escoceses as a Government measure, and received, if not without remonstrance, at least without opposition. By remaining neutral amidst the clash of conflicting interests, he brought the two parties more immediately into collision: the capital became the scene of a sanguinary contest, and the credit of the Republic received a shock, from which it will not easily recover. Moderation and persevering good conduct may, indeed, repair the injury; but confidence is a plant of slow growth amongst nations, as amongst men; and whatever appearances may be, a feeling of distrust must long prevail in Europe with regard to a country, which has so cruelly deceived the hopes encouraged by the rapidity of its first improvements.

It now only remains for me to add, that, since the defeat of their adversaries, the Yorkino leaders have evinced a disposi-

tion to make use of their power in such a way as to atone for the means by which it has been acquired. General Guerrero displayed great energy in repressing the disorders produced by the conflict in the capital, and proceeded in person to La Puebla, as soon as it was known that apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the Conducta, where his presence put a stop to the dilapidations, which had already commenced. The Government has pledged itself to make good the deficiency, and has given bills to the British Consul at Veracruz for the amount. Foreigners, too, with some few exceptions, have received a protection which may be regarded as extraordinary, when we consider the scenes by which they were surrounded. Not a single British merchant was plundered during the first week of December, although many must be sufferers, indirectly, by the destruction of the Parian, as a large proportion of the goods found there, (estimated at three millions of dollars in value) consisted in foreign manufactures, sold upon credit to the native, and Spanish, retail dealers, and not paid for. But this is a trifling misfortune compared with the evils to which others were exposed; and we ought to be grateful to the chiefs, who, at such a time, contrived to exercise so salutary an influence over the passions of their followers.

It is to be feared, however, that, in those parts of the country not immediately subject to their control, the exertion of this influence will hardly be productive of similar effects. A revival of the old revolutionary spirit in the provinces appears to have been one of the first consequences of the disorders of the capital. Bands of armed spoliators have been organized in various quarters; and, although hostility to the Spaniards is the avowed object of their union, property of any kind seems to designate the owners as fit persons for proscription. It is by men of this description that the valley of Cuernavaca has been devastated, the town of Sombrerete plundered, and Haciendas, without number, laid under contribution. Travellers, even when associating in caravans for

self-defence, have not escaped; and the muleteers, upon whose security the internal trade of the Republic depends, can no longer undertake a journey of ten leagues without an escort.

This is one of the many evils with which great political convulsions are accompanied. Habits of predatory warfare, contracted in the school of a revolution, and laid aside, reluctantly, as the laws resume their authority, invariably break out anew as soon as any relaxation of legal restraints affords a prospect of their being allowed to do so with impunity. It remains to be seen, whether the new Government will repress, with a strong hand, these local disturbances, or whether they will be tolerated as a part of the system which they have aided in establishing. For the honour of Mexico, as well as for the interest of those connected with her affairs, I trust that the energy, of which General Guerrero has given such fearful proofs, will be, henceforward, directed against all who refuse obedience to his authority; and, if his wishes upon this subject are sincere, there is little doubt that his exertions will be successful. Time may then heal the wounds which the late disturbances have inflicted, for moderation and vigour will make him find amongst his former opponents his most zealous supporters: but if after the law for the expulsion of the Spaniards has been carried through, any one act on the part of the Government should denote an inclination to involve in their fate those Creoles, with whom the Spaniards are connected,—if there is the least ground to apprehend the realization of those plans of proscription, which, in the heat of party hostility, the Yorkinos were accused of,—then, indeed, it may be said that the calamities of Mexico are but commencing, and that revolution, in the most odious sense of the term, is about to desolate the country anew.*

* There are passages in Mr. Zavala's Manifesto, which seem to warrant these apprehensions. He says in one part, "The Revolution has begun, and we know not yet where it will stop." If the occurrences

MINING COMPANIES.

After describing the political changes of which Mexico has been the scene, I come to the second subject proposed for consideration in this chapter,—namely, the prospects of the Mining Companies, established in New Spain, and the progress made by each towards the realization of those hopes, held out two years ago by their Directors,* and submitted by me to the public.

In this, too, I have to record great, and almost universal, disappointment, originating, in most instances, in the unavoidable uncertainty of mining labours, but rendered irretrievable in some, by the discouragement, which the absence of success has tended to produce. Two of the Companies, of which I entertained the highest opinion, (the Catorce, and Tlalpujahua, Associations,) have been entirely broken up; the first, from the difficulty experienced in raising funds to commence operations; the second, from the apparent inadequacy of the capital remaining, to complete the works already begun. Of the other Companies, not one (with the exception of Bolaños,) has fulfilled the expectations entertained in Mexico in 1826: not one has hitherto covered the current expenses, much less repaid any portion of the capital invested; and the consequence is, an almost invincible repugnance on the part of European capitalists to make any farther advances; while, in the market, the depreciation of the shares is such, that those who wish to realize, can only do so by sacrificing two-thirds of the money already sunk.

Under these circumstances, it may not be uninteresting to

of December are only a *beginning*, and are to be followed up by measures of a similar character, it will be absurd to preserve the name of Republic, under a system which would be, in fact, the reign of terror.

* By Directors, I mean the managing agents in Mexico, and not the Boards of Management here, which hold a direct and constant communication with the proprietors.

inquire into the causes of a state of things so little in accordance with the results announced in 1827; and, by ascertaining the actual position of the Companies, to determine the probability or improbability of its continuance. Upon this, the issue of the enterprise, in fact, depends; for, whatever be the prospects of advantage ultimately, it is evident that the want of funds may paralyze the most promising mining speculation, at the very moment when the labours of the adventurers are about to be crowned with success. I shall begin with those Companies which have entirely suspended their works, and proceed to investigate, successively, the operations of the rest.

CATORCE COMPANY.

The permanence of the Catorce Company was always questionable, in consequence of the embarrassments of the house of Goldschmidt, by which it was originally supported. The money at first expended there, may be said to have been thrown away; and latterly, when a more judicious system might have been adopted, Mr. Stokes has found that, notwithstanding the manifold advantages possessed by Catorce, the known richness of its mines, the excellence of the principal contracts held by the Company, and the smallness of the capital required to fulfil them, not one individual has been willing to embark in an enterprise, for which, four years ago, a million might have been raised with the utmost facility.

I need not add, that my own opinion of the district is not affected by the unfavourable reception which the proposal to work it has experienced from the public. I have seen enough of Catorce to feel convinced that, within a few years, its value will be duly appreciated; but I am aware that, to those who are incredulous as to facts established by the most satisfactory evidence, success upon other points can alone bring conviction. By this I shall willingly abide.

TLALPUJAHUA COMPANY.

The case of the Tlalpujahua Company differs materially from that of the association to which I have just alluded: the loss to the shareholders is unfortunately greater, the investments amounting to three-fourths of the nominal capital,* while, in the event of the labours of the Company being resumed, from the character of the mines, there is not the same certainty as to the result.

It will be recollected, that, in my account of Tlalpujahua, I mentioned, more than once, the want of former records as a disadvantage under which the adventurers there must labour, until their own experience supplied the deficiency. I added, however, "that, in a district abounding in metalliferous veins, none of which had been worked to any considerable extent, whilst all were known to have been productive in earlier times, it was difficult to suppose that a Company, which was in possession of every mine of any importance in the Real, should not be amply repaid for its advances:" and such I know to have been the opinion both of the agents employed, and of the natives; as well as of those foreigners, who, like myself, occasionally visited the place.

Of the manner in which the surface works were conducted, and the activity displayed throughout the system introduced by Mr. Rivafinoli, the director, it is impossible to speak too highly; but it appears that he was too sanguine in his hopes with regard to particular mines, and that the repeated failure of expectations, expressed with characteristic warmth, occasioned a feeling of disappointment at home, which gradually led to dissatisfaction, and distrust. A difference of opinion between Mr. Rivafinoli, and Mr. Beaufoy, (the second com-

* Four hundred thousand pounds

missioner,) which occurred in 1827, increased the apprehensions of the directors, and induced them to send out to Mexico a gentleman entrusted with the most ample powers, and commissioned both to ascertain the real prospects of the Company, and to act as their representative in effecting such arrangements as the state of their affairs might render expedient. For this purpose, Mr. Cameron was selected. He arrived at Tlalpujahua in December, 1827, and passed some time in inspecting the mines, and in collecting reports from the German officers employed upon them. The result of these reports is comprised in an exposé submitted by Mr. Cameron to the directors, on his return to England in July, 1828.

The opinions of the gentlemen consulted differed both as to the general question of the probability, or improbability, of success, and as to the time, and capital, requisite to ensure it. The views of the principal miner, Mr. Burkart, were decidedly favourable; but the other scientific men blamed, in part, the system pursued by him since the abandonment of the great adit,* and recommended a plan of drainage by smaller adits, in lieu of a series of attacks upon individual mines. All refused to pledge themselves for the result of their own plans, unless a very considerable addition were made to the capital remaining on hand, and a period of three or four years allowed for the termination of their labours; in which case they appeared to be confident of success.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Cameron did not think himself justified in taking any definitive resolution with regard to the prosecution, or discontinuance, of the undertaking; a

* It should be recollected, in justice to Mr. Burkart, that this adit was entirely his suggestion; and that he only changed his plan in consequence of the unwillingness of the shareholders at home to engage in an operation, which it would have taken three years, and nearly the whole capital of the Company, to complete.—Vide book iv. section 2.

subject, upon which he seems to have been in some doubt to the last, if we may judge by the manner in which his opinion is expressed.

"If," says he, "the remaining capital of the company were mine, and if I had, besides, such a fortune that I could afford to speculate with so large a sum, in a concern holding out chances of very great gains on the one hand, and considerable risk of total loss on the other,—under such circumstances I would continue to work the mines of Tlalpujahua."

"But, if the remaining capital of the Company were mine, and the loss of it would reduce me to a situation of pecuniary difficulty,—then I would desist from working them."

The fault that I should be inclined to find with this decision is, that it is too vague, and too cautious, to be valuable; and that it is more applicable to the case of a society about to engage in an enterprise, in which the chances of gain or loss cannot be reduced to a fixed calculation, than to an assembly of individuals, who, having already sunk two thirds of their capital, had only to choose between a total loss of the portion invested, or an attempt to recover it by a vigorous use of the remainder.

All the circumstances of their position were, however, laid before the proprietary by the directors, at a special meeting held on the 12th of August, 1828; in which, after stating that they considered the district worthy of farther investigation, and did not pretend to fix the period, at which the absence of success should be considered as conclusive evidence of failure, they added that the prosecution of the works would, in all probability, require an additional capital of £200,000, and that unless they possessed a moral certainty that this sum would be forthcoming, if requisite, they should neither advise the shareholders to continue the enterprise, nor consent to conduct it themselves.

This was a fair, and manly, mode of proceeding. It had been adopted previously by the Real del Monte Directors,

whose capital was found insufficient for the object proposed, and was doubled within a year after the formation of the Association; but the Tlalpujahua proprietary did not think the state of their affairs sufficiently favourable to warrant a similar resolution; and contingent orders were sent out, by the August packet, for winding up the concern, if, on the arrival of their letters in Mexico, the mines should not be actually covering their own expenses.

When we consider that, in three years, the total amount of silver raised at Tlalpujahua did not exceed 33,501 dollars, we cannot feel surprised at this resolution. But, at the same time, had I been one of the shareholders, I confess that the fear of seeing another profit by my labours would have made me very reluctant to suspend them until all hopes of bringing them to a prosperous termination had vanished. It is probable that the district will be worked anew, either by the natives, or by another Company, as soon as the apprehensions now prevalent with regard to mining operations subside: for, in many places, the works of the late Company have been brought to the very point where new discoveries might have been expected, and there suspended. Should the attempt be successful, the first adventurers will have a claim, according to the mining laws, for the reimbursement of a part of their advances; but there are so many modes of eluding these laws, and so much difficulty in enforcing them, particularly where foreign and native interests come into collision, that I consider the outlay made as a dead loss, no part of which can now be recovered.

The amount of the capital actually sunk is 320,000*l*. Mr. George O'Gorman, who replaced Mr. Rivafinoli in the directorship, which that gentleman refused to retain upon the arrival of Mr. Cameron, is still employed in closing the affairs of the Company; but the establishment is broken up; the gentlemen employed in it dispersed, and Tlalpujahua about to

return to that state of indigence and obscurity, from which it was raised by the introduction of foreign capital in 1825.

REAL DEL MONTE COMPANY.

I now come to the Real del Monte Association, of which so favourable an idea was entertained by the public in 1824, although it has fully participated, since, in the change of opinion by which the other companies have suffered.

It is singular that, at a time when every thing connected with Mexico was wrapped in obscurity, the shares of this Society were transferred at the enormous premium of 1400*l.* and that now, when the obstacles with which they have had to contend are nearly surmounted, and their expenditure diminished by the increasing value of the ores actually raised, the directors have found it impossible to dispose of a few additional shares, created in order to meet the last demand that there is any reason to expect, except at such a loss as would have discredited the operations of the Company, had they been suffered to go into the market upon such unfavourable terms. Yet data are no longer wanting upon which to form an opinion, and, with the exception of the time requisite for the drainage, which has been greater than was at first contemplated, these data have uniformly borne the most favourable character.

As the works have proceeded, the accuracy of the representations upon the strength of which the Company was formed, has been demonstrated. The veins have been found to increase in richness as they increase in depth, while the efficiency of the power applied to the drainage is satisfactorily proved. Of the four steam-engines intended to act upon the Biscaina vein, two only have been hitherto employed, in consequence of the difficulty of establishing an underground communication between the more distant shafts. By these two the water has been sunk to the depth of 85 varas below

the adit level, or 340 varas from the surface. The deepest workings do not exceed 390 varas, and as these diminish in extent, in proportion as they increase in depth, the mass of water still to be removed is comparatively small, while the possibility of effecting it seems reduced to a certainty.

The expense of the new system of drainage, as compared with that pursued by the Mexicans, has also been ascertained. It appears that, at Real del Monte, (a district abounding in timber), each steam-engine consumes, daily, fuel to the amount of 25 dollars. The monthly consumption is therefore 750 dollars, and to this may be added for repairs, contingencies, and English superintendence, 700 dollars more. The annual expense is, consequently, 17,400 dollars, or 3,480*l.*; and if three engines be employed, the whole may be estimated at 11,000*l.* per annum, by which outlay there is reason to suppose that the mines will be kept entirely free from water. In Count Regla's time, nineteen Malacates failed in effecting this: we will assume that twenty might succeed. The expense of each Malacate, with the horses required to keep it in activity* by day and by night, may be estimated at nine thousand dollars per annum; making for twenty Malacates 180,000 dollars, or 36,000*l.* and leaving a balance in favour of steam power of 25,000*l.* a year.†

It will be asked why, with such a power at their command, the Company has not yet succeeded in clearing its mines, and laying open those levels, from which it expects a remuneration for its labours? Indeed, I know, that the time which has elapsed since the erection of the engines, without producing any positive results, has been considered by many as indicating a failure in their supposed efficiency; and that this belief is one of the causes of the discredit into which the

* I ought perhaps to state that, by a bull of the Pope, neither Sunday, nor any church feast, is allowed to interrupt the drainage of a mine, which continues without intermission, even during the celebration of mass.

† Vide Mr. Taylor's Report of November, 1828.

Real del Monte shares have fallen. But in so extensive an enterprise, water is not the sole, or the most formidable, obstacle. The obstruction of the old levels, by masses of rock and rubbish, delays the progress of the workmen at every step; while the decomposition of the wood work, when exposed to the atmosphere, after being for many years immersed in water, generates foul air, and this cannot be removed without establishing a system of ventilation, which alone requires considerable time and expense.

This has been one cause of the delays which have occurred during the last twelvemonth. Another may be found in a difference with the Mexican workmen, respecting the mode of payment, which Captain Vetch was anxious to make in money, and not in ores; while the natives insisted upon the Partido, or share of the ore raised, which had always been allowed them by the Regla family.

Their demands not being complied with, the Barreteros refused to work, and from May to September (1827), the mines continued unwrought. Upon the arrival of Mr. Tindal, the present managing agent, an arrangement was effected by concessions on the part of the Company, which it was injudicious not to have made before; and a Partido of one-eighth being assigned to the miners, a tolerable supply of labourers was procured. But many had quitted the district during the suspension of the works and, by the latest advices, a want of hands was still felt.

This will be remedied in part by the arrival of a body of Cornish tributers, who have gone out to work for the Association upon the same terms as the native miners; that is, with a small daily allowance, and a proportion of the ore raised. The experiment was tried at first upon a small scale, only five men having been sent out. Their numbers now amount to twenty-five; and as they are allowed to take work by the piece, or task, and to engage Mexicans to labour under them, whom they instruct in the use of the English mining

tools, it is thought that the arrangement will prove to all parties equally beneficial, and satisfactory.

The difference between men thus employed, whose pay depends upon their own exertions, and men, whom the enjoyment of a permanent salary deprived of that stimulus to industry, which had forced them to labour at home, I need not point out; but it still remains to be seen, whether the spirit of insubordination, which our workmen have so frequently displayed in Mexico, will not be productive of inconvenience, and render it difficult to enforce a proper discipline amongst men, who, as volunteers, recognize no authority to which they have pledged themselves to submit.

The fire, which destroyed the magazines at San Cayetano, has, likewise, occasioned considerable loss of time; while the disappointment at Ozumatlan, and the necessity of driving new levels at Moran, after the drainage was effected, in order to get clear of the old workings, have deprived the Association of those resources, which they expected to find in the produce of these two mines.

With regard to Ozumatlan, the failure in the quality of the ores actually raised there at the period of my visit is the more extraordinary, because, at that time, amongst the many individuals, both foreigners and natives, who had examined them, no one appeared to entertain a doubt of their value. The size and appearance of the vein, when only partially explored, were such, as to induce a belief that the mine would be distinguished by a decided, and speedy, Bonanza; nor was it discovered, until after the completion of the works built, at a very considerable expense, for beneficiating the ores, that the silver contained in the principal lode was so inconsiderable in quantity, and so corrupted by a mixture of arsenic, iron, and blende, that the reduction was rendered extremely difficult, while the produce seldom proved sufficient to cover the expenses.*

* Vide Captain Rule's Report, 1828.

Under these circumstances, the district will naturally be abandoned, unless there should be some positive indication of a change, which, at present, there is no reason to expect.

Ozumatlan was, however, never classed amongst the more important undertakings of the Association, which are, in fact, confined to Real del Monte, where the Biscaina vein, and the mine of Moran, afford an ample field for the employment of the capital and talent at the disposal of the Directors.

The difficulty of ascertaining, with any degree of precision, the time within which a mine, long abandoned, may be brought into activity anew, has never been more forcibly exemplified than at Moran. The depth of this mine does not exceed ninety varas, and the engine by which it has been drained began to work a few days after my visit to Real del Monte, (12th August, 1826.) The retimbering of the shaft was carried on with the utmost expedition, and it was expected that, within a twelvemonth, the works might be brought into a productive state, if the lower levels justified those reports of former riches, upon the faith of which the undertaking was commenced. It was soon found, however, that as the water fell, the mine assumed the appearance of separate and distinct workings, which it became necessary to unite by levels, as the pumps, without this, could only act upon isolated parts. In prosecuting these levels, old workings were met with where whole and productive ground had been expected; and successive irruptions of water, from each of these excavations, rendered it necessary to recommence a partial drainage, at the moment when the miners were hoping for profitable returns.

These difficulties appear to have been met, and vanquished. The engine shaft has now been carried below the lowest of the old workings, and the two levels driven from it, east and west, at 64 and 85 varas from the surface, are proceeding in whole ground. A third and deeper level is still required, which will completely lay open the mine, and give access to a great extent of virgin ground. This work has been com-

menced, and will be completed, unless unforeseen obstacles should intervene, in June, 1829, when the agents of the Association at Real del Monte distinctly state, that the single mine of Moran will pay the expenses of all the mines now working by the Company, and exempt the proprietors from any farther demands.

This opinion rests upon the surest possible basis, namely, the quantity and quality of the ores already in sight, (to use a mining term,) the value of which is thus stated in Mr. Taylor's last Report.

"In the 65 vara level, the lode has yielded, in driving, from 100 to 240 dollars for each vara in length; which, in English measure and money is from 40*l.* to 100*l.* per fathom. The deeper level, 87 varas from the surface, is much richer. In the Dolores winze, which is sinking in the bottom of this level, the lode will produce ten cargas of ore per vara, each carga worth twelve marcs of silver, which amounts to 400*l.* per fathom; and at the other end of this deep level, driving east, (called Reunion,) one vara will produce sixteen cargas, worth ninety dollars each carga, and equivalent to 600*l.* per fathom, being richer than any other vein hitherto worked by the English in Mexico."

These results are the more encouraging, because, notwithstanding the high reputation of Moran, there existed no authentic records of former produce, or of the state in which the mine had been left when abandoned. They prove, therefore, that some reliance may be placed in the mining traditions of the country, and that a general belief that rich ores are concentrated upon particular spots, in particular veins, may often serve to indicate their existence.

They likewise give weight to the evidence received, as to the richness of the lower levels of the Regla mines, strengthened as the credibility of this evidence has been, throughout, by a number of corroborating circumstances disclosed in the progress of the works. These have been subjected to the most rigid and exact scrutiny, and in every

instance it has led to the same satisfactory conviction, that there has been neither exaggeration, nor misrepresentation, on the side of the Mexicans, and that the mines will fully justify the accounts given of their value.

Under these circumstances, I can only congratulate the Company upon the aspect of their affairs, and upon that firm and persevering spirit amongst the proprietors, by which this great enterprise has been brought so near to a conclusion. Their expenditure, indeed, amounts to three times the sum originally contemplated, (200,000*l.*) but still their advances bear no more than a fair proportion to the extent and importance of the undertaking, and they will be repaid a hundred fold by its success. That this success may be both speedy, and decisive, I most sincerely hope; for without some such example as that which the Real del Monte Company will, I trust, ere long afford, to revive the spirits of adventurers in England, I see but too much reason to apprehend that other Companies will share the fate of Tlalpujahua, from the refusal of the shareholders to make advances, upon which the issue of the operations now carrying on, in almost every instance, depends.

Had the Real del Monte proprietors shared in the universal panic, and refused to augment their capital from two, to four, and from four, to six, hundred thousand pounds, their prospects must have been brought to a close long ago. A noble enterprise would have been abandoned; a great display of energy* and talent rendered abortive; and a large

* In speaking of the services rendered to the Company by Captain Colquhoun and the transport party under his command, I find that I have underrated the losses which they sustained. Fifteen died upon the coast, six at Jalapa, and one upon the road to that place; while of the survivors, Mr. Rowe has sunk at Bolanos under a disorder occasioned by his exertions, and Captain Colquhoun himself is suffering from the effects of long exposure to the sun and climate, which few, in the Tropics, can brave with impunity.

capital lost, both to the adventurers and to England, which, by returning, as I confidently expect that it will do, in the course of three or four years, with usurious interest, will satisfactorily demonstrate that prudence is nearly allied to courage, and that an enterprising spirit, when accompanied by patience under difficulties, seldom fails in leading to great results.

According to the latest intelligence, on the 24th of February of this year, in the shaft of San Cayetano, the water had been lowered to within eighteen varas of the San Pedro level, which is the deepest working on that part of the Biscaina vein: the shaft of Dolores was likewise clear for 85 varas below the adit level, or to within ten varas of the bottom; and the water was sinking on the intermediate points in proportion as the drainage upon these two proceeded.

The shaft at Moran had been deepened eighteen varas, and a new level, called Nueva Esperanza begun, east and west, upon the lode at that depth, which, as observed before, has been hitherto wanting, in order to facilitate the extraction of the ores, and to render the upper part of the mine sufficiently dry for the barreteros to work. A water-wheel was completed in November, which, during the rainy season, and one or two subsequent months, will take the place of the steam-engine, and save the expense of fuel; while a better knowledge of the various woods which Mexico affords, has led to so great an economy in this important article, that it is not calculated that the expense of the four engines, when employed permanently, can exceed twelve or thirteen thousand pounds annually. During the last two months of which the accounts have been received, (from November 1828, to January 31, 1829,) 2,752 cargas of ore have been raised, and these have produced 42,761 dollars: but it is to be remarked, that as the works advance in depth, a material change has taken place for the better, both in the quantity and quality of the ores. In November,

770 cargas were raised, containing 1061 marcs, or 9019 dollars; while in January, the produce was 1081 cargas, which yielded 2451 marcs, or 20,839 dollars.

Upon the facts here stated, I shall leave my readers to make their own comments. Those who are inclined to judge impartially, will not require any observations of mine to assist them in forming an opinion highly favourable to the prospects of the Association. Those who look alone to the balance-sheet, forgetting that every commercial enterprise requires at the outset advances in proportion to the advantages which it may be expected to yield, will find, even in that, convincing proofs of the possibility of a transition to a state of profit from a state of loss, by the simple and natural operation of causes, the existence of which has only been questioned in England, because they have been longer, than it was at first thought that they ought to be, in producing the desired effect.

BOLAÑOS COMPANY.

We have seen at Real del Monte the successful application of European science and machinery to mines, which the Mexicans, without their assistance, could no longer work, the inefficiency of the Malacate system having been demonstrated in 1801. At Bolaños there is reason to hope that similar efforts will be attended with similar success; but the change which has lately taken place in the affairs of that Company is to be attributed, more to one of those sudden transitions, that sometimes occur in the great mineral deposits of New Spain, than to any extraordinary development of skill, or activity, on the part of its agents.

It will be recollected that, in my account of the operations of the Bolaños Company, I stated them to embrace two distinct points; the mines of Bolaños, in Guadalajara, from which the Association takes its name; and those of Veta Grande, in Zacatecas, which were subsequently contracted

for, in consequence of the desire evinced by the proprietors to give additional extent to their mining investments in New Spain.

Captain Vetch was induced to believe that it would be in his power, by a change in the mode of working, to double the produce of these mines, which had yielded annually, for twenty years, 500,000 dollars; and to reduce the expenses to one half, so as to derive a profit, where the Mexicans merely covered the cost of working; with the prospect of new, and advantageous, discoveries, which might not unreasonably be looked for in so extensive a negotiation.

In the first of these expectations he was deceived. Retrenchment was found to be exceedingly difficult; and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Company's agents, Veta Grande, in April 1828, had occasioned an expenditure of 657,656 dollars, which bore the more heavily upon the resources of the Association, because the demand was entirely unforeseen.

Under these circumstances, instructions were transmitted to Mexico for the immediate abandonment of a concern, respecting which the most gloomy forebodings were entertained; and, at the Court held in April 1828, it was recorded in the minutes of the day, " that it was not less a subject of regret to the directors, than to the proprietors at large, that so considerable a sum should have been invested in this undertaking, with so little apparent prospect of reimbursement."

It may be considered as a most fortunate circumstance that, before the arrival in Mexico of these orders, affairs at Zacatecas had assumed a sufficiently favourable appearance to warrant the Agents of the Association in disobeying them. The untried ground in the vicinity of the shafts of La Milanesa, Macias, and La Gallega, suddenly became productive, and, from the rapidity of the improvement after the first indications of a bonanza appeared, no reasonable doubt could be entertained as to the result.

It is not, however, to Captain Vetch that the credit of this discovery is due. He merely adopted an opinion generally received amongst the natives, who pointed out to me, during my stay at Zacatecas, the Cerro de la Milanesa, as the point to which the labours of the Company should be directed; and added, that if the Fagoagas had possessed a sufficient capital to push their works in that direction, the mines would, probably, never have fallen into the hands of the Association at all.

The irregularity of their former produce confirmed this belief,* by proving that the lode had been remarkable for large shoots, or deposits, of ore, occurring at intervals, and producing profits for several successive years, though not continued with any regularity, because, during these more prosperous times, the prosecution of trial-works calculated to lead to fresh discoveries was neglected. The conclusions drawn by Captain Vetch from these facts appear to have been exceedingly correct; and it is to his earnest representations in favour of a more patient investigation of the mines, that the Company is indebted to its present success, for, without them, the contracts would have been given up at the beginning of 1828.

Early in March of that year, the Gallega mine began to be productive. In February the profit on the month was only 2,692 dollars. In the week ending March 25, twenty-two bars† of silver were raised, and a subsequent week produced twenty-seven bars, or nearly 30,000 dollars. An insurrection amongst the workmen occasioned a temporary check; but both the State Government, and the Federal Executive, evinced so decided a disposition to protect the interests of the

* The average produce for twenty years was, as we have seen, 500,000 dollars; but in the seven years commencing with 1804, and ending with 1810, the mines yielded 1,084,389 marcs of silver, which are equivalent to 9,117,306 dollars, or 1,823,461*l.*

† The bar contains 136 marcs, which, at 8½ dollars, make 1,156 dollars.

Company, that order was speedily restored, and the influence of the Association re-established upon a surer, and more permanent, footing. The damage done by the destruction of a few Malacates did not exceed 15,000 dollars.

From this time nothing can have been more uniformly prosperous than the progress of the negotiation. The results were communicated by the manager, (Mr. Taylor), to the proprietors, at the general meeting held on the 29th of last April, and as he has had the goodness to furnish me with a copy of his Report, I shall avail myself of it, in order to submit to my readers the most satisfactory proofs that I have not exaggerated the advantages, which may be derived by European capitalists from a successful mining operation in New Spain.

The Report says:—"The Gallega shaft had been sunk by our predecessors, who had driven cross cuts to the lode, and extended levels upon it to a certain distance; but although they nearly approached the shoot of ore, which we have found so rich, they stopped short of reaching it; and thus, by one of those chances which occur in mining, it was left for future discovery.

"The shaft was 150 yards in depth: the lode had been cut at two points between the surface and the bottom of the mine, and some trial had been made in each. The upper level is 75 yards from the surface, and is called Guadalupe; the one below it is 108 yards from the surface, and is called San Andres. In this level we first met with ore, which soon became rich and abundant, and was afterwards found to be equally so by an extension of the upper level. In the deep level, or that of San Francisco, not much has yet been found, the end not having been driven far enough to the east, to meet what seems to be the run of the ore-ground; but in a winze, sunk farther eastward, under the San Andres level, the ore has been found to hold down as deep as San Francisco.

"The ore-ground is now passed through for 30 fathoms in length, and is seen also about 42 fathoms in height: the ends going east, at present continue to be rich, and the ore extends above the Guadalupe level, and will doubtless be found to go deeper than the San Francisco level. The lode is generally nine or ten feet in width, and produces from 150 to 200 cargas of ore per fathom.

"The levels are extending into a large space of virgin ground of the greatest promise, and a shaft is sinking to the east of our present workings, in order to pursue our discoveries with advantage. The water is abstracted by the drainage of the old mines to the east; but in order to follow the ore below the San Francisco level, some mode of drawing water will become necessary at La Gallega shaft, which will be easily obtained by the erection of one or more Malacates.

"The following Table will exhibit the quantity of ores raised in the last year, distinguishing the mines from which it has been produced, and the periods for which the accounts are rendered.

Statement of Ores raised at Veta Grande, 1828.

	MACIAS.	URISTA.	LA GALLEGA.	Total.	Qtly. Totals.
	Cargas.	Cargas.	Cargas.	Cargas.	
January.....	4,715	1,494	....	6,209	
February	4,788	1,858	489	7,135	
March	4,914	1,066	814	6,794	
1st Quarter	14,417	4,418	1,303		20,138
April.....	3,191	662	553	4,406	
May	4,847	1,140	535	6,522	
June.....	4,119	642	2,883	7,644	
2d Quarter	12,157	2,444	3,971		18,572
July	4,500	801	5,867	11,168	
August.....	5,562	793	7,911	14,266	
September ..	3,920	545	7,086	11,551	
3d Quarter	13,982	2,139	20,864		36,985

	MACIAS. Cargas.	URISTA. Cargas.	LA GALLEGA. Cargas.	Total. Cargas.	Qtly. Totals.
October	5,096	937	9,828	15,861	
November ..	3,992	741	8,499	13,232	
December ..	3,272	528	6,327	10,127	
4th Quarter	12,360	2,206	24,654		39,220
					114,915
1st Quarter	14,417	4,418	1,303		
2d Quarter	12,157	2,444	3,971		
3d Quarter	13,982	2,139	20,864		
4th Quarter	12,360	2,206	24,654		
	52,916	11,207	50,792		114,915

"The whole costs of the mines for the year, exclusive of those relating to the reduction of ores at the Haciendas, amount to 591,219 dollars, which will be found to be equal to a charge of rather more than five dollars on each carga of ore raised."

Of the 115,000 cargas of ore extracted, that part only has produced its value in money, which the Haciendas have been able to reduce; and the extent of the works not having been calculated upon so unexpected an increase in the ores, 30,000 cargas remain in the magazines, which have not yet been turned to account.

85,514 cargas have been beneficiated, and have yielded 117,581 marcs of silver, or 1,001,098 dollars.

The costs of the Haciendas amount to 301,654 dollars; the produce, or ley of each carga, averages $11\frac{7}{10}$ dollars; but the ores have improved as the discoveries have proceeded, and that in so remarkable a ratio, that, while the average of the first quarter gives only $7\frac{1}{2}$ dollars to the carga, the third quarter averages $13\frac{3}{4}$ dollars per carga, and the fourth $13\frac{1}{4}$.

The profits of the year will appear by the following table:—

	Dollars.
The cost of the mines as stated	591,219
Haciendas	301,654
	892,873

	Dollars.
Brought forward.....	892,873
Deduct sundry receipts.....	27,132
Total costs	865,741
Gross return	1,000,098
Profits in money.....	135,357

To this, however, we must add the value of the stock of ore unreduced, but included in the general expenses of the twelvemonth, and amounting, with the ore on hand in January, 1828, to 59,080 cargas. These, if taken at the average* of the later Hacienda operations, would yield 531,720 dollars, (assuming twelve dollars to be the produce, and three dollars the cost of reduction for each carga,) which, added to the balance of cash profit, would amount to 667,000 dollars, or about 133,000*l.* sterling in the year.

The total expenditure of the Company, both at Zacatecas and Bolaños, up to the end of March 1828, (since which time no bills upon England have been drawn,) does not exceed 250,000*l.*: while the ore raised at Veta Grande during the last twelvemonth, is said not to amount to *one fourth* of the mass already in sight, that is, actually cut through by the levels, and ready to be converted into silver as soon as the completion of more extensive reduction works shall render its extraction advisable.

If we assume this estimate to be correct, we shall find that the value of the 345,000 cargas remaining cannot be estimated at less than 450,000*l.*; while, as the works advance into the unexplored ground to the east, appearances have hitherto been such as to indicate rather the extension, than the termination, of the Bonanza.

Nothing, therefore, can be more encouraging, than the prospects of the negotiation; and nothing, apparently, less

* This average is probably too high, as the richer ores were of course beneficiated first, and the poorer left on hand.

questionable, than its success, although the absence of remittances has occasioned many persons to express doubts upon the subject here, which I suppose that nothing but the actual receipt of a dividend will remove.

The want of this is, however, sufficiently accounted for; in the first place, by the unavoidable deficiency in the reduction works, and in the second, by the necessity of applying to Bolaños a part of the surplus produce of Veta Grande, in order to prevent an additional demand from that quarter upon the proprietors at home.

With regard to the first, had the Rescatadores, or Amalgamators, upon their own account, so numerous before the Revolution, been still in existence,* the Company would have found no difficulty in realizing to any given extent, by sacrificing a small portion of those profits, which they expect to derive from their Haciendas, when conducted by their own agents. The destruction of this useful class of men is much to be lamented, for the successful miner is now thrown entirely upon his own resources, and must often expend a capital in surface works, before he can derive any advantage from his underground operations. It appears, however, that Captain Charters, the present Director of the Bolaños Company, is actively engaged in enlarging the beneficiating power of the Association, and that by hiring and purchasing additional Haciendas, he hoped to be able to reduce, in the month of March last, from twelve, to fourteen, thousand cargas of ore, whereas, during the preceding twelvemonth, the monthly average did not exceed eight thousand cargas.

Two subjects of uneasiness alone remained,—the state of the country, to which I shall have occasion to revert, and a

* Vide what I have said upon this subject at page 427, of the first edition. (Book vi. Section 1.) Many of our Companies now stand in the same position as the Count Valenciana at the commencement of his Bonanza, and would be happy to possess the advantages which he enjoyed, in being able to dispose of ores to almost any amount.

difference with the agent of the proprietors, originating in a misunderstanding of one of the articles of the contract, which does not appear to have been drawn up with sufficient care. The Directors, however, state that this will be brought to a satisfactory decision by an arbitration, to which the parties had agreed in Mexico;* and should this be the case, the results of the preceding year are certainly brilliant enough to warrant the most sanguine expectations for the future.

It is a curious fact, that an enterprise, which was esteemed of secondary importance, should have been the first amongst the various speculations of British capitalists in Mexico, to produce a decided Bonanza, and to assume, by so doing, the place hitherto held in the public estimation by the undertaking, for the prosecution of which the Association was originally formed.

There is nothing, however, in the success of Veta Grande to detract from the importance of Bolaños, or to render the adventurers indifferent as to the issue of their operations in that rich district. The data recently acquired, have only confirmed those previously obtained with regard to its value; and, after a residence of nearly three years, the agents of the Company unanimously agree in the practicability of effecting the drainage by the means about to be employed upon it. The process will, however, be tedious, for although the leat, or canal, of which I gave a description in my first edition,† has been brought home to the Cocina shaft, (which, as being the deepest, is selected for the machinery) and the water-wheel, with the pumps, are erected, (October 1828) the ruinous state of the mines, and the necessity of securing them pro-

* I do not consider the intervention of the proprietors in the management as disadvantageous to the Company. It rather acts as a check upon the agents, and has, in Guanajuato, been attended with very good consequences.

† Vide Book iv. section 2.

perly, as the water is withdrawn, will render the progress of the works extremely slow. The pillars left to support the mine of Barranco, were cut away by the last adventurers, when they abandoned it in 1798, and, the levels will, it is to be presumed, be found choked up, or crushed together, so that it will be necessary to open a communication throughout the mine, in order to reach the whole ground where the new works must commence. But these difficulties are pronounced by Mr. Taylor to be of little importance, as, in the course of his mining experience, he has never known them materially impede, or defeat, an enterprise, where proper means could be applied to overcome them.

The loss of time, however, must be considerable, and I should think that the whole of the present year, (1829) must elapse before the deeper levels can be rendered accessible, notwithstanding the exertions of Mr. Floresi, the managing agent of the Company, of whose activity, and scientific acquirements, there seems to be but one opinion.

This gentleman has recommended that a steam-engine should be employed, in lieu of the water-wheel, for the drainage; both as furnishing an auxiliary power, which, in the dry season may be requisite, and as enabling the Company to keep their water-power in reserve for the Haciendas;—an advantage which the enormous expense of the mules employed in the reduction works at Veta Grande, will enable the proprietors duly to appreciate.

This proposal has been adopted, and a steam-engine was dispatched in February last, which can hardly reach Bolaños before the end of the year, as, during the rainy season, its removal from the coast would be impracticable. In the mean time, the drainage by the wheel proceeds, and the construction of the Haciendas is advancing.

The expenses of the year 1828 amounted to 257,000 dollars; but this includes mines, Haciendas, woods, roads, the leat, machinery, and salaries. Supposing the whole ex-

penditure to be at present 140,000*l.* and to amount to 200,000*l.* before the extraction of ores should commence, still we shall find it bear but a moderate proportion to the value of the prize in view. Bolaños, during its best years, produced four millions of dollars annually,* and, according to the most authentic accounts, the district was equally remarkable for the abundance, and the richness, of its ores. The only difficulty, in the opinion of the natives, is to reach them, which the inefficiency of their own machinery prevented them from accomplishing. I see as little reason to doubt the success of ours, as I do to question the superiority of a steam-engine to a malacate; but time, perseverance, and capital, are necessary to ensure it, for upon the first, the extent to which the last may be required, depends. Fortunately the prosperous condition of Veta Grande facilitates advances, which the state of the market here might otherwise render inconvenient, and leaves the shareholders without excuse, if, by a want of firmness, they fail in realizing those golden prospects, which many regard as delusive, but which those acquainted with Mexico know to be strictly conformable to truth.

UNITED MEXICAN COMPANY.

It is with great satisfaction that I am enabled to add to the statements contained in the preceding pages an account almost equally encouraging of the United Mexican Company, whose principal undertakings appear likewise to have arrived at that point, where failure becomes almost impossible.

In speaking of this association in 1827, I stated that its outlay, which amounted at that time to nearly 800,000*l.* was distributed amongst the principal mines of most of the principal districts;† and that Mr. Alaman, the director in Mex-

* Vide Table of Produce, Book iv. Section 3.

† Vide Section 2 and 3, Book iv.

ico, had fixed, in his report to me, the autumn of 1828, as the maximum of time required to bring the negotiations of the Company into a productive state.

It will be seen, that, in as far as the interior of the mines is concerned, this prediction has been verified; and that, although the want of surface-works, and the unprecedented drought of two successive seasons, have prevented the Company from turning to account the ores actually raised in various districts, the extraction is sufficiently considerable already to cover the annual expenses, and may be increased, as soon as the reduction works are enlarged, to almost any extent.

The multiplicity of the engagements entered into by the Company during the mining mania of 1825, rendered it extremely difficult for its agents in Mexico to provide against the inconvenience, under which they are now labouring in this respect; because many of the mines taken up in the smaller districts were regarded as experiments, which might turn out well, or ill, and, therefore, did not possess sufficient importance to warrant the erection of Haciendas, before there was some security as to the result.

The consequence was, that surface-works were deferred until time should demonstrate their necessity; and that mines, which may actually be said to have been in Bonanza for nearly two years, have contributed but little to relieve the Association from the pressure of others, by which more considerable advances were required.

It must, however, be confessed that, in this respect, the vast extent of the undertakings themselves has had a detrimental effect, because, not being under the immediate inspection of the board of management, it has been difficult for its members to determine between the rival claims of their agents, and to decide to which attention ought first to be paid. It is to this that I attribute the building Haciendas at Capula, and Temascaltepec, while the Rancho del Oro was

left unprovided with a similar establishment until the end of 1827, when the pecuniary embarrassments of the Company rendered it difficult to remedy the mistake. We must ascribe to the same cause the deficiency in the reduction works at Zacatecas, and Sombrerete, where a copious extraction of ore must always have been contemplated, and should have been provided for from the first. Had the capital absorbed in the inferior districts been applied to this object, all demands upon the shareholders might have ceased since the autumn of 1828.

Many of the minor enterprises are now suspended, and some abandoned altogether; so that the operations of the Company are confined to the four districts of Zăcătēcās, Sōmbrērētĕ, Guănājuātŏ, and Ĕl Ōrŏ; with the iron works at Dŭrāngŏ, a few new denunciations at Teŏjŏmūlcŏ in Ŏăxācă, and the Ápărtādŏ, or establishment for separating gold from silver, in the capital.

According to the latest accounts, extending to the close of 1828, the state of each of these districts is highly satisfactory, and the quantity of ore on hand so considerable, that nothing but an addition to the beneficiating power is required, in order to cover the expenditure. The extreme dryness of the season had, however, increased the difficulties, with which the construction of a Hacienda is always attended in Mexico, by rendering supplies, even of the most indispensable articles, scarce, and nearly doubling the price of mules, (in consequence of the mortality occasioned in the North by the want of water,) which, in most of the United Mexican reduction-works, furnish the sole moving power.

Thus, at Zacatecas, where, from the mine of San Acasio alone 2000 cargas of ore might be raised weekly, with half as much more from San Bernabé, Mr. Glennie states that 1800 cargas only can be ground; and Mr. Alaman adds, that, although, by working the Haciendas day and night,

he might double the quantity of ore reduced, (making it amount to 3600 cargas every week, which would yield about the same number of marcs of silver,) it would be necessary, in order to accomplish this, to purchase 500 additional mules. These would cost 15,000 dollars, and together with the expense of pasturage, and the employment of a greater number of labourers in the mine, would require an outlay of 50,000 dollars, which could not be repaid for five or six weeks, when the ores raised might be converted into silver. The want of disposable capital compelled the agents of the Company to graduate their works according to their means, although there can be no doubt that the interests of the Association would, in such a case, be most effectually promoted by pushing them to the utmost possible extent.

At Sombrerete, where amalgamation is but little employed, the scarcity of charcoal had occasioned a similar suspension of labour. The Carboneros, or charcoal burners, lost their mules by hundreds in the Mezquite woods, where the beds of the rivers were dried up, and were compelled to abandon their trade. The Haciendas were, consequently, at a stand, and from the mine of San Lucas alone 16,000 cargas of ore had accumulated, the reduction of which had been unavoidably deferred.

It is from the new discoveries upon this portion of the Veta Negra, and not from the more famous mine of the Pavellon, that the success of the United Company at Sombrerete has proceeded. This may be regarded as another proof of the uncertainty of mining labours, since the propriety of working the lode of Veta Negra was at first questioned, and when the measure was resolved upon, in consequence of Mr. Anitua's representations, it was adopted more with a view to facilitate the drainage of the Pavellon, than with a hope of deriving advantage from that portion of the works. Yet the attempt to discover another *clavo rico*

in the Pavellon, beyond the point from which the Fagoagas raised their bonanza, has failed, while the Veta Negra* has already covered the outlay of the Association at Sombrerete, and continues to promise an abundant produce. In the course of the present year, (1829,) when the additions made to the amalgamation and smelting works are completed, a very considerable surplus in silver will probably be the result.†

The accounts transmitted from Guanajuato, both by Mr. Alaman, and by Don José Maria Bustamante, a gentleman unconnected with the Association, but justly celebrated for his experience, and scientific acquirements, are not less encouraging, though, perhaps, less decided in their results. The mine of Cata, according to Mr. Bustamante, is yielding ores richer than those produced by any other mine in the district, and is fast approaching towards a Bonanza, "unless those signs and indications, to which miners have hitherto trusted in the Veta Madre, should prove fallacious."

The drainage of Rayas is proceeding with great rapidity, the water being lowered from eight to nine varas in the week; while Sechó, (the third important mine belonging to the Company at Guanajuato) after many fluctuations, is beginning to furnish again a steady supply for the Haciendas. The probable produce of Rayas, at the present time, (May 1829,) when the lower levels must have become accessible, is estimated at 1,500 cargas weekly, and from what I have said in my account of this mine of the former richness of its ores, the value of the silver contained in them may easily be

* I ought in justice to Mr: Keating, Director of the American Companies, and an excellent mineralogist, to state, that when I saw him at Sombrerete in 1826, he pointed out San Lucas to me as the mine of most promise, in his opinion, in all the northern districts.

† An addition of 24 arastres is about to be made to the amalgamation works, eight of which were completed in December 1828. Vide the account of the mines of Sombrerete, Book vi. Section 3.

calculated. Mr. Alaman estimates it from five to six thousand pounds a week.

At El Oro, the mines are, unquestionably, in Bonanza, and a mass of rich ores has been raised, which the want of a Hacienda alone has prevented the Company from turning to account. As long ago as February 1828, the produce in the magazines amounted to 4,000 cargas, which were valued at 80,000 dollars; and in addition to these a considerable extent of ore was cleared, and ready for breaking down in the mines, though not removed, on account of the want of proper storehouses. In November 1828, the Hacienda, and buildings connected with it, were nearly completed, and although the want of funds had retarded their progress, the district had begun to contribute towards the expenses of the Company, and may be expected to repay the greatest part of the capital invested in it during the course of the present year. Had its importance been duly appreciated at first, this might have been effected some time ago.

Without taking into account the possible produce of Teojomulco,* Capula, and Temascaltepec, Mr. Alaman conceives that the mines mentioned above,† will yield, weekly, eight, or ten, thousand marcs of silver, or from twelve, to fifteen, thousand pounds.

I am the more inclined to think this calculation correct, because in 1826, when the operations of the Company were not so far advanced, Mr. Alaman refused to hazard any estimate of produce, which he said would not be warranted by the actual state of the mines. The results of another year, instead of increasing his apprehensions, have removed his doubts, and he now fixes a sum of from six hundred, to seven hundred and fifty, thousand pounds, as that to which he conceives that the Association may look in 1829 as the fruits of an investment of one million in 1825.

* In Oaxaca.

† At Zacatecas, Sombrerete, El Oro, and Guanajuato.

Two-thirds of this sum he assigns to the mines of Rayas and San Acasio alone, so that a Bonanza in any of the other mines, which renders their produce equal to that of these two, will increase the probable receipts, while the suspension of the minor enterprises, in which capital has been, perhaps, injudiciously sunk, presents an immediate and effective reduction in the expenditure.

Mr. Glennie's account of the iron works at Durango proves that they are not likely to be long a burthen to the Company.

"The situation for the iron works has been admirably chosen by Mr. Seyffert,* who says, he does not think that, in any part of the world, a situation could be found combining all the advantages which this does for facilitating his operations. In the first place, he has found the iron ore existing, naturally, with exactly that chemical combination, which it is necessary to give it artificially, in other parts of the world, in order to prepare it for smelting.† Secondly, the distance from the place where the ore is to be extracted to the works is moderate, being about three English miles, across a plain, upon which a good road can be formed at a trifling expense, and the ores conveyed in wheel carriages drawn by bullocks. From the iron deposit to the works there is a gentle descent of sixty or seventy feet. Bullocks are preferred to other animals, as less expensive in their maintenance. Thirdly, the stone and lime quarries are situated on the opposite bank of the river to the iron works, and about one-third of a mile from them. Fourthly, the ground purchased for the establishment is capable of producing grain and pasture for the

* The Director of the works.

† This is a circumstance at which I am surprised, as Mr. Keating, to whom I was indebted for some remarks upon the Cerro del Mercado contained in the section of the VIth book, did not appear to think that either the Silesian smelters, or his own countrymen, would understand the treatment of these rich ores. Captain Colquhoun, who projected a similar establishment at the Encarnacion, visited Danemora in Sweden, as a necessary preliminary.

maintenance of all the animals required. Mr. Seyffert has already got a large portion sown with maize, and if the frosts do not begin early, he will most likely be able to assist us in our supplies in Sombreté, next year. And lastly, all the timber and wood required for charcoal, will be cut in the immense forests in which the river takes its source, and floated down to the iron works during the rainy season. The only disadvantage is, that the river has so little descent, that a dam is necessary to raise the water to a sufficient height to work the machinery. This is unfortunate, because it puts us to a considerable expense, and delays the other works, as they depend upon the dam, and that cannot be undertaken till after the rainy season. In other respects, the small descent of the river is advantageous, as, on the erection of the dam, there will be about three leagues of nearly still water above it, which will prevent injury to the works from the large trees brought down the river, roots, branches and all, during the rains: it likewise facilitates the extraction of the timber and wood, which might otherwise float past too rapidly to be extracted. Mr. Seyffert thinks the dam will require three months, and the furnace two. If so, he ought to commence smelting in April next. I give him till the end of May or beginning of June."

From Mr. Alaman to the Secretary.

Dated at Mexico, 4th of October, 1828.

"It must be interesting to know the consumption of iron to the north of Durango, and in that city, I therefore copy what Mr. Seyffert says on this subject:—

"'During the last year, 13,500 quintals of iron* passed through this Custom House, the value of which, at Durango, is never less than eighteen dollars per quintal,† which makes a total of 243,000 dollars. The quantity at present on hand

* About 650 tons. † About 72*l.* per ton.

may amount to 600 quintals; and there are in the town 104 smithies. These are positive and exact data.

"It must be remembered, likewise, that the great mining districts are south of Durango, and that the consumption there, is much greater than that to the north."

I shall not, I hope, trespass too largely upon the patience of my readers by adding, that I conceive this experiment to be highly deserving of attention. The consumption of iron in the mines of New Spain is necessarily considerable, yet the greatest proportion of this indispensable article has, hitherto, been drawn from Europe. At Veracruz its price seldom exceeds fifteen pound per ton, while in the interior it rises in proportion to the distance from the coast, until at Zacatecas, and Sombrerete, it reaches sixty and seventy pounds; the intrinsic value of so bulky a commodity being trifling in comparison with the expense of land carriage. These districts will draw their supplies from Durango, should the establishment now forming there succeed; but in the more southern States, Guanajuato and Real del Monte, will still receive iron from the coast, until the great natural deposit of this metal in their vicinity, (at the Encarnacion,) is brought into activity, as it, probably, will be when the state of the country is such as to warrant an investment of capital in similar operations.

I will not dwell upon the advantages which would accrue from this change to Mexico, and all connected with it; they are too palpable to require pointing out; but, at the same time, they are more especially dependent upon the re-establishment of domestic tranquillity, without which the internal trade of the Republic can never acquire sufficient importance to repay the adventurers for the production of an article, the demand for which is at all times precarious, and liable to be influenced by the mode in which political changes operate upon local interests.

The capital of the Company, consisting of 1,200,000*l.*, has sufficed hitherto to cover the demands of its agents; and, al-

though very nearly exhausted, it seems still uncertain whether the Association will, or will not, find it necessary to raise an additional sum in order to provide for the extension of its reduction works. From the amount of ores already on hand, no farther demand can be contemplated.

Anglo-Mexican Company.

Considerable alarm has been excited with regard to the prospects of this Association, in consequence of the demand for additional capital made by the directors in November 1828, when the sum of 100,000*l.* was added by the proprietors to their original investment of one million, in order to allow time for the completion of their works.

These have been reduced, since the first establishment of the Company, to the districts of Guanajuato, Catorce, and Real del Monte; the mines at Zĭmăpān, Măcŏnī, and San Crĭstōbăl, having been abandoned as unworthy of farther investigation.

At Guanajuato, the Association possesses, with the exception of Rayas, and Villalpando, all the most important mines. Villalpando likewise belonged to it in 1826, but has been given up in consequence of some disagreement with the proprietors;—a circumstance much to be regretted, in my opinion, since, in the judgment of the most experienced natives, this "negotiation" was not inferior in value to the Valenciana itself.

The other mines are,—Sirena, in which the Company has acquired twenty barrs, in full property; Mellado, the workings of which communicate underground with those of Rayas; Tĕpĕyāc; and Valenciana, which is regarded as the sheet anchor of the Association.

It will be rcollected that, in 1826, it was conceived at Guanajuato that three years would be sufficient to repay the outlay of the Company, including the unnecessary expenses in

salaries and machinery, incurred upon its establishment, and given up as soon as a better acquaintance with the country had demonstrated their inutility.

These calculations, in as far as time is concerned, have proved erroneous. The progress of the works in the interior of the mines has been retarded by the usual impediments of foul air, and masses of ruins. In Valenciana, where it was expected that whole ground would have been long since discovered, this has been more particularly the case; while in Sirena the deepening of the shaft, and in Mellado the drainage, which can only be effected in conjunction with that of Rayas, have required more time than was foreseen, either by the directors, or the Mexican proprietors, at the period of my visit.

There is nothing, however, in this delay to affect the future prospects of the adventurers, provided they do not give way to premature discouragement. The mines are what they were in 1810; and although the extraction of ore has not, hitherto, been commensurate with the hopes entertained at the outset, the fact that the silver obtained has been the produce of the upper levels, while those portions of the vein which were richest before the Revolution, have not yet, in any one instance, been laid open, warrants the most favourable expectations. One million and a half of dollars, or 300,000*l.* sterling, have been already raised from mines which are supposed by the public to be a source only of hopeless expenditure to the proprietors. Not one of these mines is in Bonanza, or even in that sort of middle state, which would have satisfied a Guanajuato miner in more prosperous days. The most important parts of all are still inaccessible; yet the expenses are nearly covered by the produce, while the period when that produce may be augmented to an almost indefinite extent seems rapidly approaching.

A few remarks upon the operations of the Company will explain why this point has not been already attained.

The depth of the main shaft of the Valenciana is 635 varas. Of these, 185 were free from water in 1824; 351 varas have been drained by the Association; 99 varas still remain.

Of the vast extent of the levels occupied by the water, I have spoken in my former account of the mine. It is not, however, so much in this, as in the impossibility of purchasing horses for the drainage, or maize for those already procured, that the disappointment of the agents with regard to it has originated.* During the autumn of last year, the price of maize rose from twelve, to thirty, reals the Fanega.† Straw was equally dear; and the droves of mules from the North were prevented from reaching the Baxio by want of water. In this situation, the directors were compelled to reduce their establishment; and notwithstanding the arrival of a small steam winding-engine, which, by the latest advices, had begun to act, the progress made during the summer of 1828 was inconsiderable.

From this unfavourable state of things, however, some good has arisen. A representation has been made to the owners of the Valenciana, stating that the outlay of money, and the time consumed, having greatly exceeded what was contemplated when the contract was concluded, it would be fair and honourable on the part of the proprietors to grant an extension of the term for which the mine is held, as a compensation to the Company for circumstances, which, if foreseen, would have materially influenced the conditions agreed to in 1824.

To this proposal Count Valenciana has acceded. Two years have been added to the lease;‡ but the owners in making this concession aver, that in whatever degree the rea-

* In 1826, it was thought that eighteen months would be sufficient to effect it.

† It sold for six and seven reals at Guanajuato in 1825, and seldom averages more than twelve in a tolerably good year.

‡ The contract is now held for eighteen years, in lieu of sixteen.

lization of the hopes of the Company, and of their own, may have been delayed, the disappointment is in no way attributable to any misrepresentation of theirs, but entirely to the impossibility of ascertaining more exactly the extent of the injuries sustained by the workings under water. They grant the additional interest demanded as a fair consideration for this obstacle; and my readers will, I think, concur with the directors in recognizing in so liberal a proceeding "those principles of equity and honour, by which the formation of contracts upon a large scale can best be regulated for the mutual benefit of the parties concerned."

The expenditure upon the Valenciana, up to January 1828, amounted to 1,429,189 Dollars. The silver raised in the same time, was 475,695 Dollars, which leave a balance of 953,490 Dollars, charged against the mine in favour of the Association.

Upon the receipt of the accounts for 1828, which will be laid before the public in July next, I expect to see this balance considerably reduced.

In Mellado, and Sirena, a similar improvement may be looked for, as the preparatory works in both, were drawing to a close.

Of the engagements of the Company, at Catorce, it is unnecessary to speak in detail, but little having been done, hitherto, towards carrying them into effect. The exceptionable contracts, however, which I noticed in 1826, appear to have been rescinded, and their operations, if prosecuted at all, will henceforward be conducted upon equitable terms.

At Real del Monte, the principal object appears to be the mine of Reunion, a description of which, may be found in the fifth Section of the fifth Book.

Its value, at present, is very problematical, as the theory of its owners, with regard to the junction of several ramifications of the Biscaina vein upon this spot, to be of any value, must be borne out by the event.

The experiment is, however, an interesting one, and may acquire importance by the discovery of a shoot of ore, which, if reached at all, upon a lode so remarkable for its richness cannot fail to be highly productive.

But it is to Guanajuato that the exertions of the Company must be principally directed. It is there that they must look for returns proportioned to the capital which they have risked, and seek the means of bringing their other undertakings into a profitable state. When I consider the progressive value of the ore raised since the commencement of their operations, I cannot think that the attempt will be made in vain. I annex the returns up to the present time, as the best data upon which to form an opinion.

PRODUCE OF SILVER IN THE HACIENDAS OF THE ANGLO-MEXICAN COMPANY.

		Dollars.
1825	. . . . .	116,329
1826	. . . . .	343,032
1827	. . . . .	457,010
1828	. . . . .	572,971
1829	In January and half February, from Valenciana alone	60,656
	Total .	1,549,998

Or about 310,000*l.* sterling.

THE MEXICAN COMPANY.

ONE of the most interesting experiments yet made in New Spain, is that about to be tried by the Mexican Company. Very little was known, in 1827, of the operations of this Association, and from the scantiness of the communications made to me by its Commissioners in Mexico, neither of whom were practical, or scientific men, I could only state, that the mines possessed by it in Oaxaca had been distinguished by few Bo-

nanzas, and were thought to be inferior in importance to those of the Central, and Northern districts. I added, that the labours of the Company were in an incipient state, but that the arrival of a number of German miners, who landed at Veracruz in April 1827, would probably prove decisive as to its prospects.

Since this period, I have been enabled to form a very different conception of the objects of the Company; the principal of which appears to have been, not the selection of mines celebrated for their former riches, but the choice of a district sufficiently abundant in mineral veins to ensure a constant supply of ores, and endowed at the same time with such local advantages as might facilitate the introduction of a change in the mode of reducing these ores, the necessity of which has long been felt.

The poorness of the great mass of the Mexican ores is a circumstance so well ascertained, that it may be called their characteristic.

Their reduction is effected by an expensive and tedious process. Below a certain standard, the silver produced will not repay the costs of extraction; for amalgamation requires many ingredients not easily to be procured; it consumes annually a vast quantity of quicksilver, together with salt, and magistral, (copper pyrites,) both of which are lost; and even when most successful, a considerable portion of silver remains in the triturated ore, uncombined with the mercury, which is sacrificed altogether, from the admitted impracticability of effecting its separation.

A knowledge of these defects led to a number of new theories upon the first establishment of our Companies, most of which have failed, either from a want of combination in the management, or of operative skill in the details.

The Cornish system of washing and dressing, and the Freiberg revolving barrels, proved equally inefficacious in as far as improvement was concerned; and the Directors, discouraged

by discovering that they produced less silver at a greater expense than their predecessors, replaced natives in the management of the reduction works, and, in many instances, professed their conviction of the impossibility of amelioration.

The Mexican Company has taken another view of the question, and has sought in the substitution of an entirely different process, a remedy for an evil, which, though not hitherto amended, stands universally confessed.

This process is smelting; the application of which to the *poorer* ores of New Spain as more effectual, and more economical, than amalgamation, has never hitherto been contemplated.

Its adoption, however, is founded upon a series of calculations and experiments, made by some of the most learned metallurgists of the present day, and sanctioned by the highest practical authorities in Saxony, Hungary, and the Hartz, where the treatment of silver ores is acknowledged to have attained the highest possible degree of perfection. It is approved of, in like manner, by Baron Humboldt, as well as by Don Jose Maria Bustamante, and other scientific Mexicans; and although the difficulty in obtaining men qualified by their education to conduct so delicate an enterprise has been great, it is now upon the point of receiving a fair trial, in a State where, from the abundance of wood, water, and lead ores, there is every facility for carrying it into effect.

It is to Mr. Mornay, one of the Directors of the Mexican Company, that the credit of having suggested this highly beneficial project is due. I have been favoured with a perusal of the Report in which he laid his opinions before the Board of Management; and the reasoning by which they are supported, appears to me so forcible, that I shall not apologise for submitting to my readers, in some detail, a chain of argument, which, when the importance of the mines of Mexico to the commercial world is considered, is certainly deserving of the most serious attention.

Mr. Mornay states, that in Saxony, where the exceeding poverty of the ores compels the miners to enter into the closest calculations, and to adopt the most economical, and productive, processes, amalgamation is called a necessary evil, and many mines would be abandoned were their owners compelled to employ it. Yet amalgamation, in Saxony, requires only eighteen hours, and no animal labour. In Mexico it takes six weeks, and the united efforts of many men, and mules, in order to effect it. In Saxony, salt costs 6 shillings the 100lbs.; in Mexico, 24 shillings. Magistral is not used in Saxony, but is indispensable in New Spain, where it costs from 18 to 21 shillings the quintal. The loss of quicksilver, by the Saxon method, is only about $\frac{1}{7}$th of the weight of the silver obtained: in Mexico, it averages twice the weight of the silver obtained: in Saxony, the loss of silver is $\frac{1}{8}$th of an ounce in 100lbs. of ore; while in Mexico, it is seldom less than $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce, and often exceeds $1\frac{1}{4}$ ounces. Yet, notwithstanding these advantages, it is, as stated above, the universal practice in Saxony to smelt the poorest ores, and only to apply the process of amalgamation to the richest, or to those which contain from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 ounces of silver in the 100lbs. The poor ores are concentrated by washing, from $\frac{1}{8}$th of an ounce to $2\frac{1}{4}$ ounces; they are then smelted with ores containing only $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce of silver. Argentiferous pyrites are added, which do not hold more than $\frac{1}{8}$th of an ounce; a large quantity of slag, containing an exceedingly small quantity of silver, is superadded; and yet, upon the whole mass, the total loss of silver does not exceed from $\frac{1}{32}$th to $\frac{1}{48}$nd part of an ounce in each 100lbs. of ore.

If it be admitted, therefore, that smelting is most advantageous in Saxony, where both processes are perfectly understood, the relative advantage must be still greater in Mexico, where amalgamation is conducted in so costly, and wasteful a manner.

Nor is it to be supposed that there is any magic in the

climate, or geographical position, of Germany, to give it a physical superiority over those parts of Mexico where fuel abounds, and where nothing more than the application of the same skill is requisite in order to produce the same results.

Wherever there exist well-wooded mountains in Mexico, charcoal can be made nearly as cheap as in the Hartz: and wherever this circumstance is combined with a current of water capable of impelling machinery, and a moderate supply of lead, or galena, the smelting of silver can be performed there as easily, and as profitably, as in Europe.

Besides avoiding the defects of the amalgamating process, smelting possesses a decided advantage in point of time; (amalgamation requiring two or three months, reduction by fire as many days;) in point of extent of machinery; (700 arrastres were employed formerly upon the ores of the Valenciana alone:) in point of general application to ores of all kinds; (there are many which are not acted upon by quicksilver,) and in facilitating the establishment of checks as to the real produce of the precious metals.

It is upon these grounds that Mr. Mornay recommended to the Company, in 1826, the suspension of their operations in Mexico, until a scientific German could be placed at the head of their reduction works; it having been demonstrated by the first experiments made in amalgamation at the Oaxaca mines, that the amount of silver yielded by that process, which is conducted in the Southern States in a very defective manner, would hardly cover the expense of the materials.

The proposal was adopted, and Mr. Maude, the Secretary to the Association, was despatched to Germany, where he succeeded in engaging two distinguished men, Mr. Von Uslar, and Mr. Von Harkorken, as superintendents, the first of the mines, the second of the smelting works, with a very effective body of German smelters and miners, who are now established under their orders in Oaxaca.

After investigating, for several months, the character of

the district, and the possibility of obtaining an adequate supply of materials, these gentlemen transmitted, in August 1828, a report, by which Mr. Mornay's theory is fully confirmed. It appears, that the expenses of amalgamation in the Haciendas of the Company have averaged 4 dollars 6¾ reals per quintal of concentrated ores; whereas the cost of smelting, upon the most liberal computation, will not exceed 1 dollar and 3 reals. The consequence will be, that in addition to the ores from their own mines, the Company will be charged with the reducing process of the whole surrounding district, since it can afford to reduce the ores at *half* the price which amalgamation costs the mine owners, (2 dollars and two reals the quintal,) and yet derive a profit of 7⅝ reals upon each 100lbs. of ore that passes through their furnaces.

It is, however, to their own mines that they look for the supply of silver, from which their profits may be expected to proceed. These are numerous, and have been, mostly, very little worked. They are situated in the district of Yăvĕsĭă, five leagues to the eastward of the city of Oaxaca, upon a platform 6,200 feet above the level of the sea, near the junction of the two rivers called Rio de Yavesia, and Rio de San Pedro Nolasco, which furnish a supply of water for the machinery. The opinion given of the mines by the Managing Agent, Mr. Von Uslar, is as definitive as it is concise. He says, that "The Negociation of Yavesia presents every thing which the miner can wish for, or expect; and that, under proper management, and with proper means applied to it, it must ensure certain, and durable profits."

The principal mines are four, La Purisima Concepcion, San Antonio, Santisima Trinidad, and Corazon de Jesus.

All of these are free from water, and are producing a copious supply of ore, the extraction from the Purisima alone, during the last twelvemonth, having amounted to 300 cargas weekly, with only twenty miners at work. The mine is

susceptible of yielding ten times the above produce, when an adequate number of hands is employed.

It is the object of the Company to complete two sets of furnaces, with the concentration works attached to them, and to accumulate a stock both of fuel, and of concentrated ores, sufficient to keep them in activity, before they commence their operations.

This, it is supposed, will occupy the greatest part of the present year, and will be attended with an outlay of 32,400*l.*

Before the beginning of 1830, however, the produce of silver will have commenced; and from that time forward, there is reason to believe that the works will not only support themselves, but that, at the end of the year, a surplus at least 100,000 dollars will have accummulated.

This estimate is founded upon the certainty of a copious extraction of ore, (for with regard to this point, which is the desideratum with other Companies, no doubt at all exists,) and upon the assumption, that from each quintal of crude ore thus raised, *one and a half* ounce of auriferous silver will be obtained.

The basis of the calculation is fixed much under the real value of the ores, in order to leave less uncertainty in the conclusion to which it leads. But should the ores of the four mines yield *two* ounces of silver in lieu of one and a half, with a proportionate alloy of gold, the surplus, in 1830, will amount to 224,875 dollars.

The assays hitherto made, warrant the belief that the proportion of silver will not be less than *four* ounces; in which case the profits would increase in a similar ratio.

The Ley de Oro, or proportion of gold, an admixture of which is found in most of the Oaxaca ores, can hardly yet be determined. The assays vary, but the quantity of gold contained in the marc, however small, augments its value.

The mean expenses of extraction amount to 4 reals for

each 100lbs. of ore. Charcoal is procured for one real the arroba, and, from the command of water, animal power is not required in any part of the process.

If ever, therefore, the expenses and proceeds of a mining adventure were reduced to a fixed calculation, they appear to be so in the present instance; the poverty of the ore being a consideration of no importance; whereas, in most other associations, a copious extraction of poor ore would not suffice to defray the costs of the Hacienda, much less the general outlay of the establishment.

It is in this light that I regard the experiment making at Yavesia, as most likely to be productive of benefit to the country. There are many mining districts in Mexico surrounded by forests, easy of access, at a reasonable distance from the Capital, and not destitute of water-power, which are now neglected on account of the poverty of the ores, which, by the present system, hardly leave a profit of one or two dollars upon the Monton. By reducing the costs to one-third, you add the difference to the original profits, and may derive considerable advantages from a "Negociacion," which must have been attended before with almost certain loss. The buildings requisite for the smelting process are not more expensive than a small Mexican amalgamation work; nor is the provision of charcoal more subject to fluctuations than the accumulation of maize, straw, salt, and magistral, required for the support of the animals employed in the Arrastres, or for admixture with the pulverised ores in the Patio. The success of the present attempt would, therefore, render the introduction of smelting probable in many of the "Minerales" situated upon the line of the Sierra Madre, as Temascaltepec, Tlalpujahua, Angangeo, Zimapan, and El Doctor, to say nothing of Guarisamey, and the more Northern districts, where, although the ores are rich enough to be amalgamated with advantage, the inducement to enter upon a

mining adventure would, of course, be augmented by the prospect of increased profits, and a diminution of risk.

It is difficult to estimate the consequences of a decided improvement in the method by which the precious metals are obtained, in a country, which has produced, during the last century, two-thirds of the whole of the silver raised annually in the world. Its generalization, however, if successful, must be the work of time, the number of individuals capable of conducting the smelting process, according to the German method, being, at present, small, and its application to some of the richer districts, as Guanajuato and Zacatecas, impossible, from the scarcity of fuel. But there can be little doubt as to its tendency to increase, ultimately, the mass of silver raised in New Spain, and this is a question, by the solution of which the interests of this, and every other, country cannot fail to be more or less affected.

In the prosecution of the plan to which the attention of the Directors is now devoted, the Company has incurred some losses, by giving up mines in isolated, and distant, districts, (as Fresnillo,* and Real del Monte,) upon which advances had been made by the former Commissioner, Mr. Exter. The sacrifice is, however, compensated by the concentration of their works upon a single point, where, from the number of veins hitherto unexplored, it is in their power to carry them to any desirable extent, and, at the same time, to place them under one undivided system of management.

The outlay of the Association, up to the 1st of January 1829, amounts to 215,803*l.* An additional sum of 40,000*l.* was voted at the last meeting, (May 7th,) for the completion of the preparatory works, when the Directors conceive that no farther advances will be required, as the produce of the furnaces first erected will furnish the means of extending their operations by the addition of others, should the success

* North of Zacatecas.

of the trial render this measure desirable. The progress of the Company was impeded, during the winter of 1828, by the contest for the Presidency, which rendered the transmission of specie from Mexico to Oaxaca impossible; the roads being infested by stragglers, belonging either to Santa Anna's party, or to the Government troops. The Directors, however, state that, although hostilities were carried on within a few leagues of the Company's mines, the property of the Association was respected, and its agents left unmolested; a circumstance, which, when taken in conjunction with the exemption from pillage enjoyed by foreigners in the Capital, sufficiently proves that a sense of the advantages to be derived, mutually, from the present free intercourse, has taken the place of those prejudices so often complained of in 1824.

My readers will determine whether the facts submitted to them in the preceding pages, are such as to bear me out in the conclusions drawn a year ago, with regard to the mines of New Spain, and the probability of their producing an adequate return to the adventurers engaged in exploring them. I admit, that the remuneration has not yet, in any one instance, (with the exception of Bolaños,) been commensurate with the risk; that delays have occurred, which I was not prepared for; and that these have occasioned a larger demand for capital than was at first foreseen. Still, the leading facts remain the same; there is nothing in what has taken place to affect the value of the mines, or the ulterior prospects of the Companies. The expenditure has not been swelled to so enormous an amount as to bear no proportion to the produce, nor is there the slightest reason to imagine that that produce will cease to be what it always was before 1810. The difficulties have consisted, first, in the preliminary works of drainage, and clearage; and secondly, in the necessity of proportioning the establishments for reducing the ores to the extent of the extraction. That the first ob-

stacles have been overcome, the existence of the second cause of delay sufficiently demonstrates. This, too, must be provided for before regular returns can be expected. The propriety of making such a provision was felt three years ago, and the want of it would not, probably, now be experienced, had not the panic of 1826, in England, rendered the suspension of surface-works in Mexico unavoidable, until their necessity was proved, to the satisfaction of the shareholders, by the result of the underground operations. The drought, and consequent scarcity, occasioned a still farther loss of time; political disturbances next intervened; and thus, by a sort of fatality, the concurrence of a number of circumstances, varying in their character, but uniform in their effects, has delayed the termination of an enterprise, in which success upon any one point would have inspired confidence with regard to the rest.

By success, I mean the real and *bonâ fide* existence of a considerable surplus produce, received in England by the shareholders of any one of the Companies, in the shape of a dividend. Without this I am persuaded that there are no arguments, however strong,—no reasoning, however plausible, —that can produce the slightest effect. I shall, therefore, abstain from dwelling upon a question, which time alone can now determine. My own opinions remain unchanged. Provided the tranquillity of Mexico be not disturbed, I look for the realization in the present year, of all that I expected during the last; I look for the receipt of a dividend by most of the Companies before the commencement of 1830; I look for the gradual repayment of the capitals invested, and the consequent reappearance of a desire to invest more in a similar manner. To what extent this feeling may be carried, what effects it may produce in Europe, and by what means it may best be acted upon in New Spain, it would be superfluous now to inquire. It is probable that, as our knowledge of the country increases, a more economical mode of

conducting operations there will be discovered. It is probable, that the paraphernalia of Companies will be discarded, (at least upon so large a scale,) and that a series of isolated enterprises will be preferred, in which there will be more scope for individual exertion, and less responsibility accumulated upon a single head. It is not impossible that the old system of advances to native miners, and Rescatadores, called avios à premios de plata, will be resumed, as presenting a sure, and lucrative, investment, and, at the same time, tending materially to increase the amount of silver annually raised. All these are fit matters for future consideration. Until the internal organization of Mexico be fixed upon a permanent basis, they can only be regarded as visionary schemes; for upon this the commercial importance of the country depends, and by it, the propriety, or impropriety, of extending our relations with it, must be determined.

This brings me to the last, and most important, topic, the manner in which the general interests of Mexico have been affected by recent events.

In entering upon this subject, I must disclaim once more all personal, and party, considerations. I write as the sincere friend of the Mexicans, and provided the government of the country be well conducted, it matters little to a foreigner whether a Yorkino, or an Escoces, administration, have the credit of accomplishing it. I look therefore, (to use a hackneyed phrase,) to measures, not to men, and shall speak of them as I find their tendency advantageous, or disadvantageous, to the State.

After the disastrous, and protracted, struggle, which it has been my task to record, it is hardly necessary to observe, that the improvements anticipated in 1827 have not, in any one instance, been effected. The existence of the Government being threatened alternately by the rival factions,

there has been little leisure to bestow upon any point not immediately connected with self preservation; and those ameliorations in the internal policy of the country, so often announced at the commencement of Victoria's Presidency, have been lost sight of latterly, with the tranquillity which gave them birth.

The want of a finance report for the past year, (no copy of which has yet reached this country,) prevents me from pointing out, in detail, the effect produced by the disturbances in the Interior upon the different branches of the revenue. I am enabled, however, to state, upon unquestionable authority, that, in all, there has been a very considerable falling off.

The monopoly of tobacco, which could only be expected to flourish under a vigorous, and united, administration, has not produced a sufficient sum to cover the expenses of the establishment.

The arrears due by the States upon their Contingents, have increased, in proportion as the power of enforcing payment on the part of the Executive has declined; and, with one honourable exception, (Zacatecas,) there is not now a single State that is not deeply indebted to the Federation.*

The produce of the Customs has decreased in a similar ratio; for, as the ties of discipline have been relaxed, the facilities enjoyed by the contraband trader have augmented, and a system of illicit introduction is now organized upon so many different points, that the business of the established houses is reduced to little more than half what it was in 1826. Whether the amount of European manufactures imported has declined, and to what extent, it is difficult to determine; but I should be inclined to think, from the number of emi-

* I presume, that those amongst my readers, who are sufficiently interested in the fate of New Spain to peruse this Additional Chapter, will bear in mind the data respecting these branches of the revenue, contained in the first edition; and I consequently omit explanations, which may be found there in great detail.

grants, belonging in general to the most wealthy families, that the demand must have materially diminished, and that the taste for luxuries, which a free intercourse with foreigners was beginning to introduce, must be nearly reduced to the statu quo of 1824.

I have no return of the importation duties collected at the different ports in 1828, but I am informed that they have not exceeded five millions of dollars, in lieu of reaching the eight millions, at which I was induced to estimate them.*

The suspension of the dividends upon the Foreign Loans, has been one of the first effects of this unfortunate change; a suspension, the duration of which, the necessity of conciliating the army by prompt, and punctual, payment, renders it exceedingly difficult to estimate.

The Navy is the only part of the establishment, in which forms, and reductions, have been actually carried into effect. It has sunk into insignificance, as I always thought that it must do, the country being neither able, nor willing, to support an expense, which could not be productive of any adequate result.

Had it been equally easy to apply the pruning knife to the Army, according to the plan proposed by the late Minister of War, (General Pedraza,) much of what has recently occurred might have been avoided, for this army is the real cause of almost all the evils that afflict the Republic.

It has now gone through four Revolutions, and in each has turned the scale in favour of the party, to which it transferred its allegiance. In 1810, by espousing the cause of the Mother country, it enabled the Viceroys to put down the first insurrection: in 1821, it deserted the Viceroys, and proclaimed, with Iturbide, the Independence at Iguala: in 1823, it drove the Emperor (by the declaration of Casa Mata) from a throne, to which he had been elevated by mili-

* It will be recollected that, in my last Chapter, I stated my belief that they would fall far short of this estimate.

tary acclamation in the preceding year: and, in 1829, it has become again instrumental in effecting a change, which, upon whatever plea it may be justified by those concerned in it, can certainly not be regarded as a part, or consequence, of that system, to which the nation pledged its faith by the Federal Act of 1824.*

Three years ago, it was hoped that the dispersion of the military force of the Republic throughout the different States, together with the removal from active service of the officers most noted for a restless, and insubordinate, spirit, might neutralise the endeavours of those, who desired to render the Army the instrument of farther changes. The events of December last have proved these expectations to be ill-founded: the influence of provincial leaders has not been sufficient to counteract the superior influence of the Capital, which in Mexico, as in all new countries, seems to possess a decided ascendancy over the States. Those who were least disposed to unite with the Yorkino chiefs, have bowed to the masters of the Federal City; or at least, have found it impossible to prevent their troops from declaring in their favour; while, in the first stages of the Revolution, the importance of giving weight to an unconstitutional demand by the support of a troop of horse, has been demonstrated by the consequences to which Santa Anna's declaration at Perote has led.

It is, however, a remarkable fact, that it is to the corruption of the officers, and not to the want of discipline amongst the troops, that the late excesses are to be ascribed. The

* Without in the least wishing to attack the tenure of the present Government in New Spain, it is impossible for any one to maintain the legality of the proceedings, from which its title arises. A revision, by the Army, of the votes of the States, was certainly not contemplated by the Constitution; although the Yorkinos maintain, that, but for this spirited assertion of the rights of the people by the troops, the Federal Act must have been irrecoverably lost.

soldiers have uniformly shown a willingness to range themselves under the orders of the constituted authorities, and it is only by confusing, and bewildering, their ideas of duty, that their chiefs have succeeded in rendering them the instruments of their own factious designs.

The Executive, compelled to commit to individuals of a higher class the execution of its orders, has been, (with some few exceptions,) betrayed successively by all, in whom it reposed its confidence.*

Thus Santa Anna was enabled to prevail upon his regiment to accompany him from Jalapa to Perote, by the weakness of his superior officer, the Commandant of the State of Veracruz, who allowed him to assure his men that he was acting under the orders of the Supreme Government, and witnessed their preparations for the march without attempting to undeceive them.

The same idea was encouraged by the pertinacity with which General Rincon, who assumed the command of the Government forces before Perote, abstained from bringing Santa Anna to an action, although it was hardly possible for him to avoid doing so; and allowed him, at last, to evacuate

* Amongst the most singular instances of political tergiversations, may be reckoned those of Generals Santa Anna, and Filisola. The first, in 1827, was an Escoces, and was actually on his road to join Bravo in the Llanos de Apam, when, falling into the hands of Guerrero's outposts, and witnessing the superiority of his force, he found it expedient to join the strongest party, and presented himself to the Yorkinos as a volunteer. Nine months afterwards, he headed their forlorn hope at Perote.

Of General Filisola's gallant defence of the capital, I have already spoken. It is a pity that he should have forfeited the respect to which it entitled him, by publishing, a fortnight afterwards, at La Puebla, an address to his troops, (who had just mutinied, and plundered the Conducta,) congratulating them upon their declaration in favour of the "cause of the people," and deploring his own folly in having been induced to oppose it.

the fortress without opposition, and to retire upon Oaxaca without pursuit.

There is, upon this road, a pass of so arduous, and inaccessible, a nature, that thirty men in possession of it may bid defiance to the efforts of an army to force their position.* This pass was occupied by a detachment of three hundred men, and when it was known that Santa Anna had entered the Sierra Madre, pursued by General Calderon,† and was proceeding in this direction, his capture was regarded as inevitable.

What was the result? The Commandant of the detachment was a Yorkino. Compelled to choose between the interest of the Government, and that of his fraternity, he abandoned his post, and leading his troops down into the mountain gorges below, delivered them over to Santa Anna without firing a shot.

But it is not in the army alone that similar instances of treachery occurred. The combination embraced civilians, as well as military men, and what the first prepared in the legislature, the last executed in the field.

It is an invidious task to particularize instances of the system, by which the changes contemplated appear to have been brought about; but there is one circumstance so curious, and at the same time so important in its effects, that I cannot help pointing it out to the attention of my readers.

The national militia of Mexico is allowed to have been the main-spring of the December movements. In 1827, this militia did not exist, and I was, consequently, curious to ascertain the mode in which the Yorkinos had contrived to call

* The pass of Don Dominguillo.

† To this distinguished, and respectable, officer the praise of honourable consistency is due. When deserted by his troops, after the capture of Santa Anna, he retired to his Haciendas, and refused to take any part in public affairs.

such a body into existence, and, at the same, time to secure its devotion to themselves.

I found that a law for the creation of a body of militia had been sanctioned by the Chambers, with little opposition, or discussion, at a time when the public mind was agitated by reports of impending invasion; and that its organization was entrusted to the Governor of the District. This situation was confided by the President to Don Jose Maria Tornel, in whom, though long known as an influential Yorkino, Victoria seems to have placed implicit confidence; and through his agency a corps of 3000 men was raised, composed entirely of individuals either affiliated amongst the New York Masons, or ready, from other circumstances, to embrace any cause that would afford a prospect of plunder.*

The officers, from first to last, were named by the Yorkino Lodge, and it was only when these preliminary arrangements were completed, that the Executive was summoned to furnish arms and clothing for the men, who, in a few weeks, were destined to give a death-blow to its authority. The danger, unforeseen at first, was felt when it could no longer be remedied; and in the name of the law, the ministers and guardians of that law were compelled to concur in a measure, by which they knew, at the time, that a notorious violation of the Constitution would shortly be attempted.

The game, on the part of the Yorkinos, has been played, throughout, with great ability, and with as much method, as if it had been a game of chess. The Constitution, invoked by their deputies in the Chambers, on the first appearance of a

* I am assured that the very dregs of a population notorious for its vices were permitted to enlist in a corps, which ought to have had for its object to keep in check this unworthy portion of its members: and though I make every allowance for party spirit in such statements, the dreadful increase of robberies, and assassinations, during the last three months, admitted both by the proclamations of the Governor, and in the debates of Congress, demonstrates that there must be some radical error in the organization of the new guardians of the public peace.

disposition, on the part of the Executive, to take precautionary measures against the dangers with which it was threatened, reduced the Ministers to a state of nullity, or at least of apparent indecision; while their opponents, hampered by no legal restrains, were free from any other care but that of so combining their operations as to render the revolution, which they meditated, completely, and decidedly, successful.

Had the President enjoyed the confidence of the moderate party in the Chambers, a material change might have taken place in the aspect of affairs; for if the majority had invested him with extraordinary powers, by a decree similar in its effects to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act amongst ourselves,* it is probable that the plans of Guerrero's partizans would not have been so actively, or so daringly, prosecuted. At least, if they had been so, it must have been done with the positive, and unquestionable, connivance of Victoria, of which there is at present no proof. But the Escoceses showed their distrust of the President, by refusing to the last to concede to him an authority, which they feared that he might turn against themselves; thus preferring a certain, to an uncertain, evil, or rather withholding the only remedy, which, after Santa Anna's rebellion, it was possible to apply.

In how far a different course might have been productive of a different result, it is not easy to decide; but, as a distant spectator, I should say that it was the policy of the Escoceses to identify, if possible, their cause with that of the constituted authorities; and, if they were to sink, rather to owe their fall to a misplaced confidence, than to a denial of those resources, without which, neither the Government, nor themselves, could expect to stand.

From the first, the Yorkinos possessed one great, and overpowering, advantage. There are few questions of a political

* In 1824, Victoria was entrusted with these powers, which were withdrawn by a decree of Congress, in the Autumn of 1825.

nature, with regard to which the mass of the people in Mexico betrays any interest, or by which it can be roused from that state of torpid listlessness so universally prevalent since the close of the revolutionary war: but there is one topic that is never appealed to in vain; and the idea of aggression on the part of Spain, or of a design again to reduce the country to a state of dependance, seldom fails to produce a violent ebullition of feeling. This chord has been artfully, and successfully, struck. The protection afforded by the Escoceses to the old Spaniards has served to connect their names with that of the Peninsula, whilst the hostility of the Yorkinos to this same class, has stamped them as the strenuous opponents of foreign domination. It is in vain that reason, and morality, have been appealed to on the one side, and that feelings of self-interest, or personal animosity, have been pointed out on the other. In revolutions there is no time for analyzing motives: he who flatters the passions of the populace is a patriot; he who opposes them a traitor. History may, indeed, reverse the decree, but it cannot avert the evils, which it seems to be its province to deplore.

The Yorkinos have availed themselves to the utmost of this temporary superiority. The term of "Bourbonist" has done more for them than money, or arms. They have applied it without distinction, or hesitation, to all their political opponents, and with the people, by whom it is taken, not as signifying an advocate for a constitutional monarchy under a Bourbon prince, but as synonymous with conspirator, Spanish spy, and every thing that is bad, it has generally proved sufficient to shake the best founded reputation. Bravo was a "Bourbonist" in 1827; and in 1828, Pedraza, to whose exertions, as Minister of War, the failure of Bravo's plans was mainly due, became a "Bourbonist" in his turn, and sunk under the hateful designation. A year before he was eulogized by the very men who have thus stigmatized him,

as "the boldest, and most incorruptible of patriots;"* nor has a single public act justified this change of sentiment on their side, unless, indeed, it be a crime to have been elected President, in preference to the Yorkino candidate, and to have ventured to oppose the realization of Guerrero's plans with the same firmness, which he had shown in resisting those of his less fortunate rival.

The fact is, that, in the course of the last twelvemonth, if the Yorkino papers may be believed, every man of any distinction in the country, who does not belong to their party, has sent in his adherence to the King of Spain. General Victoria has been repeatedly termed a Bourbonist; Mr. Ramos Arispe, who in 1822, in the Cortes of Madrid, was bold enough to state that he did not conceive the establishment of a Bourbon Dynasty in the New World to be likely to prove advantageous either to Mexico, or to the Mother country,—is likewise a Bourbonist: most of the foreign diplomatic agents are Bourbonists; and I have little doubt that, if this chapter should ever be perused in Mexico, the same flattering distinction will be extended to myself.

My readers will infer from this statement that, as the object of a party, Bourbonism, in its original acceptation, has long ceased to exist. It is now one of those terms, to which revolutions attach a temporary signification; but, as long as there is any fear of a reaction on the part of the Escoceses, its phantom will still be invoked, for it is by this tenure that the Yorkinos hold their power. Whether the removal of an imaginary evil will be productive of real good, by enabling the Yorkinos to realize those patriotic views, of which they have so often boasted, time alone can show. They are now undisputed masters of the Republic, and neither in the Chambers, nor amongst the writers for the pub-

* Vide the remarks upon the plan of Montano, Document, No. 1, with the annexed observations.

lic press, is there a party that ventures openly to oppose them. Their former rivals, indeed, say that this is the commencement of their difficulties ; that the Faction is too numerous to hold together; and that the division of the spoil, amongst those who have contributed towards the victory, will destroy the unity of action so remarkable in their earlier operations. They add, that great injustice seldom indicates much stability ; that in a country where the law is supposed to be the only acknowledged authority, a violation of that law is dangerous in proportion to its success; and that Guerrero's political opponents have only to follow the road which he has traced, in order to wrest from his grasp the prize, which Victoria has resigned to him.

There is much of reason, though there may be something of party animosity, in this. A great deal, however, depends upon the character of the individual at the head of the government, and it is not by half measures that Guerrero will lose the Presidency, if attacked. It is rather to be apprehended, that a very slight degree of opposition would prove sufficient to induce his friends to put an end to the constitutional liberties of the country at once, by proclaiming their leader Dictator ; a measure, which, it is said, they would have resorted to already, had there not been a schism amongst the victors with regard to the person best qualified for the office. The majority was favourable to General Guerrero, but Mr. Zavala was not without a formidable body of adherents, while the troops of Santa Anna conceived that the claims of their own General were infinitely superior to those of the other two.

The fear of the consequences with which an appearance of disunion might have been attended, led to the project being abandoned ; and General Victoria having been induced to make Yorkino appointments for all the departments of

government during the remainder of his Presidency, the idea of a Dictatorship has not since been revived.

Of the conduct which General Guerrero is likely to pursue, when left by his installation to adopt a system entirely his own, it is impossible to form an opinion at present. He has given proofs during his long, and arduous, career of unquestionable courage, and distinguished talent as a Guerrilla chief; he possesses a strong, and uncompromising, spirit, and a perfect freedom from those prejudices, which the bigotry of the Spaniards sought to implant amongst the lower orders of his countrymen; but as a politician he is yet unknown. His course upon most points is, however, sufficiently clear, and the simpler the principles are, by which he is guided, the more direct will their tendency be to promote the interests of the State. Good faith at home, and abroad, with a little activity in enforcing obedience to the laws, both amongst his enemies, and his friends,—constitute all that is required of a President, who wishes to secure the prosperity of New Spain. Nature will do the rest; for, with the resources possessed by Mexico, it requires positive mismanagement to impede its progress.

The new government will, nevertheless, have many obstacles to surmount at the outset. The revenue no longer equals the expenditure, nor can it be made to do so until tranquillity be permanently re-established. Whether this can be effected without the influence which a full treasury gives, and whether the want of money will not, in a manner, compel the Executive to allow its faithful followers to indemnify themselves for the want of regular payment by acts of extortion, and violence,—are questions, to which I sincerely wish that I could suggest a more satisfactory answer than I am, at present, enabled to give.

I should lay aside all personal considerations in discussing this subject, did not the scandalous disregard of the ordinary

principles of morality proclaimed by some of those, who will now be charged with the execution of the laws, render it impossible to lose sight of the individual, in considering what his public conduct is likely to be.

Mr. Zavala, to whose Manifesto I have already had occasion to allude, has announced in it to the world, "that the Revolution has begun, but that we know not yet where it will terminate." In another passage he adds, when speaking of the offer made by the President to recognize him, anew, as Governor of the State of Mexico, of which office he had been deprived in consequence of an accusation of treason,—"I attached but little importance to these speeches. The Revolution was enough, and more than enough, for me;* and, at proper times and seasons, I have energy sufficient to turn its consequences to full account."

If it be by such axioms as these that Mr. Zavala intends to regulate his conduct as Minister of Finance, it must be confessed that his opponents have some reason to tremble for the security of their possessions. There is no act, however arbitrary,—no system of proscription, however extensive,—which the success of a revolution, if admitted as a principle of public right, may not be made to justify:—against such an argument, complaint is fruitless, and reasoning is vain; "Me sobra la Revolucion," would be an excuse for every iniquity; and the government which dared to acknowledge such a theory, and to lay it down as the rule of its conduct, could only be regarded as the worthy descendant of the Dantons, and Robespierres, of France.

Let us hope that such a fate is not reserved for Mexico:—let us hope that expressions employed in the heat of a doubtful contest, will be disavowed in calmer moments: that private resentments will yield to the public good, and the kiss of peace be exchanged amongst Mexicans of every party!

* "Me sobraba la Revolucion;" an expression which can only be rendered into English by periphrasis.

Such, justice bids me add, are the sentiments proclaimed everywhere but in Mr. Zavala's work: General Guerrero's answers to the congratulatory addresses, which have poured in, since his election, from every corner of the Republic, breathe a most amicable spirit; an act of amnesty in favour of Bravo and his friends is contemplated; and, should the conduct of the new President, when in power, correspond with his present professions, the happiness of the country may be promoted by those very events, which have appeared to endanger its existence. The expulsion of the Spaniards, and the entire dispersion of the Escoceses as a party, remove the two principal causes of domestic disputes; and a little generosity on the part of the conquerors will suffice to heal the wounds which they have inflicted. A feeling in favour of Guerrero, personally, exists to a very considerable extent. People are wearied out with party contests, and begin to perceive that, while they continue, the good of the country must ever be a secondary consideration. They will, therefore, willingly range themselves under the banners of him, who has influence, and decision enough, to take a line of his own, and to force both factions to bow before the uplifted arm of the law. This Gomez Pedraza would have done, and Guerrero will do, if he knows his own position, or consults his own interests. He may then set at defiance the pretorian bands, by whose assistance he has risen, and rest his power upon a surer foundation, the confidence, and good wishes, of his fellow-citizens.

He has, however, an arduous task to perform, for the revolution has called into active service nine hundred officers, who were put upon the half-pay list during the ministry of General Pedraza, many of whom now return to employment with higher rank than that which they held at the time when they received their dismissal. Most of these officers were not consigned to obscurity without just cause. Some, whose names I now see attached to the regiments that compose the garrison of the Capital, are men notorious for the grossest

misconduct; men, whose lives were only spared in 1825, in order to prevent the Army from enduring the stigma, which the punishment of officers for offences such as theirs would have brought upon it.* In return for this clemency they became Yorkinos, and contributed not a little, in the first week of December, to the triumph of the party which admitted them into its ranks. They will now be its bane, unless reduced again to the nullity, from which they never ought to have emerged. Guerrero has courage enough to do this effectually, and will, I trust, perceive that the sooner he dismisses such adherents, the more his cause will gain in respectability. Their assistance is no longer requisite, for what with the attachment of his earlier friends,—the hopelessness of an attempt to substitute another Government on the part of his adversaries,† and the personal influence, which, from his colour, he exercises over the Mixed Castes, Guerrero unites many elements of power never before combined. The feelings excited by his elevation amongst the Indians are

* It is not of political offences that I here speak. Yorkino officers might be displaced by an Escoces ministry, or Escoceses by the Yorkinos, without the slightest imputation upon their personal character. The men to whom I allude, are men brought up in the school of the revolution, and unable to relinquish, in more tranquil times, the pursuits to which they were addicted during the civil war. Of these, there was a formidable body in Mexico in 1823, by whom the great robberies committed on the Veracruz road were organized. Against fifty or sixty half-pay officers well mounted and armed, no escort could avail, and their expeditions were consequently very successful, until the interference of the Government broke up the fraternity. Some of these very individuals have been recently restored to their rank, and gazetted as captains, and colonels.

† General Pedraza has renounced all claim to the Presidency, and even were this not the case, the Yorkino majority in the Congress elected for the years 1829 and 1830, is too decided for any Escoces candidate to have a chance of success, without a previous dissolution of that assembly, which could not be effected without the total annihilation of the Constitution.

very remarkable. According to the papers, they claim him as one of their own class, and deputations from several Indian towns have visited the Capital to witness the inauguration of a successor of Montezuma.

Advantage has been taken of this circumstance, by some enemy of Guerrero, in order to excite the Aborigines to hostilities against the Whites, by awakening in them a sense of their long lost independence. A pamphlet has been published, entitled "The Indians demand their own;"* copies of which appear to have been disseminated with diabolical activity, although without producing any ostensible effect.

It is impossible to reprobate in language sufficiently strong a project, which, after the lapse of three hundred years, would entail upon the present proprietors of the New World a repetition of those outrages, which their ancestors committed upon its former inhabitants. San Domingo has shown us that of all the scourges that can afflict humanity, a war of Castes, a war of Colours, is the worst; nor is there in Spanish America any object in view, calculated by its magnitude to afford a compensation for the evils, by which its attainment must be sought.

If the Aborigines were still reduced to a state of legal bondage, the case would be different; but a system of theoretical equality is already established in the New States, and a thousand roads are opened, by which the Indian population must, eventually, obtain its share of practical relief. The presence of the Whites is therefore an advantage, rather than the reverse; for it cannot reasonably be asserted that they are not superior in information, talents, and the arts of civilized life, to those degraded beings, who are invited to assume

* "Los Indios quieren ser libres," is the real title, of which I have given rather a free translation, because, according to the views of the writer, the liberty claimed consists in the monopoly of all Government employments, of which he maintains that the Indians have, for 300 years, been unjustly deprived.

a place, which the example of their more enlightened countrymen can alone qualify them to fill. That this example may lead to a gradual, and progressive, improvement, and thus entitle them, at no distant period, to a full participation in the rights and privileges of free men, none more sincerely desire than myself; but he who should now attempt to inspire them with resentment for former wrongs, would light up a flame, that would devastate half a world, and merit the execration of mankind, by throwing, perhaps for centuries, his country out of the pale of civilization.

There are two other points upon which I am desirous to submit to my readers a few observations, before I close this chapter, both because they have already attracted the attention of the public, and because they are intimately connected with the future prosperity of New Spain. The first of these is the proposal said to have been made by the United States, to advance a considerable sum to the new Government of Mexico for the payment of the Army, as a loan upon the province of Texas. The second, the possibility of effecting a reduction in that Army, by which so large a proportion of the revenues of the Republic is absorbed.

With regard to Texas, it is now seven years since the design of appropriating to themselves that fertile province, and thus extending their frontier to the Rio Bravo del Norte, was first attributed to the United States; nor have the Escoceses hesitated, since Mr. Poinsett's arrival in Mexico, to ascribe to an ardent wish on his part to secure this prize, the share which he has taken, or is thought to have taken, in the intestine divisions of the Republic. It is not for me to determine in how far this supposition is just; but it would derive a certain degree of plausibility, to say the least, from the confirmation of the present report, should the loan, and the terms upon which it is offered, prove to be correct. The amount is said to be twelve millions of dollars, for the repayment of which the province is to serve as a pledge.

We are not informed what security the United States propose for the restoration of the territory, in the event of the money being repaid; but when we reflect upon the perseverance, and assiduity, with which, since the acquisition of the Floridas, their establishments have been pushed in a South-Westerly direction, roads having been traced, and canals opened, in such a manner as to admit of their being prolonged at once, should an extension of territory render it advisable,—those least disposed to question the good faith of nations, will find reason to suspect that possession, if once obtained, will not easily be relinquished. Whether Guerrero will yield to the temptation, or resist it as his predecessors have done,* must be for some time matter of conjecture. To European nations the subject is not an indifferent one; for the vicinity of Texas to New Orleans, with the numerous bays, and rivers, upon its coast, would enable the United States to organize there a system of privateering, which, in the event of a war, would effectually close the ports of Tampico and Veracruz to any commercial communication not made under the American flag. To those who have formed the ideas which I entertain of the future importance of Mexico to Europe, it may seem questionable, whether an event calculated to place the access to her principal harbours so immediately under the command of a rival American power, is not deserving of attention. To those who involve the New States, and the system which has connected us with them, in one indiscriminate condemnation, the point at issue will appear trivial, and my apprehensions absurd.

I come now to the possibility of a reduction in the military establishment of New Spain, the existence of which upon its

* A large sum is said to have been offered to Iturbide, in return for a concession of the kind now contemplated; and, during Victoria's Presidency, the commercial treaty with the United States has been twice thrown out, because it contained stipulations connected with the question of boundaries, which were regarded by the Senate as inadmissible.

present footing, has been rightly pointed out as the cause, both of the breach of the public faith towards its foreign creditors, and of the internal disturbances, by which the country is afflicted.

Those who have honoured the preceding pages with any attention, will not require to be told that these disturbances have originated in no one intelligible motive, except the desire of personal aggrandisement, reduced to a system of a very peculiar character, prepared, and organized, in the Legislature itself, but carried into execution by the active co-operation of the troops.

Without these, the plans of discontented, or aspiring, civilians would have been of little consequence. It was the cannon of Perote that gave weight to the arguments of the Correo,* and it was not by reasons, but by bayonets, that Santa Anna reversed the choice of the States. As to "patriotism," and the "interests of the people," we know full well what these terms imply. They are words of all work in revolutionary times, and are no more to be taken in their literal acceptation, than another phrase, equally in vogue, "the sense of the majority;" a sense, which in Mexico, (as in other countries,) is appealed to by all parties, and sometimes supposed to exist simultaneously on opposite sides. I do not think it possible to extract from the Manifesto published by the Yorkino champion,† a single fact calculated to exonerate his party from the charge of sedition, and conspiracy, which he attempts to refute; or to point out any principle, by which the late revolution can be justified, except the well-known one of ôte toi de là, pour que je m'y mette, which the assistance of the military enabled the Yorkinos to enforce. But does their success exempt the new government

* This was the paper in which the Yorkinos promulgated their opinions, and from which I have borrowed the observations upon the plan of Montano annexed to Document No. 1.

† Mr. Zavala's Manifesto, which, from an anxious wish to do justice to all parties, I have translated, with notes.—Vide No. 6.

from an application of this same principle, in the event of the organization of a party sufficiently powerful to hazard the attempt? Undoubtedly not. On the contrary, the danger of imitation increases, in proportion to the advantages derived by the actors in the December tragedy* from their triumph; and Guerrero will be strangely mistaken in his policy, if his first use of power be not an endeavour to diminish the facilities, which isolated chieftains now enjoy, in combining a movement against the Executive.

The trammels imposed upon the President by the constitutional system are such, that it is difficult for him to make his authority in military matters sufficiently felt; and this state of things is incompatible with the existence of a numerous army, which, in the absence of a efficient control, becomes the real mistress of the country. Were the risk of invasion imminent, it might be necessary to preserve this force embodied; but in that case the powers assigned to the head of the government ought to be proportionably enlarged.

A Dictatorship, and a large standing army, might exist in perfect harmony, if there were an external enemy upon which to employ their energies. It does not appear, however, that, in the present position of Mexico and Spain, the application of these extraordinary measures can be required.

Notwithstanding the reports so assiduously circulated in the Colonies, it seems evident that the Mother country, satisfied with having placed the island of Cuba in a state of defence, has no intention to expose the forces accumulated there, by a fruitless attempt upon the continent. These forces have never yet amounted to ten thousand effective men, a number not more than sufficient for the security of the Havana, and totally incapable of making an impression upon Columbia, or

* The term will not be deemed misplaced, when I state that no less than fifteen hundred men perished during the late contest. Six hundred, when Santa Anna was defeated by Calderon before Oaxaca; and nine hundred in the streets of the Capital.

New Spain. To what purpose then is it that these countries maintain a military establishment, three times as large as that, which they might, by some remote possibility, be called upon to oppose? Their militia, and their fever-girt coasts, are their best security against attack. The Spanish soldiers still remember the daring courage of the one, and the awful mortality occasioned by the other; nor is it to be doubted that, while these impressions last, an attempt on the part of the King to form in the Peninsula another expeditionary army, sufficiently formidable to strike a decisive blow, (supposing the resources of Spain equal to the attempt,) would be more likely to shake his own throne, than to endanger the stability of the State, against which it might be destined to act.* Since the recognition of the New Republics by so many of the European Powers, the fear of the Holy Alliance, of which Transatlantic politicians were so long in dread, can no longer be alleged as a reason for keeping up a war establishment of thirty thousand men. The intercourse between the New States and the manufacturing countries of the Old World is daily increasing. France, Holland, and Northern Germany are pursuing the course traced out for them by England, with a steadiness, which, at the same time that it threatens to drive us from a market, where the priority of discovery might have given us a firmer footing, sufficiently proves that peace is both the desire, and the necessity, of the age. Nations have learnt to appreciate their true interests. They have seen how evanescent are the glories of the conqueror,—how uncertain the fruits of his most successful efforts,—how sure the day of retribution to arrive,—and they seek in the more substantial benefits of peace, and commercial intercourse, a substitute for those exciting struggles, which have so long desolated the world.

* It will be recollected, that the declaration of the army of the Isla de Leon in 1820, in favour of the Constitution, was brought about principally by the dread of an embarkation for that world, from which so few had returned. This feeling remains the same.

Let America apply these principles to her own situation, and little more is requisite to secure her happiness, and her freedom.

Her independence, rightly understood, cannot be affected by the recognition, or non-recognition, of Spain. It consists in the formation of strong, and respectable, governments,—in the organization of the revenue,—in the suppression, ay! the total eradication of those causes of internal commotions, which, since 1825, have alternately disgraced Buenos Ayres, Columbia, and New Spain. Who shall place any faith in the stability of States, where a President is shot by a detachment of his own troops with less formality than a deserter;* where another President escapes almost by miracle from assassination;† and a capital is plundered to secure the triumph of a party? In all these outrageous violations of morality and law, the army, or at least some portion of it, has taken the lead; and while that army continues upon its present footing, there is no security from similar attempts.

To reduce its force to the lowest possible standard, is the only mode of preserving tranquillity, and he will, indeed, be a benefactor to his country by whom this measure is carried into effect.

Its immediate realization was one of the conditions, upon which the moderate party gave its support to General Pedraza during the late election; for they regarded it as a first step towards the re-establishment of the public credit.

General Guerrero has not given any similar pledge; but his well-wishers are sanguine in their hopes that his accession to power will be signalized by great, and sweeping, reforms,

* I allude to the unfortunate Dorrego, whose fate is, perhaps, the most atrocious act of military despotism, that has yet stained the annals of South America.

† The attempt to remove Bolivar by assassination, is well known; and whatever may have been the motives of the party opposed to him, they cannnot palliate so unwarrantable a design.

however little the measures adopted by his party hitherto have seemed to warrant the expectation.

Much will depend upon the men, whom he may summon to his councils on taking possession of the Presidency, an event which must have occurred on the 1st of last April, unless some new disturbance intervened to delay it.

He has power, as I have already pointed out, both for good and for evil; nor do I wish to make the past a criterion for his future conduct. Great allowances must be made, in agitated times, for those, who attain the dangerous elevation of political pre-eminence. "For while it lasts, (to use the words of a well-known author,) in the whole range of mental poison, nothing corrodes like party spirit. It seems, by some demoniacal magic, to change our very being; inflames the life-blood itself, and penetrates the wholesome system of the patient, who knows not himself while under its influence."

These feelings nothing so effectually allays as the calm of success,—the undisturbed possession of authority. Upon the use made by Guerrero of this authority, therefore, we must found our opinion of his claim to enjoy it. If persecution, and violence, be the predominating principle of his government,—if the ordinary course of the laws be suspended, and military despotism substituted in their place, I shall think that the people has gained but little by the triumph of that party, which has founded its pretensions to power upon its devotion to the popular cause. If, on the other hand, justice be vigorously, and impartially, administered,—the expenses of the establishment reduced,—the factitious importance of the army diminished,—and an impulse given to the internal organization of the State,—I shall be the first to acknowledge the advantages of the change, and to offer my tribute of praise to him, to whom these advantages are due.

Of the obligations, under which foreigners have been placed to the ruling party by the manner in which their persons and property were protected, at a time when such protection cannot have been afforded them without extraordinary exertions,

I have already spoken. Not to acknowledge them would be ungrateful; not duly to appreciate them, unjust. They offer a favourable presumption for our future intercourse, and upon this intercourse, as affecting both the mining, and commercial, interests of New Spain, the developement of its resources as a country depends. A very few months of judicious administration would be sufficient to give a new impulse to trade, which can only be checked by absolute mismanagement; nor is it impossible for the new President, within a single twelvemonth, by reforming the Tariff, so long the object of desultory discussion, to equalize once more the receipts and the expenditure, and, by meeting his engagements with Europe, to redeem the credit of the Republic. Till then, there is little prospect that the interest evinced towards the New States, five years ago, will revive. The disappointments, both political, and pecuniary, have been too numerous to admit of even a hope of amelioration, except amongst those, whom an intimate acquaintance with the resources of New Spain, as well as with the causes of the temporary suspension of its progress, has convinced of the importance, which it must, at no distant period, attain. Amongst these, I do not scruple to class myself; and, impressed as I am with the conviction that the policy, which opened the New World to us, was a policy, the wisdom of which every succeeding year will tend to demonstrate, I confess, that I see with regret the advantages, which we had already obtained there, sacrificed to despondency, and doubt. Where are the spirit of enterprize,—the perseverance,—the consistency, of which we once boasted? Enterprize, indeed, we showed at the outset; but it was not preceded by inquiry, or regulated by knowledge. And how have we repaired the errors then committed? As information has been acquired, indifference has increased; not because that information has borne an unfavourable character, but because it has fallen short of some of those visionary wonders, which imagination

at first, was pleased to depict. To this feeling substantial benefits have been offered up, and it is now difficult, even amongst the most judicious, to obtain a hearing upon a subject, which, in 1824, absorbed every mind.

My readers will perceive by the freedom with which I have spoken of the late revolution in Mexico, that I am not one of those, who indulge in wilful deceptions, in order to deduce from them theories of imaginary improvement. I know that the good and the bad must ever be mingled in an infant State; and I record, the one with pleasure, the other with regret, but both, with conscientious simplicity, and truth. I shall not apologise even to Mexicans for this freedom: it is the best proof of the sincerity of my regard. With respect to my own countrymen, the reception given to the first edition of my work, the greatest part of which was written at a time when the state of New Spain was such as to warrant the expectations which I held out respecting it, renders it doubly incumbent upon me not to modify, or disguise, my opinion of the events that have since occurred. These events have, in many respects, been highly injurious to the country: they have impaired its credit, and endangered the stability of any government that may now be established; but still I regard them as a transitory evil. They have not attacked the Independence, or materially diminished the internal resources of the Republic: they have impeded, but not cut short, its progress; and now that the struggle in which they originated is at an end, in six months an efficient system of government may repair the calamities, which a divided government has caused.

I am willing to hope that this may be the case; and, should this hope be realized to such an extent as to prevent any new interruption of tranquillity, I shall look forward with confidence to the accomplishment, in the present year, of those predictions with regard to the mines, in which I have been accused of being too sanguine, because they were not accomplished during the last.

ANNEXED DOCUMENTS.

DOCUMENT, No. 1.

PLAN OF MONTANO,

WITH OBSERVATIONS BY THE YORKINO PAPERS, AND THE ENGLISH TRANSLATOR

ARTICLE 1.—The Supreme Government shall submit immediately to the General Congress of the Federation a law, prohibiting, throughout the Republic, every species of Secret Society, whatever be its denomination, or origin.

ARTICLE 2.—The Supreme Government shall make an entire change in the present Secretaries of State, placing in each department men of acknowledged probity, virtue, and merit.

ARTICLE 3.—The President shall order his passports to be immediately given to the Minister of the United States of the North, now accredited to this Republic.

ARTICLE 4.—He shall enforce scrupulously, and religiously, our Federal Constitution, and the existing laws.

J. MANUEL MONTAÑO.

Otumba, 23d Dec,. 1827.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE PLAN OF MONTANO BY THE YORKINO PAPERS.

We again assure our readers, that the plan of Montaño is of a Bourbonistical, and Monarchical, tendency. We will prove the assertion by an analysis of its articles.

The first, requires the Supreme Government of the Union to submit to the Chambers a law for the suppression of all Secret Societies. And what are these Secret Societies? Two different Masonic Orders are known to exist amongst us, the members of which are distinguished by the names of Escoceses, and Yorkinos. The first formed their association in the year 1820, when the Spanish Constitutional system was re-established in Mexico; and their sole object was to maintain the Constitution sanctioned by the Cortes in 1812; at that time, a very laudable design. In February 1821, General Iturbide proclaimed the plan of Iguala, which the Escoceses supported to the utmost of their abilities, exerting themselves, after the establishment of the Independence, to raise a throne in Mexico, and to place upon it Ferdinand the monster, or some member of his detestable family.* The coronation of Iturbide cut short this project; but their hopes revived upon the fall of the Emperor, and, although the nation, following the example of the heroic Jalisco, pronounced itself in favour of the Federal System, declaring by this act its abhorrence of monarchy, the Escoceses have never ceased to labour in order to bring us back from Federation to Centralism, and from this to the yoke, more fearful than death itself, of the perfidious Ferdinand, or some other of his class.

The obstinacy of the Escoceses irritated the true Patriots, who, effecting a revolution in the Scotch Lodges, quitted them for ever in 1825, and united themselves under the auspices of the saving Order of York, with no other object than to maintain, at any price, the Independence of the country, and its Federal Constitution. This change produced, at first, but little alarm amongst the Escoceses, who were then in possession of the Government, and fancied that nothing could affect the stability of their power: but in 1826, they learnt, to their sorrow, that it is impossible to arrest the impulse of a

* Vide observations of Translator at the end of this article.

people determined to be free. The Mexicans, forming with the Yorkinos a national party, triumphed in the elections of Mexico, Toluca, and a thousand other towns ; and the Escoceses, unable to contain their fury against a coalition, which had torn from their hands the management of affairs, immemediately began to vent their rage in the Sol, and other party papers. Notwithstanding this, the Yorkinos, in the course of the year, added daily to the number of their triumphs ; until their rivals, seeing themselves lost, availed themselves of their influence in the State of Veracruz in order to effect, through its medium, the destruction of their opponents. Let us not deceive ourselves ; if the law should pass, as required by Montaño, we should see in other States what we have seen in Veracruz, where, at the same time that, under the pretence of a decree sanctioned by the Legislature, the Yorkino Associations are put down, and the members individually persecuted, the Scotch Lodges continue to meet with impunity, and to reckon amongst their attendants some of the most influential persons in the province.

In the second article of Montaño's plan, the dismissal of the present Ministers is demanded.

It is evident that this cannot apply to the Minister of the Finance department, because there is none ; or to the Minister of Justice, for he, if public report can be trusted, belongs to the elect. Nor can Montaño allude to the Minister *ad interim* of the Home Department, for it is said that the Minister of Justice does with him what he pleases, which is the more credible, because the gentleman, in his own proper person, is neither fish nor flesh. The whole weight of the article falls therefore exclusively, and absolutely, upon that most decided, and incorruptible, Patriot, General Gomez Pedraza, the Minister of War, without whose energy the plans of Arenas, Arana, and their associates, would, probably, have been already successful.

We ought also to observe, that this article of the Plan

attacks the constitutional rights of the President, who is authorised to appoint, and remove, at pleasure, the Secretaries of State.

In the third article, the dismissal of the Minister of the United States is proposed, because this sage politician being held to be the director of the Yorkinos, the Escoceses hope to disorganize the society by depriving it of his assistance. Poor devils!

In the fourth article it is said that the President shall enforce scrupulously, and religiously, our Federal Constitution, and the existing laws. This article is the saving clause of the Plan, the gilding of the pill, which the nation is invited to swallow! The factious wish to cover themselves with the cloak of Federalism, in order to open a road for the proclamation of Bourbonism.*

Yes, traitors, your views are discovered! No one has attacked the Constitution, or the laws, nor have you ever sought to defend them; but you wish to represent as unconstitutional those decrees for the expulsion of old Spaniards, which have been recently issued by the Legislatures of some of the States, as well as by the Congress of the Union. Let the pages of the Sol, and the Observador, be examined,†—let the speeches of some notorious deputies, and Senators, be perused, and this truth will be acknowledged. Be on your guard, Mexicans,—the Plan of Montaño, and his directors, has for its object to prevent the banishment of the Spaniards, to avert the chastisement now impending over the criminal conspirators against our independence,—to destroy our institutions,

* Vide Observations.

† Two papers, in the latter of which, more particularly, the rights of the old Spaniards were advocated with a talent, which, had the cause been fairly tried, could hardly have failed to produce a revulsion of feeling in their favour. I know few more eloquent State Papers, than the two numbers of the Observador upon this subject.

and to place us once more under the execrable yoke of a Bourbon.

CORREO DE LA FEDERACION.

3rd Jan. 1828.

OBSERVATIONS OF ENGLISH EDITOR.

In translating a document calculated to throw light upon the feelings of a powerful party, I have not thought it right to change, or modify, expressions, the impropriety of which, if used by an English author individually, would be too glaring to require any disavowal. With regard to the arguments employed by the Yorkino Editor, I shall beg leave to make the following observations.

It is admitted that the Escoces Lodge rendered essential services to the country up to the year 1825; that it was instrumental in the establishment, first of the Spanish Constitution, and secondly, of the Independence, by promoting the plan of Iguala; and that it was not favourable to the usurpation of Iturbide. In none of these events did the Yorkinos, as a party, take any share; nor did they contribute, (by their own showing) to the adoption of the Federal System, of which they have since proclaimed themselves the champions.

As late as the middle of 1826, the Government continued to be, in a great measure, in the hands of those, to whose efforts its establishment was due. That some of these individuals had been favourable, in 1821, to a Constitutional Monarchy under a Bourbon Prince, and others more inclined to a Central, than to a Federal, Republic, there is no doubt; but that question being set at rest by the Constitution of 1824, the results of their administration, during which the country certainly attained the highest degree of prosperity that it has yet reached, sufficiently prove that the Escoceses entertained no projects of interfering with the established order of things. The fact of their having been originally inclined to a different

system, was, nevertheless, seized upon by their opponents,—the *novi homines*, whom the hopes of power, and place, attracted to the Capital; and this with the more avidity, because an accusation of Bourbonism, however ill-substantiated, was sufficient to shake the best founded popularity.

Thus, as passions grew warm, we have seen it applied without hesitation, or discrimination, to men of the most opposite characters, and amongst the rest, to some who had grown old in the war of Independence, or sacrificed the largest portion of their property for the attainment of that, against which they were accused of conspiring. And accused by whom? By men, whose reputation was confined to the Clubs, which had first given them a political existence, and who derived from their numbers alone an importance, to which their individual services gave them not the slightest claim.

It was evident that a contest thus carried on could not terminate in peace: the question was, which of the parties should become the aggressor by striking the first blow. Bravo was induced to commit this fatal error, and that, before his plans were sufficiently ripe to be carried simultaneously into execution. There is reason to believe, however, that, premature as his declaration was, had he not shut himself up in Tulancingo, his cause would have been espoused by thousands, who afterwards joined the victors. It was a question of *time*, between him and the Executive, and I am assured that, in many instances, when the news of his defeat arrived, a very few hours more would have armed the population in his favour.

Had this been the case, Mexico would have been spared many, and great, calamities; for I cannot but regard as such both the general expulsion of the Spaniards, and the still more disastrous emigration, into which the terror inspired by the ruling party has driven the most respectable, and influential, of the Creoles themselves.

The remarks of the Correo upon the illegality of the Plan of Montaño, are, however, perfectly just. It was illegal, no doubt; but let its criminality be compared with the Yorkino plan, by which it was followed, (that of Santa Anna, which the editors of the Correo defended,) and my readers will then be enabled to judge of the weight, to which their patriotic declamations against the Escoceses are entitled.

With the exception of the removal of the Yorkino Ministers, there was nothing unconstitutional in the objects proposed by Bravo.

The abolition of Secret Societies, if carried into effect with good faith on both sides, (and such I firmly believe to have been his intention,) would have been a blessing to the country; nor could the strict enforcement of the laws, or the removal of a Foreign Minister, (provided the charge of interference in the internal affairs of the country, to which he was accredited, were brought home to him,) be construed into a violation of the Federal Act.

DOCUMENT, No. II.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES TO HIS FELLOW CITIZENS.

After the agitation experienced throughout the Republic, in consequence of the desire manifested by the People to expel from our territory certain Spaniards, considered as conspirators against our independence, and liberties; and after that the General Congress, always attentive to the rational, moderate, and just desires of the Mexicans, had sanctioned the law of the 20th of December, for the better security of the country,* the moment seemed approaching, so ardently

* By this law a discretionary power of giving their passports to suspected Spaniards was assigned to the governors of the States.

desired by me, when I should see the Republic restored to a state of complete tranquillity, and repose.

But the secret enemies of the United Mexican States, who have been long occupied in sowing the seeds of discord amongst us, begin to reap the fruits of their perfidy in the new Revolution, which, under their suggestion, and guidance, has sprung up in the Northern parts of the State of Mexico, during the last days of the year which has just expired.

The Plan, which these new Insurgents have published, with arms in their hands, professes to induce the Government to propose to the Legislative Power measures long since suggested, and to deprive me, personally, by violent means, of the privileges conceded to me, in virtue of my office, by the Sacred Constitution of the Republic.

In the opinion of the Government, however, this Plan comprises projects of a much more extensive nature, and threatens with danger the Federal System itself, adopted spontaneously by the nation for the better security of its well-being, and happiness. The Revolution breaks out upon the approach of the day so much feared by our enemies, when the termination of the trials for the late conspiracy will demonstate the reality of those machinations, which the vigilance of the Executive has baffled, and which has only been questioned hitherto, because it has been impossible to bring the judicial proceedings to a close, and to lay before the public their results.* The Revolution breaks out when the Executive has

* This passage refers to the conspiracy of the Padre Arenas, the real character of which will never, probably, be ascertained. The Escoceses maintain that the plot was got up in order to commit the Spaniards, and their Creole friends. The Yorkinos assert that it was the fruit of their intrigues. But even admitting that there was a *bonâ fide* conspiracy, in which Arenas, and a few other friars, had dabbled, there is no doubt that a most unfair advantage was taken of it by the Yorkinos, in order to raise the cry of Bourbonism against some of the most distinguished of their adversaries, whose connexion with the plot they en-

received from the law new vigour, and force sufficient to eradicate for ever the causes of those evils, which we have suffered ever since we were delivered from distant oppressors, and entrusted with the direction of our own affairs.

The progress of seduction has been rapid, nor can I conceal from my fellow-citizens, without betraying their dearest interests, that the evil is great; and that, since I was placed at the head of affairs, the country has not been in similar danger. The Government has seen with the deepest sorrow that our indefatigable enemies have taken advantage of the candour of some good Mexicans, in order to corrupt them, and to obscure the lustre of their former services by turning their arms against their innocent country. It is said that not only individual officers, and soldiers, belonging to the garrison of the Capital have quitted it without the orders of the Executive, but that the vice-President of the Republic has done the same, misled by those, who, unfortunately, know too well the guileless heart of this old servant of the Independence.

In the midst of the grief, which these events have produced in my mind, I have not hesitated, and never will hesitate as long as I live, in acting up to my engagements, and fulfilling my duty to my country. The Government is employing all the resources, which the Constitution places within its reach for days of trial; and it relies for success upon the holy principles which it supports,—the firmness and wisdom of the Congress, the co-operation of the Legislatures, and Authorities in the States, and the inextinguishable love professed by all Mexicans for their liberties, and present institutions.

The nation, in the mean time, shall be informed of events as they occur. Reserves are unworthy of me, and of a libe-

deavoured to establish by singling out their personal friends amongst the Spanish residents as victims. This led to the arrest of Generals Echavarri and Negrete, against whom, on their trial, not the slightest evidence was adduced.

ral, simple, and philanthropical administration. I appeal to the good sense of the Mexican people! I appeal to its sense of dignity, and honour! To preserve its existence,—to increase and perpetuate its happiness, I will omit no sacrifice,—not even that of my life. I have always consecrated this life to my duties as a citizen. I do not fear that the assertion will be disproved.

(Signed) GUADALUPE VICTORIA.

Mexico, 2d. January, 1828.

DOCUMENT No. III.

EXTRACTS FROM BRAVO'S MANIFESTO, WITH NOTES.

After a modest *exposé* of his services during the Revolution, as well as in the restoration of order after the fall of Iturbide, Bravo proceeds to point out "the existence of a Faction alike opposed to tranquillity, and to legal restraints,—and determined, by assuming the character of exclusive patriotism, to make itself master of the Government, and to extend its pernicious influence to every class of society."—p. 10.

"By sowing discord amongst the men, whose united efforts had triumphed over Spain, overturned the throne of Iturbide, and repressed anarchy at the close of 1823, this Faction endeavoured to effect a revolution in the centre of power,—that is, in the Government itself. For this it was necessary to organize secret associations, by means of which uniformity and harmony might be established in its operations in every corner of the Republic. Very little progress was made in this scheme during the years 1824, and 1825, (the most prosperous years yet known by the Republic;) but, unfortunately, at this critical moment, our territory was visited by a Minister from the United States of the North,* who has shown in his

* The gentleman here referred to is Mr. Poinsett, to whom the Esco-

political conduct but little of that delicacy, and circumspection, which ought to be observed by those of his rank, with respect to the internal affairs of the nation to which they are accredited. Driven from Chile by the dissensions, which his interference in the politics of that country occasioned, he did not hesitate to introduce himself into Mexico, and to bring us the same fatal present. He soon perceived that there were amongst us elements of discord, which might easily be combined, and which, if formed into a faction sufficiently strong to lord it over the Government, and yet to remain devoted to himself, would give him the means of acquiring advantages in favour of his own cabinet, which it would be difficult otherwise to obtain;* while, on the other hand, this new auxiliary, who so suddenly and fatally presented himself, gave a sort of consistency to the projects of the factious, who, from that moment, began to carry on hostilities more openly against their country.

"The most discordant, and heterogeneous, elements united in order to tyrannise the State, attacking and destroying all who opposed them, and violating both the laws, and the rights of individuals, when they found that they could not secure by any other mode the triumph of a coalition resolved to make a patrimony of the Republic. Up to this period the Constitution had been respected, and parties, however excited, kept within the bounds which it prescribed. Nobody had entertained the idea of breaking through those useful restraints, which guarantee, at the same time, public liberty, and the happiness of the citizen: enough of morality, and shame, remained amongst us to forbid the attempt, and

ceses attribute no small share of the misfortunes, with which Mexico has been visited.

* Bravo here alludes to the treaty of Boundaries, by which the cession of the country North of the Rio Bravo was claimed by the United States.

the most violent were compelled to keep within the letter of the law.

"But in the middle of 1826, the Faction having extended its ramifications to every part of the Federation, aided and protected by the Executive itself, broke down the feeble dikes no longer able to oppose it, and, like a desolating torrent, precipitated itself upon the country. The most deserving men became the objects of its persecution,—the most sacred laws, of its contempt. Freed from the apprehensions, which had compelled it for a time to disguise its views, it proclaimed, with reckless insolence, plans of proscription, and death.* In order to execute these plans, it was necessary to acquire an influence in the Congress of the Union, as well as in the Legislatures of the States, and, by securing adherents in the ministry, and in the tribunals of justice,† to render illusory in every way the responsibility of public functionaries; for by such arts alone was it possible to trample upon the rights of the people, and to dispose without contradiction of the destinies of the State.

"The elections which took place in the autumn of 1826, first showed the operation of this new system. The most precious, and most important, of our political rights—the free election of the representatives of the people, and the guardians of the laws,—was violated without shame, or concealment, in the principal cities of the Republic.‡ Seduction and bribery

* Denunciations of supposed conspiracies, and projects for the expulsion of the Spanish residents, date from this period.

† There is no doubt that, in the tribunals of Mexico, during the late struggle, a spirit prevailed not unlike that complained of in Ireland at the present moment; and that causes were decided, not so much with a view to the merits of the case, as to the Lodges to which the parties belonged. The injustice, however, was reciprocal, whenever the Yorkinos had not secured a vantage ground, by forestalling their adversaries.

‡ It is needless to observe that these accusations are mutual, and that it is extremely difficult to decide which party was most to blame. Bribery, corruption, and calumnies of all kinds were resorted to on both

flattery and threats, were the principal springs put in motion upon this occasion. Yet, although the existence of these, and worse, abuses was clearly, and legally, demonstrated, the Congress of the Union, misled by the genius of evil, sanctioned the monstrous birth, and, by interposing its authority in the States, annulled the salutary measures of those Legislatures, by which its illegitimacy was declared.*

What might have been expected, ensued. Impunity encouraged the least enterprising. The violation of the laws was esteemed of so little consequence, that it was established as a principle that the safety of the country should always be preferred to their observance:—A daring, and insolent, minister scrupled not to proclaim in the sanctuary of the law, that "the Constitution itself was but a sheet of paper;" and this scandalous assertion was allowed to pass unnoticed.† The

sides, as they must be, whenever a popular election takes place; but it must certainly be admitted that the infractions of the law, on the part of the Yorkinos, at Toluca, (to which Bravo alludes,) were particularly notorious, and very satisfactorily brought home to them.

* Some of the States, (as Mexico,) declared the elections null, in consequence of the illegality of the proceedings by which they had been effected. The Yorkinos protested, and with reason, against this assumption of a right on the part of an existing assembly to decide upon the validity of the choice of its successors. The question was decided in their favour by the General Congress, and the new Legislatures being thus invested with the power of determining whether they had, or had not, been duly returned, of course, sanctioned the measures, by which so desirable a result had been produced.

† Bravo alludes to a speech attributed to General Gomez Pedraza, to whose decision, and activity, as a member of the Government which Bravo attacked, the failure of the plan of Montano may be mainly attributed. The expression, taken as it stands, is an unfortunate one; (we all know the use which may be made of such a term as "breaking in upon a Constitution," in the mouth of a minister,) but the fact is, that in Mexico, the Constitution was the favourite weapon of all, who wished to attack the Executive. Its complicated machinery was fitted only for times of tranquillity, and men of peace. When conspiracies were afloat, it delivered the Government, bound hand and foot,

tribunals and offices of the Federation were filled, in the course of a few months, with men unfitted by their education and character to hold office, and recommended only by their connection with the Faction; while officers grown old in the public service, and distinguished by a triumphant career during the war of Independence, were driven from the army, in order to make way for obscure individuals unworthy to replace them, and who, in many instances, had been deprived of their former employments on account of their reprehensible conduct. The liberty of the press was destroyed by the institution of Yorkino Juries,* while in order the better to introduce the reign of terror, and the empire of the Faction, laws intended to apply to local, and peculiar, circumstances were declared to be the Constitutional law of the land, and room was thus given for the judicial extermination of all, whom the Yorkinos chose to designate as their victims.

In so deplorable a state of affairs, it became necessary to go to the very source of the evil, tearing up by the root the Secret Societies which had caused it, and neutralizing the efforts of the principal leaders of the Faction, two of whom where charged with the direction of Government departments, while the third was the Minister of the United States of the North. It was equally important to demand the observance of laws so often, and so scandalously infringed by those, to whom the nation had entrusted their execution.

Such, I was convinced, was the wish of the people, as

into the power of its opponents, who appealed to the protection of the laws, until the moment arrived when a successful insurrection enabled them to set them at defiance.

* This was one of the points upon which the Yorkinos displayed most activity, and ingenuity. The juries, before which causes of libel were tried, are composed of a certain number of persons previously designated; and so completely had the Yorkinos secured a majority amongst these jurors, that, in 1827, it seems to have been as impossible to convict a Yorkino writer, as it was difficult for an Escoces to escape.

proved by the representations of the States* against Secret Societies, and in favour of the expulsion of the Minister of the North ;† and this conviction induced me to prevail upon some of my friends to declare in favour of a Plan, which, in four articles, embraced all these points.

My principal regret on quitting the land in which I hoped to die, is, that my exertions have not proved sufficient to give to the Congress, and the Executive, that liberty which they want, or to induce my countrymen to quit the path which they are now pursuing; a path, which, sooner or later, must lead both them and the Republic into an abyss of calamities.‡ As to myself individually, when I embarked in the Revolution I never expected to survive it; and he may well contemn life, who has seen the ruin of his country. It is not misfortune, but crime, that dishonours a man; and the page of history will not associate the name of Bravo with any unworthy action.

Fellow Citizens!—If you indeed wish to be free, if you

* In November 1827, the Governors of the States transmitted to Congress, almost unanimously, a series of reports, in which they solicited the abolition of Masonic Societies. The measure was decreed, but not until too late, supposing even that it would have been possible, at any period, to carry it into execution. The law, however, was received with great demonstrations of joy in the States.

† I am not aware that any State except Veracruz had recourse to this step, of which there are few examples in the annals of modern diplomacy. The address of the Legislature of Veracruz to the President, together with the defence of Mr. Poinsett's conduct by his friend Mr. Zavala, were printed in Mexico, and have been circulated here.

‡ The events of December last may be regarded as a proof that Bravo's fears were neither exaggerated, nor unfounded. His friends always asserted that the Yorkinos would never submit to a President not belonging to their own party without an appeal to arms; and, although it is the fashion of the day to represent the pillage of the Capital as the "triumph of popular principles," I confess that I can discover no principle established by it, which it would not have been for the credit of Mexico to have dispensed with.

set any value upon the rights of the country, or your own, do not forget that it is to things, and not to names, that you must attach importance. To live happy, it is not enough to call yourselves free, you must strive to merit freedom. Do not enable your old mistress to tell the nations who have acknowledged your Independence, or are about to take this important step; "the Mexicans are unworthy of the name of an independent people, nor do they merit a place amongst the civilized nations of the world." You want nothing but concord, a just regard for the rights of your fellow-citizens, and a moderate, and equitable, administration. Recollect the years of 1824, and 1825. They form an epoch in your history, and point out the course which you ought to follow. It is still time to do so: let there be no more enmity, and persecution; no more trifling with the law: let me and my companions be the last victims sacrificed to party hostility;* and our misfortunes may then become the seeds of future happiness, and prosperity, to our country.

NICHOLAS BRAVO.

Mexico, April 20, 1828.

OBSERVATIONS OF ENGLISH EDITOR.

That such were Bravo's real motives I am most firmly convinced; but it does not follow that they were not erroneous, because they were sincere. He felt strongly, no doubt, the ruin entailed upon his political followers by the persecutions, to which they were subjected on his account, of which the Manifesto contains no exaggerated picture; he felt too the injustice of the means taken to exclude him from the Presidency, by holding him up as the friend and companion of traitors; and private wrongs enhanced, as they usually do,

* Fifteen hundred men have perished during the late contest. Six hundred in Oxaca, and nine hundred in the streets of the Capital. I should say with Bravo, may these be the last, did I not fear that my wishes would not be more effective than his.

his sense of the evils, which a perseverance in such a system could hardly fail to entail upon the country. But none of these considerations, nor all combined, can justify, even in a prudential sense, his departure from those principles, to which he had so long, and so honourably, adhered. As the advocate of order, of moderation, of peace, he stood at the head of the most respectable portion of the community; he was the representative of their interests, the protector of their rights; and however ingenious calumny might be in the attacks directed against him, the weight and dignity of his character invariably proved sufficient to repel them, without any of those explanations, or recriminations, in which Spanish Statesmen so constantly indulge. By one fatal error he forfeited all these advantages. He became, (though, perhaps, in a better cause,) what he had so often reprobated in others, an armed expostulator with the Constitutional head of the country; in other words an insurgent, a party chief, resolved to recognize no ministry but one of his own selection; and he fell. It is not improbable that those who have since had recourse to a similar movement would have shared the same fate, had they not enlisted in their cause passions, to which Bravo could not, and would not, appeal. He, who in a half-civilized country opens the door to plunder, and proscription, may easily swell the number of his adherents: he, who wishes to enforce discipline, and to make authority respected, unless favoured by adventitious circumstances, is almost sure to succumb.

DOCUMENT No. IV.

ADDRESS OF THE LIBERATING ARMY TO THE PEOPLE OF ANAHUAC.*

WHEN a People is oppressed, when its most fervent desires, directed towards the preservation of its liberty, are contradicted; when its just remonstances are disregarded by those, in whose hands it has deposited the sovereign power, and the still more precious charge of ensuring its future felicity; that People has no other resource than the sacred right of insurrection! Such is, this day, the fate of the unfortunate Republic of Mexico.

An experience of three centuries has made us acquainted with the obstinate character of our enemies. Well did the Scyths say to Alexander, "There is no real friendship between the master and the slave; in the middle of peace the right of war still subsists." This is a maxim which the Spaniards have adopted; for neither the impotency to which their miserable country is reduced, nor the state of wretchedness in which it is sunk, have induced them to abandon the idea of our subjugation. Thus we see them, at one time, maintaining a fleet, and assembling troops in considerable numbers at the Havana, and at another, sending secret agents into the very heart of the Republic, in order to divide, and destroy us.

Let the free State of Zempoala serve to illustrate this, torn as it is by a faction, the enemy of liberty, and striving, under

* The very title of this Manifesto is absurd. It was very well to talk of Liberating Armies during the war of Independence, but after the expulsion of the foreign enemy, against what could a force, thus denominated, be directed, except against the Government, and institutions, of the country?

the pretence of the public good, to undermine that social edifice, which has cost the valorous Mexicans so much blood, and labour. The most ignorant villages know the means of which the spirit of intrigue has availed itself, in order to carry its purposes into effect. The Plan of Montaño, the scandal of which is still fresh amongst us,—a Plan, which threatened the existence of the Supreme Government, but which our worthy Legislature promised to sustain at every risk, sufficiently proves that impure, though skilful, hands are plotting our destruction.*

In short, if it were necessary, in this brief manifesto, to relate all that our enemies have attempted, in order to plunge us into a sea of calamities, and to raise, upon the ruins of the Republic, the detestable monarchy of the Bourbons,—it would require a volume to contain them.

At present, nothing is so interesting to them as the project of calling to the Supreme Magistracy a minister, whose character is viewed with suspicion by the nation, and from whom it would be easy to obtain the sacrifice of our Independence, and liberty. What can we expect from a man, who, without any other merit than his duplicity,—without any other influence than the gold of perverse conspirators,†—

* In this passage two things are to be remarked; first, the admirable coolness with which Santa Anna speaks of a Plan, in which he was himself engaged up to the moment of its failure; and secondly, that, while reprobating this Plan, as favourable to the cause of Spain, he refuses to see that an equal share of blame attaches to the project, in which he was about to embark. In what does the difference between the revolution attempted by Bravo, and that executed by the Yorkinos, consist, except, indeed, in the motives, and the result.

† The term of conspirators implies the Old Spaniards, and the Escoses, or Moderate, party. The first supported Pedraza, because, under the safe-guard of his administration, they hoped to escape from Yorkino persecution;—the second, because, whatever might be their opinion of his conduct towards Bravo, they knew that, if he were President, neither Santa Anna, nor any similar adventurer, would disturb the peace of the Republic with impunity.

aspires to occupy the Presidential chair? He, nevertheless, is one of the secret enemies of the country: he is pointed out by the inhabitants of Oaxaca as the cause of their misfortunes;* and, since his elevation to the ministry, he has done nothing but dictate measures calculated to place him above all legal restraints.† If he has ever shed blood upon the field of battle, it has been that of the Mexicans, in defence of the throne of Ferdinand:‡ and by his deeds in the posts which he held during the war, we may judge of his future conduct, when in possession of a more elevated situation.

And shall the Army, which has always been the champion of the rights of the people,—that Army, which tore from the hands of its tyrants this precious portion of the world, and gave to liberty a new existence, by shaking off, subsequently, the domestic yoke,—be now a patient witness of the evils which its enemies are bringing upon the country? No! rather let us shed our blood to avert them, and to repel the danger with which it is threatened.

Nor let it be said, on this account, that the Liberating Army is capable of refusing obedience to the Supreme Government. It has merely pronounced itself in favour of the general opinion, because it is resolved to sustain the wishes, and liberties, of the nation; because it knows the difference be-

* Oaxaca, in consequence of its distance from the Capital, was the scene, upon which the Yorkinos usually commenced the execution of their plans. The first Grito (cry) for the expulsion of the Spaniards was raised there. Pedraza checked these attempts, latterly, with a vigorous hand, and became as unpopular with the party by doing so, as he had been popular during Bravo's affair.

† A similar accusation was preferred by Bravo, and the Yorkinos then defended eagerly "the incorruptible, and patriotic, minister," by whom the laws were so admirably enforced.

‡ This accusation embraces all the officers of the Creole army, as well as General Pedraza, not excepting Santa Anna himself, although, from his extreme youth, he took neither an active, nor a distinguished, part in

tween suborbination, and slavery;* and because a deep interest in the glory of the country, and in the preservation of the sacred deposit of its imprescriptible rights, will not allow soldiers, as citizens, and sons of the soil to which they owe their birth,† to see unmoved the approach of a desolating civil war, which, in the present crisis, undoubtedly threatens the Republic.

Representatives of all the States! you, who have disregarded the wishes of the People, see, unless you change your course, the Americans envolved in a fratricidal war, the very idea of which makes me shudder, because you have not conciliated their interests with their will.‡ It is in your power to save us! The name of the Hero of the South is repeated with unspeakable enthusiasm in every part of the Republic. His valour and constancy combined, have engraved upon the hearts of the Mexicans the image of their felicity. They wish to confide to him the delicate, and sacred, deposit of the Executive Power; because they know that his soul is superior to the intrigues of our enemies; that neither

the beginning of the war. Nothing, however, can be more ill-judged than to moot a question, which would commit all those who entered the army before 1821, and exclude them from employment, as enemies to the liberty of their country.

* This is a very nice distinction; peculiar, I fancy, to new Republics; at least, in the military code of Europe, I am not aware that any such principle is admitted.

† Santa Anna, upon reconsidering this passage, would probably exclaim with Lord Byron, "I don't pretend that I quite understand my own meaning when I would be very fine," but such obscurity, however admissible in poetry, is highly embarrassing to the translator of State papers. As to the argumentative part, the propriety of beginning a civil war in order to avoid one, seems rather problematical.

‡ These remonstrances would be perfectly natural in the mouth of the Captain of the Prætorian guards, or a Chief of the Janizaries, whom the Sultan has just put down in Turkey. Amongst Constitutional soldiers, they are factious, and subversive, nor is it possible for us to designate them in milder terms.—Note of Spanish Editors.

the vicissitudes of fortune, nor the seductions of authority, can corrupt the even tenour of his patriotic character; and that he would willingly sacrifice himself upon the altar of the country, rather than suffer the slightest infraction of the Federal System, by which we are ruled.

The People has signified sufficiently its intentions. Its opinion has not been respected; and now, wearied out with the machinations of its detestable domestic enemies, the Nation raises its voice, in union with the Army, to the August Sanctuary of the laws, and the Supreme Executive of the country, demanding a remedy for impending evils, which may be found in the following Plan.*

Art. 1.—The People and the Army annul the election made in favour of the Minister of War, Don Manuel Gomez Pedraza; whom they refuse to acknowledge, in any way, either as President, or Vice-President of the Republic, in consequence of his declared hostility to our Federal Institutions.†

2.—The Spanish residents in the Republic being the primary cause of our grievances, a law for their actual expulsion is demanded of the Chambers of the Union.

Art. 3.—It being necessary to give stability to the security of the country, and to the Federal System, under which we

* It is needless to point out the fallacy of supposing that the will of the country could be ascertained by any other medium than the votes of the States. Nor was Santa Anna better entitled to assume that eleven obscure officers, in conjunction with himself, were fit representatives of the views of that Army, by which he was subsequently besieged, and subdued, although the fall of the Capital preserved him, ultimately, from the disgrace of being shot.

† There is nothing that the People and the Army united may not be made to do in countries, where "the sacred right of insurrection" is admitted as a principle of national law. It is impossible to prescribe any bounds to their authority, and I have consequently not the least doubt that the proposal contained in this article, is perfectly equitable, and legitimate.

happily live, we demand that his Excellency General Don Vicente Guerrero be declared President of the Republic.

Art. 4.—The Legislatures of those States, which have disregarded in their choice the wishes of their constituents, shall proceed instantly to make a new election, in conformity to the desires of the country, and with a view to preserve it from the horrors of a civil war.

Art. 5.—The Liberating Army has for its object to avoid the effusion of Mexican blood, unless compelled to shed it in self-defence.*

The force which thus advocates the rights of the People, protests obedience to the Constitution of the United Mexican States, and to his Excellency the President, Don Guadalupe Victoria, but it will not lay down its arms until it sees all the above Articles complied with.

Head Quarters of the Liberating Army at Perote, 10th September, 1828.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

REMARKS OF ENGLISH TRANSLATOR.

Such are the principles, or rather the *no*-principles, upon which the intervention of a portion of the Mexican Army in the late election is justified. With the exception of the hackneyed cry of Bourbonism, by which the most valuable members of the Republic have been, successively, driven into exile, not one charge is brought against the man, in whose favour the legitimate organs of the people had pronounced themselves; yet his exclusion from the Presidency, and Vice-Presidency, is demanded by a few factious officers, the partizans of his rival; and those who hesitate before they obey the mandate, are denounced as responsible for the evils, which the contest may bring upon the Republic.

* Vide Observations.

A more daring perversion of language, and of common sense, it would not be easy to point out. Treason is called an assertion of the Rights of the People;—obedience to the laws, a provocation of civil war! The Constitution is invoked by the very men, who violate its most essential articles; and, in the same breath, obedience to the Government is protested, and denied! Melancholy, indeed, must be the state of that country, where such men, and such ideas, can obtain even a momentary ascendency. I am aware that they have only done so by pandering to the passions of the multitude; but this alliance with prejudice, persecution, and rapine, does not either ennoble the motives of the parties, or render their success less dangerous to the State.

DOCUMENT No. V.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES TO HIS FELLOW-CITIZENS.

General Antonio, Lopez, de Santa Anna, deprived by the Legislature of the State of Veracruz of the office of Vice-governor,* has fled from the town of Jalapa with some troops whom he has seduced, and with whom he has obtained possession of the fortress of Perote; inducing them to violate their allegiance to the Supreme Government, and to renew, in another shape, the scandalous disturbances of the month of January of the present year.

It is sufficient to announce the fact of such a movement having taken place, in order to convey a very distinct idea of its criminality; but the information received by the Government with respect to the ulterior views proclaimed by General

* Santa Anna was appointed to this situation in lieu of General Barragan, in return for having deserted Bravo's cause, and enlisted under the banners of General Guerrero.

Santa Anna under the most specious pretences, compels me to consider his conduct as the commencement of a perfidious revolution, which affects to defend the rights of the nation, in order the more effectually to despoil it of them, by violating its institutions, and destroying its felicity.

It is no new artifice to allege motives flattering in appearance, in order to cloak ambitious designs, or to kindle the flames of discord; and although the Mexicans have been sufficiently taught by experience to close their ears against such pernicious suggestions, it is my duty to repeat to them, unceasingly, that he profanes the name of the country, who invokes it in order to substitute his private will, and acts, for the empire of the Constitution, and the laws.

No more execrable offence can be committed by a citizen. It is a crime which lowers the dignity of free men, who, when they constitute a Republic by their coalition, disclaim any other mode of expressing their opinions but through the medium of the constituted authorities. It is an abuse, which unless repelled with vigour and energy, must lead to the total dissolution of society.

For these reasons, the Government, in conjunction with the August Chambers of the Union, is taking the most decisive measures, in order to cut short, at once, the evils, with which the Republic is threatened; to re-establish confidence, and to restore peace.

And, since the indignation evinced by the nation on witnessing the revolutionary movements that occurred at the beginning of the year, was sufficient to dissipate them like smoke, —I once more call upon you, my fellow-citizens, to lend your assistance to a Government, which has no other object but the national prosperity, and which throws itself with confidence upon the Constitution of the Republic,—the holy principles which we have proclaimed,—the firmness and wisdom of the General Congress, and of the Legislatures of the States, and the inextinguishable attachment professed by the

Mexicans to their liberty, and their laws. If anarchy again menace us, let us baffle its impotent efforts. Unhappy is the wretch who dares to profane, with sacrilegious hand, the pages of that Constitution, which is the idol of our hearts.

Co-operate then with me, my fellow-citizens, to preserve it uninjured. Preserve with it the Republic; and let me not, on quitting the helm of Government, and retiring to the duties of a private life, carry with me the bitter regret of thinking that the fruit of your mild and patriotic desires, and of my incessant exertions, has been irretrievably lost.

GUADALUPE VICTORIA.

Mexico, Sept. 17, 1828.

REMARKS.

It is not by professions, or addresses to the people, that an opinion can be formed of the sentiments of a political leader in times of revolution; but it seems impossible that Victoria, when signing this warm appeal to his countrymen, can have contemplated the concessions, which he made six weeks afterwards, to the party, whose conduct and motives he so deservedly reprobates. He would have been more prudent, had he been less sincere.

It is another question whether, by manifesting a similar spirit when the danger approached, and the Capital itself was threatened, he might not have reduced to obedience the confederates of the Acordada. I am inclined to think that, if he had retired upon La Puebla, or Guanajuato, he would have found ample resources in the Central, and Northern, States, amongst which Queretaro, and San Luis Potosi, (the weakest and least important, portions of the Interior,) had alone evinced a disposition to embrace the Yorkino cause. A coalition for the support of the Federal Government was projected between the States of Guadalajara, Guanajuato, La Puebla, and Zacatecas, some of which actually sent commissioners to

the town of Leon, to combine operations against the Insurgents.

Nor was this coalition dissolved until the repeated declarations of Victoria, (then in the hands of the Yorkinos,) that he was in the enjoyment of all his constitutional privileges, and had freely, and spontaneously, chosen to appoint a Yorkino administration, deprived the allies of any legal pretext for continuing their opposition.

DOCUMENT NO. VI.

MANIFESTO OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MEXICO—CITIZEN LORENZO DE ZAVALA.—WITH NOTES.

Acrius prohibenda civilia bella, quam in superatis iracundia exercenda.

On presenting myself anew upon the scene of public life, after the atrocious persecution to which I have been subjected by a party, that never pardons an offence, whether real, or supposed, I think it due to my reputation, wounded by my enemies amidst the tumult of conflicting passions,—to my fellow-citizens, and to foreigners, to lay before them a sketch of the principal events, which preceded the 6th of last October;—a day, upon which the Executive of the Federation sent an escort of sixty men, to conduct me as a prisoner to Mexico,* degrading in my person, the principal authority of the State of Mexico, and interrupting the performance of my most sacred duty, that of presiding over the elections then about to commence. I shall add a detailed account of the occurrences subsequent to this period, when the violence of an iniquitous Government obliged me to seek safety in flight;

* Mr. Zavala, as Governor of the State of Mexico, resided not in the town of Mexico, which was declared the Federal city, but at San Agustin de las Cuevas, about four leagues from the Capital.

as also of the motives that induced me to act as I have done, and to take a line, which the force of circumstances, as well as an ardent desire to shake off the double yoke imposed upon the country, and myself, rendered it necessary for me to adopt.

This portion of my public life is intimately connected with the history of the events, that have occurred during the late terrible revolution; events, the consequences of which it is not yet easy to appreciate. This circumstance, and my conviction that a public man ought not to have recourse to tricks, or intrigues, in order to establish his reputation, have determined me to publish this manifesto, at a time when the persons alluded to in it, to whatever party they belong, are present amongst us to confirm the correctness of the facts which it contains. The public press has long been occupied in producing articles calculated to injure my character, and full of the blackest imputations.* Those who have witnessed my conduct, and who do not act with bad faith, will do me justice, and will restore me by their sentence to that place in the good opinion of my fellow-citizens, which is dearer than all the gold of the universe to a man, who, after eighteen years of services, and sufferings, has no other treasure than their esteem.

As soon as it became known in the Capital, by advices received from the States, that Don Manuel Gomez Pedraza had obtained a majority of votes for the Presidency, the parties, which ought to have been silent until the question had been determined by the Chamber, to which it belonged to take cognizance of the result,† commenced immediate hostilities;

* To these imputations it is unnecessary for me to allude. I am aware, however, both of their nature and extent; and, if I refrain from giving them currency, it is simply from an unwillingness to render my present publication a vehicle for private scandal.—Vide Mr. Zavala's Note, No. 1.

† By the Constitution, the Chamber of Deputies, which assembles four months after the election is decided, opens the sealed votes trans-

and in these the friends of the successful candidate gave evident proofs of a want of generosity, and discretion. The proclamation (Grito) of General Santa Anna at Perote, sustained by troops disposed to brave every danger under the orders of a General, who had given such frequent proofs of valour, and who was excited, in the present instance, by the persecutions of a Legislature, which has repeatedly betrayed its inexperience, and want of political tact, gave the ruling party a pretext for precipitating itself, and the Republic, into all the horrors of a revolution. In lieu of taking the line which prudence counselled, and good sense pointed out, that is, a line of persuasion, and palliative measures, the Chambers armed themselves with a power denied them by the Constitution, and pronounced against the youthful general the terrible, and ominous, decree of proscription,* by

mitted by the Legislatures of the States, and declares officially the candidate, who has obtained the majority. The Yorkinos, secure of a majority in the present Congress, wished to convert this duty into a critical analysis of the votes of the States; so that, by rejecting some, and approving others, an apparent equality of votes might be established between Guerrero and Pedraza, in which case the right of selecting the President would have rested with the Chamber. The blow was anticipated by a declaration of the Senate, which pronounced that the Chamber had no such powers, and, from that moment, an appeal to arms was resolved upon.

* There is nothing terrible or ominous to European minds in the idea of outlawing a man, who, with arms in his hand, endeavours to overturn the Government of his country, particularly when the decree is accompanied by a promise of pardon to all who submit within twenty-four hours after its publication. Nor can those who endeavour by legal enactments, and afterwards by arms, to put down rebellion, be accused of having commenced a revolution, which it was not possible, otherwise, to arrest, unless, indeed, by a humble submission to the President, whom the Insurgents were pleased to proclaim. Besides, nothing was done in the case of Santa Anna, which the Yorkinos had not heartily concurred in when Bravo's fate was under deliberation. Their own principles were subsequently applied to themselves.

which, on the 17th of last September, he was declared *hors de la loi.*

This atrocious decree of the Congress, together with the precipitation with which it was pronounced, shook the very fabric of society, as must always occur when one of the three powers, exceeding its proper limits, and yielding to the impulse of its passions, takes a resolution of similar importance. Such was more particularly the case on the present occasion, when the object was to destroy by this decree the hopes of a party, which has so repeatedly triumphed over the efforts of a sinking Aristocracy.

The formality and prestige of law seemed to authorise the champions of the conquering faction to adopt all sorts of violent measures against those, who might be considered as inclined to favour the proceedings of Santa Anna. No one was ignorant that I was one of the citizens, who had most publicly laboured to raise to the Presidency General Guerrero. My representations to the Government respecting the troops sent to overawe us during the election, on the 1st of September,* were sufficiently notorious: I had then told the Minister Cañedo, that it was necessary "to beware of revolutions;" and I had manifested the energy, which has characterized all the acts of my government, at a moment when the Ministry, and the President himself, had engaged in a system of personal hostility. All this announced a persecution, in which the Executive did not omit a single step, that was likely to accelerate my ruin. The most insignificant

* The presence of these troops was solicited by one party in the State of Mexico, and protested against by the other. They were sent by the Government, as necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and gave rise to a violent, and almost personal, altercation between Mr. Zavala and the Ministry, in the course of which he certainly recommended them "to beware of revolutions." A warning, which no one was better entitled than himself to give, since none was better informed of that which was contemplated.

replies, things totally unimportant in themselves, furnished matter for an unfavourable interpretation; and both the Commandant, General Filisola, the Minister Pedraza, and the Senators, Franco Coronel, Farias, Vargas, &c. who had determined upon making Pedraza President, formed at the same time a plan to reduce to nullity all those, who, they imagined, might, by some unexpected event, oppose an obstacle to their favourite project.* They were resolved, upon the ruins of the Patriots, to establish the empire of their faction. Nevertheless, I had taken no part in the proclamation of General Santa Anna; and although I might have desired that the choice of the country should fall upon General Guerrero, I never thought it allowable to appeal to arms in order to prepare the triumph of an individual. General Santa Anna himself must explain the motives which decided him to act as he did.† All that I am enabled to state is, that this valiant patriot has more than once placed himself at the head of public opinion, and has had the glory of seeing it develope itself under his auspices. The result of this last revolution, so generally, and simultaneously adopted by the

* I cannot allow the fallacy of this statement to pass without remark. Mr. Zavala assumes in it, that *after* the election was determined in favour of Pedraza, it was optional with himself, and his friends, to recognise him, or not, as President, and culpable on the part of Pedraza's supporters to take measures for preventing his exclusion, by force or fraud, from the high situation, to which he had acquired a legitimate title. Thus, a correspondence with Santa Anna, and a resolution to promote the execution of his plans, are designated as circumstances of no sort of importance; and the Executive is accused of tyranny, because it took a different view of measures, by which its very existence was endangered.

† An opinion exactly the reverse of this prevails throughout Mexico, where it is believed, or rather known, that the plan, upon which General Santa Anna acted, was traced out for him by the Yorkino Lodge, and only commenced with the full assurance of its support. Of this Lodge, it is needless to say that Mr. Zavala is one of the most influential members.

States, and the fact of its having been commenced at so critical a moment, confirm in the young general that reputation for courage, and foresight, which he acquired by his former exploits.

But the supporters of the Presidency of General Pedraza had adopted a system of oppression, by which, (to use their favourite expression,) they hoped to reduce the "Anarchists" to order.* I saw the tempest brewing over the heads of our new tyrants, but I saw, likewise, that it must cost the nation many sacrifices, and tears. The sense of the country was expressed in so clear, and explicit, a manner, that it was necessary to shut both eyes and ears not to perceive it.† But one voice,—one universal cry, was raised on all sides against the conduct of the Ministry, and the Senate. The tolerance of the President was animadverted upon in milder terms, but the people thundered against the system of oppresssion adopted by his Ministers. In effect, the petty forms, the intrigues, the despicable mysteries, and even the dark and melancholy exterior of the Spanish Government, seemed to have been adopted by them under the name of a Federal Republic. Through the medium of the press, we addressed them with the energy of free men; we told them clearly that such an anomaly was too repugnant to common sense to be durable.

* My readers will have perceived by General Bravo's Manifesto, that, in the acceptation of the Moderate party, Anarchist and Yorkino were synonymous.

† It is strange that a very attentive perusal of the papers of the day, and the addresses from the States, with respect to Santa Anna's proposal to change the President elect, should have produced in my mind an impression exactly the contrary of that which Mr. Zavala supposes to have been so predominant. I every where see the projected revolution reprobated, and nowhere defended, except in the Correo, which was the organ of the violent party. How these feelings came to be so suddenly reversed, those acquainted with the course of revolutions, and with the effects, which success, and intimidation, produce upon the mass of peaceable inhabitants, will easily comprehend.

Mr. Pedraza conceived himself to be in possession of a clue, that would extricate him from this labyrinth, and answered sometimes with pride, sometimes with contempt, the official, and extra-official, representations, which were made to him.

I was not to be checked, however, by these considerations; and taking advantage of the frequent and confidential communications held by Mr. Pedraza with Don Ignacio Martinez, Colonel Inclan, and Don Francisco Robles, I consented to a conference, which, according to these three gentlemen, the Minister desired to have with me. It took place, and although many individuals who were apprized of the step, opposed it, under the impression that the meeting was only proposed in order to surprize, and seize me in the capital, I could never persuade myself that malice and treachery could be carried to such a height. Besides, what had I to fear, even if the Executive had taken advantage of my confidence and good faith, and arrested me on my arrival? The Revolution would have been precipitated, and the Nation would have pronounced itself, in September, against those individuals, whom, in December, it marked with the seal of its indignation.

The first day of October, on which the Senator, Don Pablo Franco Coronel, serving as an instrument to Pedraza and his faction, preferred his accusation against me in the Senate,* was precisely that on which I entered into communication with the Minister of War. Messrs. Robles and Martinez were present at the interview, and are witnesses of my conduct in taking this step, which may be regarded as a proof of my love of tranquillity, and order. If, at that moment, Mr. Pedraza had desired the good of the country, and endeavoured to secure it by measures of conciliation, and peace, affairs

* The accusation preferred against Mr, Zavala was for treasonable correspondence with Santa Anna, of which proofs had been at length acquired.

would have taken a different turn.* The Revolution would have been cut short,—General Guerrero would have been happy to co-operate in bringing it to a conclusion, and the valiant Santa Anna would have surrendered that sword, which has never been unsheathed without success. But the views of the Government were different; it wished to establish a system of terror, and to found its authority upon ruins, corpses, and blood.† Persecutions increased daily, and the greatest pains were taken to hurry on my cause in the Senate, and to deprive me of the benefit of those delays, which the law allows to persons accused. I was tied down in the most arbitrary manner as to time: couriers were despatched every two hours by the Minister interested in my ruin. The Senate was assembled at unusual hours, and at last declared to be in permanent session until my condemnation was pronounced. So unjust, so undisguised a persecution was the subject of conversation in every part of the town, and no one but the President, and his ministers, was ignorant of the irritation caused by it amongst the real Patriots.‡

* The only terms proposed to General Pedraza were, a resignation of the ministry (in fact, of the Presidency itself,) in favour of his rival. My readers will judge whether the demand was reasonable, or compliance to be expected.—Vide Mr. Zavala's Note, No. 2.

† This is a figurative mode of expression in which Mr. Zavala occasionally indulges. Had the Government possessed the power of doing all that he describes, neither he, nor General Guerrero himself, would have been left at liberty to arrange its fall. It was the necessity of confining itself within the strict letter of the law that crippled its operations, and in the end gave the victory to its opponents.

‡ Having at last succeeded in fixing a charge upon Mr. Zavala, it was hardly to be expected that the Executive would not avail itself of all its constitutional powers, in order to bring it to the proof. The Senate was formed into a Grand Jury to take cognizance of the cause; and after five days' deliberation, it decided that the individual accused should be put upon his trial. This; in a case of conspiracy, can hardly be called an improper, or precipitate, measure, whatever may have been thought of it by the "Patriots," whose plans it deranged. Where hours were of importance, weeks could not be wasted in legal technicalities.

On the 5th of October the Senate continued sitting until five o'clock, notwithstanding that it was a Sunday, with the sole object of condemning me. On this same day I presided over the election of the Deputies for the State of Mexico to the Congress of the Union, and had the satisfaction of influencing the Electoral College in its choice of the present representatives, whose patriotism and wisdom are no wise inferior to those of the deputies of the other States of the Federation.

At seven in the evening I received a courier from Mexico, with the intelligence that the Grand Jury had pronounced that there were sufficient grounds for putting me on my trial. I was surrounded by a number of Patriots, electors, and deputies,* who from that instant vowed that such an injustice should not be unavenged. They invited me to resist openly the decree, and gave me the most solemn assurances that they would share my fate. I also received in these bitter moments proofs of sincere friendship from the illustrious Guerrero, who considered the persecution to which I was exposed as the prelude to his own, and the commencement of those great calamities, which menaced the country.

While thanking those, who displayed so much interest in my fate, for their proffered services, I pointed out to them the propriety of my going to Mexico, in order to put an end to the impostures, the calumnies, and the criminal imputations laid to my charge, by representing to the Government, with the energy of which I have given the nation so many proofs, the intrigues, and perfidious machinations, of those, who, without the necessary talents, or prestige in their favour, wished to persuade the country that they had an exclusive right to manage its affairs. I was persuaded, in effect, that my appearance in the Capital, even as a prisoner, loaded with chains, would intimidate the wretches, who, environed with the authority of the laws which they were profaning, prepared a sys-

* Vide Mr. Zavala's note, No. 3.

tem of oppression under constitutional forms. Such was my resolution on the night of the 5th of October.

At four o'clock in the morning on the 6th, my house was surrounded by troops, and the commandant of the detachment, Don Silvestre Camacho, delivered to me a despatch from the Secretary Cañedo, which has been published, together with my reply.*

The Executive, when communicating to me the decision of the Senate, ought to have confined itself to a simple order, directing me to place myself at the disposal of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice.† But General Victoria and his Ministers had a private pique to gratify, and determined, without waiting for any resolution on the part of the Tribunal, to insult me gratuitously, by conducting me, in the middle of the day, to the Capital, under a guard of eighty men, and exposing me, like a criminal, to the curiosity of the public, in the great square before the palace. This was a new proof of the spirit which animated men, who, without regard to the duties of their high situations, were more particularly bound, from personal motives, to give the world proofs of the strictest impartiality. But Victoria‡ had long retained a feeling of resentment against me, because I always spoke to him in the language of truth; and the Minster Cañedo imagined that, in destroying me, he removed a dangerous rival from his path.

No sooner was it known that the house of the first magistrate of the great State of Mexico was invested,§ than the

* They are annexed to the Manifesto in a note, which I omit, as being of little importance to the English reader.

† In a case of less importance, it is probable, that such courtesy would have been used; but, where the crime was conspiracy against the State, the dignity of the offender only rendered it the more incumbent upon the Executive, to take every possible precaution for securing his person. As it was, their measures proved insufficient.

‡ Vide Mr. Zavala's note, No. 4, which is well deserving of attention.

§ It was not the first time that the chief magistrate of one of the

town of Tlalpam became alarmed, and the militia, the Government officers, the electors, the deputies, in short, the whole population of the place, assembled around me, imploring me to allow them to assemble a force, and to repulse the troops who surrounded my abode. I prohibited at once any violent measures; but all displayed the most undisguised indignation, and cries of grief and rage announced that the crime about to be committed would not be seen with indifference. To you I appeal, O citizens, and deputies! who, on witnessing the ignominy with which your Governor was treated, raised in the hall of Congress a terrible and warning voice on that awful day!* To you, O electors! who returned full of dread to your constituents, to relate to them the scandalous abuses which you had witnessed! All of you saw in the mourning, the confusion, and even the depression of that moment, the forerunners of vengeance! The Legislature met, and ten patriotic deputies made the place of their meeting resound with the imposing voice of liberty, protesting against the outrages, to which the holy rights of the country were exposed. In the meantime, some of my friends endeavoured to persuade me of the necessity of frustrating, by my absence, a blow, prepared with all due precaution by a party,

States had been brought to trial; nor was there any reason why Mr. Zavala should consider himself entitled, as Governor, to be treated with greater lenity than was shown by himself and his friends, six months before, to General Barragan, Governor of the State of Veracruz; who was arrested, and confined, without any ceremony, to the castle of Ulloa, on a charge of being implicated in Bravo's plans.

* Mr. Zavala was surrounded, at San Agustin, by friends, the Yorkino influence having, as has been already mentioned, become predominant in the State of Mexico, after the election of 1827. They naturally shared his feelings upon this occasion; nor could any thing be more *en règle*, than that the ten deputies who composed his majority in the little legislature of the State, should take advantage of their inviolability as such, to declaim in favour of their leader. It only proves, however, that they were all engaged in the same cause.

whose object was to remove all, who could offer any sort of opposition to the execution of their plans for enslaving the country. Others, again, more moderate in their views, recommended that I should deliver myself up to the tribunal, secure in the triumph of my innocence. Distracted by these contrary opinions, I resolved,* at last, to avoid the indignity with which I was threatened, and to deliberate more at my leisure in the mountains, upon the line which it would be advisable to take. This I effected, accompanied only by my faithful friend, Monsieur de la Trouplinière, who resolved to share all the dangers with which, under such critical circumstances, I was menaced.†

In the village of Ocuila I drew up the little manifesto published during the days of my persecution; but when I was desirous of remaining tranquil in that retreat, I found that orders had been circulated by General Filisola for my apprehension.‡ I avoided an open rupture, which would only have increased the evils of the country, and sought refuge in another place, against the pursuit of the tyrants.§

The military commandant, General Filisola, took every possible measure in order to seize my person. The State of

* It appears, that the commandant of the escort, who was a Yorkino, left, as in duty bound, his Grand-Master, both to deliberate, and to act, in perfect liberty.

† In a note, Mr. Zavala states, that he was principally influenced, in this determination, by a message from General Guerrero, communicated through Mr. Cerecero, desiring him "to save himself, in order to save the country." He adds, "I no longer doubted. 'Eripui, fateor, letho me, et vincula rupi.'" An admirable mode of justifying a resolution not to submit to justice, and to persevere in rebellion!

‡ It was hardly to be expected, that some steps should not be taken for the pursuit, and arrest of a fugitive of this description, although Mr. Zavala seems to think it a hardship, that he was not allowed, by merely changing his residence, to pursue his plans against the Government, without farther interruption.

§ Vide note 5, of Mr. Zavala.

Mexico was delivered over to his direction, and his orders were obeyed in it as if they had been issued by the most absolute sovereign. The inhabitants were filled either with terror, or with those feelings of irritation, which outrages always produce upon the free. They could not understand how the Republic had been transformed into a military government, without any other guarantee for liberty than the will of Pedraza.* I was received, not only with regard, but with a sort of religious respect, far exceeding ordinary hospitality; and was constantly kept informed of the movements of the troops destined to pursue me. The people saw in me, and in the General Santa Anna, the two only champions of their rights, until the immortal Guerrero could decide upon placing himself at the head of a movement, which was destined to become simultaneous, and universal, as soon as this illustrious patriot presented himself as Chief. I kept up a close, and constant, communication with him, and it was by his order that I resolved to enter Mexico, in order to act in combination with the Patriots of the capital.†

Nothing shows in a stronger light the general disposition of the public mind to shake off the tyranny of the Government, than the reception which I experienced in Mexico. At a time, when the hospitality afforded to a man proscribed, might expose them, in their turn, to the persecutions of the despots, citizens presented themselves, on all sides, to honour

* The thing was nevertheless simple, and intelligible, enough. The Executive was called upon to deliver into the hands of justice an individual accused of conspiring against the State; and the interference of mere officers of police being totally ineffectual in new, and ill-regulated communities, the military was employed, under the proper military authorities, to carry the orders of the Executive into effect.

† This is the most serious charge yet brought against General Guerrero, as it proves that, from first to last, he was resolved to allow of no President but himself. It is a pity that the veil, which shrouded his conduct, should thus be torn aside by his own friends.

me with their generous offers. The houses in which I was received, were filled daily with distinguished persons, of every class; and I remained in security in the middle of the Capital, pursued by the Executive, without its being possible for it to ascertain my abode. So certain is it that the power of opinion is superior to the efforts of despotism!*

Although I perceived the general inclination to terminate by a revolution the projects of the tyrants, I was disposed myself to have recourse to legal expedients, in order to avoid the consequences of such a convulsion. I published various pamphlets with the view of inducing the Government to adopt a conciliatory system, and to try the effect of an amnesty, or an amicable arrangement. I pictured in strong terms the danger with which it was threatened, if it persisted in the rigorous measures which it had at first pursued, through ignorance, or upon mistaken principles, imitating in its conduct that of Ferdinand VII. after his restoration to absolute power. The President, the Ministry, and the Chambers were deaf to the energetic voice of reason, to the cry of opinion, and even to the menaces of the Patriots! All saw the tempest about to burst upon those, who only listened to the councils of resentment, and allowed themselves to be hurried away by an ambition, contrary in its tendency to the dearest wishes of the Mexicans! At last, it was resolved to make use of "the sacred, though dangerous, right of insurrection," to which a People appeals as a last remedy for national grievances.†

* Mr. Zavala belonged to a powerful party, most of the members of which had embarked their fortunes in the same speculation with himself. Treachery, therefore, on their side, was hardly to be apprehended; but the absence of it by no means proves that public opinion, beyond the limits of this particular circle, was favourable to the daring enterprise which they contemplated.

† What these grievances were, Mr. Zavala and his friends have never stated. They may, therefore, be reduced to their own exclusion from authority, to which, as a most crying injustice, they resolved not to submit. Whether this circumstance justified their appeal to the "sacred

It was not, therefore, the desire to raise General Don Vicente Guerrero to the Presidency, that was the primary cause of the national movement; although, at a later period, the Patriots became convinced that this tutelary genius of our liberties could alone offer a suitable guarantee for their preservation, and, at the same time, both satisfy the just desires of the people, and give an impulse to those useful reforms, which had been, in vain awaited during the long administration of the actual President. They feared that a despotic government would be substituted for the weak and vacillating system hitherto pursued; but they, nevertheless, would not have attacked by open force the election of General Pedraza, if he and his partizans had not had recourse to measures of intimidation, which are seldom resorted to without risk to those who employ them, under a republican form of government. The position of Mr. Pedraza was a very delicate one, after having obtained a positive majority of votes from the Legislatures of the States, in direct opposition to the wishes unequivocally manifested by their constituents.* The law was in his favour, but public opinion was decidedly against him. His study, under such circumstances, ought to have been to gain the affections of the people, and to acquire as

right of insurrection," my readers are as well qualified to determine as myself. But I cannot help remarking, that nothing can be more puerile than the complaints of military oppression recorded by Mr. Zavala in his notes; as if, where a revolution was upon the point of breaking out, it were not lawful for the Government to have recourse to force to repress it. Mr. Zavala carries the principle very far; for he even talks of the "inhumanity" of the regiment of Toluca, which, when attacked by the insurgents, actually fired upon them with ball, whereby many of these excellent Patriots were slain!—Vide note 6.

* It is needless to say that this fact is assumed, as are many others, which have been pointed out. There was no possible mode by which the wishes of the mass of the inhabitants could be ascertained, except through the medium of their representatives; nor is it probable that the majority had any wish upon the subject at all.

much popularity as possible. He did exactly the contrary, and he fell !*

But I ought, perhaps, to speak more of myself individually, since my object is to show myself to the nation, such as I really was, in this interesting period.

Penetrated with the necessity of employing insurrection as a means of overthrowing despotism, as had been done in the year 1822, we resolved that the movement should take place in the Capital, in order to strike at the root of the evil. General Guerrero opposed, in every possible way, the project of proclaiming him President, and only desired that the liberties of the people should be secured, and that an amnesty, with an amicable arrangement, should be effected. But Revolutions cannot be confined within precise limits. They are torrents that sweep all before them, and often involve even their authors in contradictory measures. In a word, "*the Revolution began, and we know not yet where it will stop.*"†

On the night of the 30th of November, the Militia of Mex-

* This sentence reads well, but will not bear a moment's examination. Within ten days after the result of the election was known, Santa Anna protested, in the name of the Yorkinos, against it. How was Pedraza, in this short interval, to conciliate a party, which manifested such daring, and undisguised, hostility towards him? How affect to be ignorant of what all knew, namely, that Santa Anna was but the agent of more powerful chiefs?

† As these words are inserted in Italics in the original, they may fairly be regarded as Mr. Zavala's profession de foi politique, in which case the advantages to be derived by the country (according to the Yorkinos) from the late changes, are involved in considerable obscurity. A permanent state of Revolution can hardly be called an advantage, whatever benefit individuals may derive from it during their temporary ascendency. But in Revolutions this ascendency is never of long duration. Even when supported by Committees of Public Safety, and the guillotine, we have witnessed its failure. The day of retribution comes, and the cause of moderation, and common sense, resumes its natural superiority. Unless founded upon these, the stability of the present system is neither to be expected nor desired.

ico, the battalion of Tres Villas, headed by Colonel Don Santiago Garcia, and the Artillery of the garrison, took possession of the barracks at the Acordada.* Don José Manuel Cadena commanded the militia, but Colonel Garcia was considered as the leader of the Revolution. I was at that time concealed in the house of Don Juan Lascano, and, at midnight, I received a deputation from the Insurgents, inviting me to place myself at the head of this movement. General Guerrero had before directed me to do nothing without hearing from him, in order that we might act in concert. I therefore replied that I was waiting for the orders of this General, who was regarded as the chief of all who had pronounced themselves against the Government.†

At 12 o'clock on the 1st of December, I received a despatch from the Deputy Cerecero, by which he communicated to me from Santa Fé, that General Guerrero was at that place, to which he had himself escorted him, in company with General Velasquez. He added, that it was their intention to join the "Pronunciados" in the course of the afternoon. This despatch, together with the solicitations of the chiefs at the Acordada, whom General Lobato had already joined, determined me instantly to incorporate myself in their ranks.

I did so; and I was received with acclamations by more than two thousand Patriots assembled at that spot. I had the grief of finding a want of harmony prevailing between the two estimable leaders, Lobato and Garcia; but after a conference

* I have related the mode in which the Militia was organized for this purpose. Colonel Garcia had been employed in some previous movements in Oaxaca, which he executed so much to the satisfaction of the Yorkinos that he was recalled, and deprived of his situation, by the Government.

† "Los Pronunciados" is the term used by Mr. Zavala. In common English it means Insurgents, or Rebels; but as he probably does not wish to designate himself and his friends in such harsh terms, I have used a little circumlocution in order to convey the idea.

of an hour, we decided that Lobato should take the command of the citadel, and Garcia remain at the Acordada.

The Executive had been summoned to surrender at discretion, upon the basis of a general expulsion of all Spaniards, within a period of twenty-four hours. These had not expired when I arrived at the Acordada, which Mr. Cadena had nevertheless quitted, alleging, by a despatch addressed to Colonel Garcia, that he did not coincide in opinion upon many points with the officers, and troops, who had taken part in the affair. I know not whether my presence had any influence in conciliating the minds of my friends, and in reorganizing the troops, who had already begun to show symptoms of that disorder, which circumstances rendered so natural. What I can positively state is, that all obeyed my voice, and that Colonel Garcia himself listened with docility to my suggestions.

We agreed that, since it was evident that the Executive, in lieu of entering into explanations with us, was preparing to attack us on various points,* it was necessary for us to avail ourselves of whatever means of defence were within our reach. General Lobato having taken charge of the citadel, it was resolved that Colonel Garcia should march at the head of the Guerrillas towards the centre of the city, while I remained in charge of the Acordada, the Hospital, and other adjacent points. At mid-day the firing commenced on the part of the Government, (on the 2nd. of December), and the Ministers assured the Chambers that, before many hours had expired, the insurgents should be dispersed.†

* The ingenuity with which Mr. Zavala contrives invariably to make the Government appear to be the aggressor, while he and his friends are compelled, reluctantly, to defend themselves against its attacks, is really remarkable; and will not, I hope, be lost upon my readers.

† The critical moment for effecting this had been allowed to pass; but, during the first twenty-four hours, Mr. Zavala's own statement proves how easily a little decision on the part of the President might have ensured what the jealousies and divisions amongst the insurgents themselves were so near effecting,—a general dispersion.

In the mean time we were joined by those citizens who had been, at all times, most distinguished in the Capital by their patriotism. The Lieut.-Colonel of the 8th regiment of cavalry, Don Silvestre Camacho,* brought over to us a considerable party of his men; and the militia from the neighbouring villages of the State of Mexico, though called out by the Executive for its own defence, hurried on its arrival to swell our ranks. The people rose *en masse*, and it became absolutely necessary to disperse the crowd, in order to economise blood, which must have been shed in torrents with so confused a multitude.

On the following day, Generals Guerrero, and Velasquez, presented themselves. The appearance of this illustrious chief gave new vigour to the Pronunciados; nor did he delay issuing various orders highly essential to the issue of the enterprise. Towards evening he again quitted us, and, in the course of the day, we had the grief to see the gallant Colonel Garcia mortally wounded, after having given proofs of the most heroic courage.

I was then entrusted exclusively with the command at the Acordada; and Mr. Lobato,† who has shown upon this occasion of what efforts a Mexican General is capable when inspired by the pure sentiment of patriotism, performed prodi-

* The same officer who favoured Mr. Zavala's escape when sent to arrest him, and who now thought proper to make amends for his neglect of duty by rebellion.

† It is singular that, with the exception of his two insurrections, Lobato's name, as a military man, is unknown. He was the son of a shoemaker; attained the rank of corporal in the Spaniah service; was made sergeant on joining the Insurgents; and suddenly transformed into a Major by General Rayon, for denouncing some conspiracy against the Junta of Zitacuaro, in which he was invited to engage. He enjoyed but a short time the honours acquired by the exploits which Mr. Zavala has recorded, having been carried off by a fever soon afterwards.

gies, on his side, in the southern part of the city, advancing in the midst of a tremendous fire.

On the fourth day, courage and patriotism, combined, triumphed over the troops, who, with not less courage, defended the government of Mr. Pedraza. The flight of this champion of the aristocratic party on the night of the 3rd, spread a panic amongst his supporters, and they surrendered all the posts which they occupied; the President being left alone in the palace, which his Ministers had abandoned.

At two in the afternoon of this memorable day, General Victoria proceeded to the citadel, in order to effect some arrangement calculated to render the Revolution less injurious to the Republic. It was already too late to avert all the evils, but not to avoid a continuance of anarchy.* General Lobato committed to me the charge of arranging, in the name of the Pronunciados, the terms upon which the pacification should take place. I was left, therefore, alone with the President, who did, upon this occasion, just what he always has done, that is to say, nothing,—absolutely nothing.†

As soon as intelligence was received at the Acordada that the populace, and a portion of the troops, had commenced the plunder of the town, I took every measure that depended upon me to arrest, or at least to lessen, this new calamity. I sent artillery, and the more disciplined part of the armed force, to repress the disorder. But more than five thousand

* It is rather hard that Mr. Zavala should attempt to render the Government responsible for those disorders, which he and his friends had not only fostered in secret, but publicly licensed from the windows of the Acordada. "Hijos, para Ustedes es el Parian," (My children, the Parian is yours,) was the speech of Guerrero himself to the assembled Leperos. Lobato added a six hours' pillage of every Spanish house; and he was rather better than his word, for the spoliation did not cease till the second day.

† Vide Note, No. 7.

men from the suburbs, in conjunction with many of the soldiers themselves, formed a torrent which it was impossible to oppose; I was filled with consternation at the sight of the terrible scenes which civil war produces, and should have preferred a thousand times to have fallen the victim of tyranny, if its effects could have been confined entirely to my own person, rather than to have been rendered a spectator, and an actor, in such a catastrophe.*

At night there was a meeting at the apartments of the President, which was attended by various persons interested in seeing the government pursue its constitutional course. At this conference General Victoria did little more than he had done in the morning, and we quitted the Palace in the same uncertainty, and with the same anxieties, with which we had entered it.†

In both these interviews, as well as in those by which they were followed, the only propositions made on our side to General Victoria were, that he should change his system of policy, and place around him Ministers whose known patriotism, and liberal ideas, might inspire the country with confidence in their proceedings. The greatest moderation was displayed in all our representations, which were couched in the respect-

* It is unfortunately impossible that Mr. Zavala can have been ignorant of what all the world knew; namely, that a formal engagement had been entered into by his associates, that, for a certain time, the town should be given up to be plundered; nor ought he, consequently, to feel surprised that the reward should have been claimed by those, who had risked their lives in order to obtain it.

† This anxiety was not unnatural; for had General Victoria resolved to throw himself upon the States, in lieu of forming a coalition with the Insurgents, they would have derived no permanent advantage from their success. The surrounding provinces were ready, and desirous, to act against them; nor was it until the President became the organ of the victorious faction, and lent it the sanction of his authority, that those who were inclined to support him, submitted to the yoke.

ful language due to the dignity of the President, although expressed with republican frankness, and sincerity.*

On the third day, I succeeded in effecting the appointment of General Guerrero, as Minister of War, and having accomplished this, I took leave of the Capital, in order to enter anew upon the government, from which I had been driven by a faction, destroyed by the triumphant arms of our Liberators. And who will believe, under such circumstances, that the Minister Cañedo had the courage to raise a question as to the legality of my restoration?† It is nevertheless so; and, by one of those anomalies peculiar to the government of General Victoria, all the Ministers in turn have recognised me except Cañedo. It is easy to perceive that the object of this representative of the anterior administration, and of arbitrary government, in taking this step, was to disavow the Revolution, and its effects; a project, which would be attended with the following consequences. First, General Guerrero ought to be put upon his trial, for having acted as leader of the Pronunciados at the Acordada. Secondly, General Santa Anna ought to be shot, having been outlawed by the decree of the 17th September, 1828. Thirdly, General Lobato

* Vide Note 8, which, with the preceding one, sufficiently indicates how easy it is in new republics to reconcile a peremptory demand for a change of measures, and men, with that respect, to which a President is entitled, and to which it would, perhaps, have been more prudent, in the present case, not to allude.

† The circumstance certainly does great credit to Mr. Canedo's courage; but it is rather unreasonable in Mr. Zavala, after expressing his desire to see things restored to their Constitutional course, to complain of his advice being followed. He had been attainted by a decree of the Senate, and if any sort of importance was to be attached to the acts of this body, the Minister of the Interior was right in insisting that the decree must be revoked, before the individual affected by it could be recognized by the Executive, as legally restored to his former honours. It was not to be expected that Mr. Canedo should attach the same weight as Mr. Zavala "to the sacred right of insurrection," although it required some firmness to dispute it.

ought to undergo the same penalty. Fourthly, all those who were in prison as accomplices in different conspiracies, ought to return to their dungeons, since they are not legally at liberty. Fifthly, to the same prisons ought to be consigned those, who have taken part in the Revolution, either in Mexico, or in other parts of the Republic.

Farther corollaries of this absurd proposition.* Nullity of General Guerrero's title to the Presidency. Responsibility of the Minister who signed the decrees by which this General was appointed Minister of War, and Mr. Lobato, Commandant of the State of Mexico, and afterwards of that of Valladolid. Responsibility of the Executive for acknowledging Santa Anna as General of an Army, which, according to Mr. Cañedo, is composed of rebels. Legality of General Pedraza's election to the Presidency, of which nothing but the triumph of the Revolution has deprived him! In one word, what Mr. Cañedo attempts is to excite a re-action,—to annul the acts of the glorious day of the Acordada, and to suspend over those who took part in it those terrible charges, to which rebels are always exposed.†

Mexicans, our liberties are still exposed to new attacks! The counter-revolution is slowly preparing! The Acts of

* There is not the least doubt that, if the Government forces had been triumphant, every one of these consequences would necessarily, and properly, have followed. The "absurdity" rather lies in Mr. Zavala's anxiety to give a colouring of legality to events, which he confesses, in other passages, to have sprung from the "Sacred right of Insurrection," that is, in common parlance, from club-law, successfully enforced.

† Rebellion is not the less rebellion because white-washed by success; and, in the instance before us, it was only the more odious because unjustified by any substantial wrongs. Mr. Canedo merely calls things by their right names, and, in the passage before us, more people would be inclined to agree with Mr. Zavala, if his words could be taken in a literal, instead of an ironical, sense. The inferences which he draws in the following paragraph from these premises, are not less dangerous than the principles established in the first.

the Acordada have, indeed, been solemnly recognized by the authorities of the country, but a faction affects in secret to disavow them, and to keep up a right, which we may call *ex Postliminio*, in the opinion of those, who regard all that has been done as null. Such are the views of the men, who refuse to admit as legitimate the consequences of a Revolution, which has been nationalized in a manner as general as the Republican system itself, when adopted by the country after the fall of the Empire.* The partizans of the Emperor endeavoured in various ways to re-establish the Imperial system, and were chastised severely by the Government then denominated the Executive Power.† At present, the reaction is contemplated in the bosom of the Executive itself; and the President either dissembles, and allows, under his auspices, and in his name, a faction to be re-organized, which can only lead to a continuation of the public misfortunes;—or he is himself assisting in raising from its ruins a party. which has been reduced to nullity by the late events.‡

* We have seen the way in which the Revolution was "nationalized" in the Capital; and there is little doubt that, if the troops had not sent in their adhesion, it would have become equally "popular" in many of the great towns, as Guadalajara, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato, where emissaries were employed to excite the lower orders to pronounce themselves, by the hope of pillage.

† There is no doubt that, in countries where time has not lent its sanction to any form of government, changes are but too frequent, for each revolution facilitates the next. As to right, the *droit du plus fort*, is the only acknowledged law; and he who to-morrow, in virtue of this law, should overturn the Presidency of General Guerrero, and drive Mr. Zavala, with his principal associates into exile, would have just as much claim to plead the sacred right of insurrection, as those who now rest upon it their title to power.

‡ If by this party is meant the friends of moderation and law, Victoria was right in endeavouring to restore their influence. It is not by revolutionary doctrines, that stability can be given to a system, or respectability to a country; nor shall I have any faith in the permanence of Guerrero's power, until I see about him some, at least, of those men, whose voice, if listened to, might have averted so many evils.

The system of equalization, which General Victoria has constantly pursued, has occasioned all the disagreements, and dissensions, that we now lament. Without reflecting upon the justice, or injustice, of the pretensions of the parties,—the suitableness, or unsuitableness, of their triumph;—without considering that a government ought either not to belong to any party, or if it does belong to one, never to vacillate in its choice,—the President has been alternately the instrument of the two factions, which have divided the Republic. He it was who promoted the revolution of Tulancingo, by entering into conversations with its authors, which seemed to sanction their views. He encouraged the establishment of the New York Lodges,* the dissolution of which he has since endeavoured to effect in so many ways. He persuaded General Guerrero that no one was so fit to occupy the Presidential chair as himself; and he held to General Pedraza the same language. He wrote letters recommending the first; but he kept the second in the Ministry, and allowed him to avail himself of the influence, which he derived from his post. He also first advised me to take immediate possession of my government, and then, in conjunction with Mr. Cañedo, made a reference to the Chamber of Deputies as to the legality of my reinstalment.† I have already presented myself before the Chamber as the accuser of this Secretary, who may be considered as the champion of the counter-revolution;—the judge

* Mr. Zavala is right in his reasoning throughout this passage. It was, indeed, a fatal policy to raise up parties in order to balance them against one another; and many were the warnings received by General Victoria as to its results. He saw his error when too late, and endeavoured in vain to repair it. It was no longer in his power to put down the *imperium in imperio*, which he had created. We have seen the consequences, and to my certain knowledge they were foretold nearly four years ago.

† The note annexed here by Mr. Zavala, (No. 9,) is well worthy of attention, and contains a passage, to which I have already alluded more than once, respecting revolutionary *rights*.

of those, who, like myself, contributed to the late glorious changes. The time has come, when the veil should be torn aside, that shrouds, under an appearance of respect for the laws, the iniquities of men, whose intentions are very different, and who never were Republicans in their hearts.

Before I conclude my account of the events, in which I took an active part during the Revolution of December, I ought to make some mention of two facts, which have been laid to my charge in the public prints. First, the death of Colonel Don Manuel Gonzalez;* and secondly, the wound inflicted upon the judge Don Juan Guzman, in his own house.

With regard to the first event, more than two thousand witnesses are now alive, who can testify that, when this unfortunate man was brought before me as a prisoner, all the officers then in the Acordada demanded with loud cries his death. In order to quiet the tumult, I directed that it should take place with due regard to the forms of Christianity;† and when I hoped by this means to gain time, and thus to save Gonzalez from his fate, I heard the shot which deprived him of life: a just return for the many crimes which he had committed! As to what took place in the house of Don Juan Guzman, the thing has been more talked of than its importance deserved. I, at all events, can only be accused of

* Gonzalez was an old Insurgent, and distinguished as a partizan during the civil war. He was promoted for his services in 1823, and much respected in private life. Not being a Yorkino, he sided with the Government in the December revolution, and behaved most gallantly in the attack upon the Acordada. On the 4th, he was sent there, not as a prisoner, as Mr. Zavala affirms, but with a letter from the palace, and under a flag of truce. Notwithstanding this, he was seized, and shot in cold blood, in Mr. Zavala's presence, and by his command. Let those who were guilty of this revolting atrocity justify it, if they can, to their consciences, and to the world. I merely state the fact as it unquestionable occurred.

† I shall make no remarks upon this passage; they would be superfluous. Mr. Zavala's own statement speaks for itself.

having prevented, by dint of great exertions, his being assassinated by a number of individuals, who entered his house, perhaps, with this sole view.*

I had it in my power to take a bloody revenge upon my own enemies, and those of the country.† But convinced that Republican governments are not to be consolidated by terror, I did not think it expedient to follow the terrible example of Sylla, who shed so much blood uselessly. If my personal foes, reversing, at some future period, the present order of things, choose to avenge themselves by blood, I prefer the death of the Sydneys, the Riegos, and the Baillis, to leaving such a stain upon my memory. My maxim is to do all the good that I can, and as little ill as possible. My friends and my enemies, who have had dealings with me, have never quitted me, condemning my heart. Both by system, and by inclination, I am in a position neither to persecute, nor to excite persecutions. But if the Aristocrats endeavour to avenge themselves;—if they are not content with an equal influence, and an equal share of public employments with other citizens, more capable than they are to direct our affairs;—if they promote re-actions, and oppose, step by step, fresh obstacles to the reforms which the new order of things re-

* Vide Note (No. 10,) in which Mr. Zavala states the circumstances of the case. Mr. Guzman was the magistrate before whom his cause was tried; and it must be regarded as a proof of the strange perverseness of public opinion, that, whereas Mr. Zavala appears to have acted with the greatest generosity towards his fallen enemy, people are so ill-natured as not only to deny him the credit to which he is entitled, but to assert that he himself was at the head of the party, which broke open Mr. Guzman's house, and that, after seizing the documents connected with his cause, he discharged a pistol at this defenceless magistrate, by which he was severely wounded in the arm. This version of the story is so universal, that, until Mr. Zavala's manifesto reached me, I was not aware that there was any other.

† The identity of the two might, possibly, be questioned; but I do not wish to be hypercritical in my observations.

quires;—if, from a blind attachment to a system of oppression, they refuse to accommodate themselves to the political transformation of the country; and if, shut up within the narrow circle of a few paltry ideas, they cannot take the rapid flight which the present generation has commenced;—if, in a word, they do not embrace with good faith that political creed, which the nation has made the fundamental rule of its belief, and its felicity:—let them not complain if the People detest them, and if their hopes be shattered by the irresistible force of opinion. Let them fear, too, that our policy will assume a bloody colouring, and make them the victims of their own obstinacy, and folly.

Mexicans! I have ventured to address you as a fellow-citizen, who has been compelled to become one of the principal actors in the great movements which have, of late, agitated the Republic. I have the satisfaction of thinking that neither the System nor the institutions, have in any way suffered; we are more free than ever. No one has been injured by us; and the laws have recovered their whole power. I have presented myself before the country, as I have been in effect, without disguise, or ornament. My style is consequently irregular, and perhaps too simple; but it has not been my object to compose an academic oration, in order to obtain the prize of eloquence. The only prize to which I aspire is, that when pronouncing your judgment upon my political conduct, and its results, you may say amongst yourselves—"This man is not a criminal."

LORENZO DE ZAVALA.

Tlalpam, January, 1829.

MR. ZAVALA'S NOTES

REFERRED TO IN THE MANIFESTO.

NOTE 1.

DON CARLOS BUSTAMANTE, in a pamphlet entitled "The Voice of the Country," revives the report that I have embezzled six hundred thousand dollars belonging to the State of Mexico. What impudence! The same calumnies have been repeated in various papers of the Capital, of La Puebla, and of other States. What other testimony do I require in my favour than that of the honourable legislature of the State,* and the good opinion which I enjoy throughout it? The infamous actions laid to my charge in the Minerva of La Puebla, at the time when that State had declared against the General Government†, if true, would be sufficient to entail upon me the contempt, and execration, of my fellow-citizens. The general good opinion of the Mexicans indemnifies me with interest for such imputations.

NOTE 2.

Mr. Pedraza opened the conference by a long justification of his political conduct. He said, that far from having desired the Presidency, he had entreated his friends to use their endeavours to prevent him from obtaining it.

* Mr. Zavala omits to state, amongst the other calumnies of which he complains, that it was to a liberal distribution of this money that his majority in the Legislature was ascribed.

† This means simply the time when La Puebla refused to acknowledge the legality of the December Revolution, and, in conjunction with many other States, regarded the President as a captive, whose orders ought not to be obeyed.

After many declarations of patriotism, disinterestedness, and good faith, in which he employed half an hour, I said, We are not now under the necessity of either making saints of ourselves, or of convincing any one of our virtues: the business of the moment is to apply a remedy to the evils which oppress, and menace, the country. For this I have come to you; and in this I offer to assist you with all my influence, and strength. I added, that he might rely upon the infinitely more advantageous co-operation of my worthy friend General Guerrero. Mr. Pedraza interrupted me, by saying that he was ready to renounce the Presidency. This is not the question, I replied, (feeling that the offer was not sincere;) you have a majority of votes, and ought, constitutionally, to enter upon the Presidency. I myself will maintain this, and so will all the Patriots, from the moment that they are convinced that it is not your intention to oppress the country. With this view, I require of you; first, that you obtain a general amnesty for Santa Anna, and his friends; secondly, that you resign the ministry of war;* thirdly, that you adopt, towards all, measures of peace, and reconciliation. Mr. Pedraza opposed these demands, alleging that the Government must protect itself, and that amnesties enervated the vigour of the laws. As to giving up the war department, he said, that General Victoria objected to it, and that, even if he did not, there was no one to take his place.

I represented to him, in strong terms, that it was an affront to the nation to suppose it so destitute of efficient citizens, as not to possess some one capable of replacing him; and, with regard to General Victoria's opposition, I urged that compulsion could never be employed to oblige him to retain a situa-

* This, while a rebellion was raging, which no Yorkino would have attempted to put down, would have been equivalent to a resignation of the Presidency itself; for Santa Anna and his friends had declared that they would not lay down their arms, until the substitution of General Guerrero, for General Pedraza, as President, were accomplished.

tion, which it was neither suitable to the country, nor to himself, (Pedraza,) that he should fill. I assured him that General Guerrero did not desire the Presidency,—much less if it were to cost the nation any sacrifice. That he was ready to enter into a conference with him (Pedraza) upon the subject, at which I would also be present. This offer flattered him, and he assured me that he was ready to give up the Ministry, and to solicit an Amnesty from the Chambers. "This is well, Sir," said I; "if you take a contrary course, you will rise to the Presidency over corpses, and blood; you will be viewed with horror by your fellow-citizens, and the nation will either be your slave, or you will be its victim." Upon this we separated, and I went to inform General Guerrero of what had passed. This immaculate patriot approved of all that I had suggested, and agreed to an interview with Mr. Pedraza on the evening of the subsequent day. I immediately wrote to him, to communicate General Guerrero's wishes, and, on the night of the 3d of October we met in the General's house. Pedraza began the conversation by some excuses respecting a libel published by Mr. Azcarate against the Hero of the South, and stated that he had disapproved of this imprudent step on the part of his father-in-law. He repeated, though rather coldly, what he had said on the preceding day, respecting his own disinterestedness, and protested his respect and admiration for the person of General Guerrero. The General listened in silence, and merely observed, that he disapproved of the conduct of those, who endeavoured, in any way, to make him President by illegal means. But Pedraza made no farther allusion to his resignation of the war department, or to the amnesty. I prophecied but little good from this interview; and the Senator Alpuche, who was present at the close of it, agreed that Mr. Pedraza was not acting with good faith.

NOTE 3.

I ought not to omit the names of some illustrious personages who were present upon this occasion. My faithful friend, the Deputy Cerecero, the Electors of Toluca, Chalco, Tulancingo, &c. and others, whose names would form a numerous catalogue. All were desirous that I should sally forth instantly, to oppose force to violence,* and the voice of liberty to the oppression of Mexico.

NOTE 4.

From the time that I asserted in an article,† which appeared in 1826, that "The Government of General Victoria always slumbered, and only woke to do ill," the President regarded me as his personal enemy; a mistake, which has led him into many errors. Amongst those who know General Victoria, his most partial friends confess that he is in the highest degree obstinate, and tenacious, both in his resolutions, and his opinions; at the same time that he plumes himself upon his profound political knowledge. From these two faults springs a third; that is, indecision in great affairs, and this produces a sort of apathy, which very much resembles imbecility of mind.

General Victoria, in general, has good intentions, and patriotism in his favour, but he is easily misled as to measures, and still more easily as to men. Under, his administration, our institutions might have been consolidated, and the nation might have advanced with rapid steps towards prosperity.

* The illustrious personages here mentioned, in any other country, and times, would have been consigned "to durance vile," as guilty themselves of that violence against which they were pleased to protest.

† Mr. Zavala was at this time one of the Editors of the Correo, to which he has been a constant, and efficient, contributor.

The reverse has taken place; because, amongst other reasons, the President has endeavoured to balance two parties, that is, in other words, to maintain them in perpetual strife.

NOTE 5.

Inhabitants of the State of Mexico;

Raised by the suffrages of your representatives to the supreme command of this powerful State, after eighteen years of sacrifices, and services, to my country, I consecrated my days to your felicity, promoting, by every means in my power, the prosperity of those arts, which form the riches of nations, and increase the happiness of individuals; removing the obstacles to improvement raised up, at every step, by the prejudices, and customs, propagated amongst us by a barbarous, and superstitious education; and encouraging our legislators to substitute for the Colonial Laws, which now determine the most essential interests of our civil existence, others more analogous with the free institutions which we have adopted, and by which we ought to be governed.

I did not conceive that I had any thing to apprehend from those enemies, who are always ready to pursue, in a thousand manners, those who have rendered any service to the country, or from whose information, and talents, useful reforms might be expected. Fulfilling strictly my duties as Governor, I opposed with energy the encroachments of the Executive of the Union upon the sovereignty of the State; and I gave proper publicity to parts of my correspondence upon this subject, both in order to enable the public to judge of the merits of the contending parties, and because I regarded it as useful to give an example of such questions, for their better elucidation.

I could not foresee that these slight circumstances would inspire the Ministry with an ignoble, and ungenerous resentment. They, on their side, had entered the lists with

similar arms; and I fancied that, by doing so, they had renounced all motives for secret rancour. I was mistaken.

The arduous question respecting the Presidency, with regard to which all the citizens of the Republic have shown, in different ways, their sympathies, and their antipathies, furnished the Ministers with an opportunity of avenging their supposed wrongs.

The proclamation of General Santa Anna, against which, as a public functionary, I constantly exerted myself, and in whose favour it cannot be demonstrated that, as an individual, I took any part, presented an opening, through which the attack might be made.

All knew that I had publicly professed my opinions in favour of the illustrious General Guerrero; that I was connected by the ties of friendship with those, who belonged to his party; and that, consequently, it would have become neither the frankness of my character, nor the nobleness with which a republican ought to act, to close all my communications with my former correspondents, who, upon this occasion, expressed themselves with more or less freedom, respecting the plan of Santa Anna.

The General Government, taking a most iniquitous advantage of the situation in which I was placed, prepared a plan of accusation against me in the Senate, where, as is publicly known, two-thirds of the members have declared, in the most undisguised manner, their hostility to all who belong to the party of the opposition. Insignificant documents were misinterpreted,—wretches were employed to fabricate letters, and anonymous communications against me; and even the undeniable right possessed by every government of arresting those who attack its existence, was preferred as a ground of accusation against me. A tempest rose around my head, and the Senate, without giving me time to answer my accusers, without even hearing me, as the laws require,—limiting me, in the most arbitrary, and illegal

manner, as to time,—determined that I should be put upon my trial; thus giving a new proof of the fatal effects of party spirit in times of effervescence.

The Senate had, however, a right to make this declaration, although it omitted several essential formalities; but what right had the Executive to order my house to be surrounded at dead of night by an armed band, with instructions to conduct me, ignominiously, to Mexico? Since when, have the President and his Ministers been invested with the power of thus insulting the citizens of the States, much less their supreme magistrates? Delivered over, as I was, to the Judicial power, which alone had the right to judge me, where was the necessity for the intervention of the Executive? Did not this manifest a desire in the Ministers to revenge themselves personally upon me; and, at the same time, was it not an outrage to the sovereignty of the State of Mexico?*

These considerations determined me rather to have recourse to flight, than to expose myself to the disgrace of being conducted to Mexico as a criminal, or perhaps to the misfortune of occasioning a bloody contest, which was preparing in my presence, and must have thrown the State into alarm. Those who know the influence which I have acquired over the Indian population,—those who know how much may be done by speaking a single word to them respecting a new distribution of lands,†—will do justice to the rest of my political conduct.

* I have already pointed out the fallacy of this statement. The highest legislative power of the country declared the existence of sufficient appearances of criminality to put Mr. Zavala upon his trial. The Executive was called upon to deliver up his person to justice, and took proper precautions to effect it. Was it to be presumed that the man, who set all these precautions at defiance, would have surrendered upon a simple intimation of the wishes of the Supreme Tribunal?

† This passage sufficiently demonstrates to what lengths Mr. Zavala is inclined to go, in order to secure the power, which he imagines to be his right.

The august Congress of the State has lent its sanction to my proceedings. It has seen with grief the outrage offered to the majesty of the laws, and the Executive power of the State. It has reserved for a more tranquil moment the right of raising its voice before the nation, to denounce these, and other offences; and I, in the mean time, wishing to avoid the resentment of an armed faction, remain quiet in the midst of you, hoping that when the new Congress is installed, justice will be done to those, who, when they triumphed in the name of the country, and in the defence of its rights, were always generous towards its perfidious enemies.

LORENZO DE ZAVALA.

Ocuila, 12th October, 1828.

NOTE 6.

There is not the least exaggeration in this. Filisola gave orders for arresting in the middle of the night several citizens of the State of Mexico, without applying to the Executive of the State. One of them, the unfortunate Milla, was conveyed to Mexico, and there destroyed by the balls, which the regiment of Toluca had the "inhumanity" to discharge from the Ex-Inquisition, where they were stationed.* Yet there are people impudent enough to assert that this Government sustained the Federal System, and acted in strict conformity to the laws!

NOTE 7.

My conversation with General Victoria is very remarkable. His first inquiry was, whether he was at liberty to act? I

* Milla appears to have been one of the prisoners whose rescue was attempted by the mob, many of whom were killed by their guards, before they were themselves overpowered. The "inhumanity" of the proceeding is, indeed, glaring; but how it could have been avoided is not equally clear.

replied, Yes; and not knowing would be required of him by compulsion. It might have been expected that, after such a question, he would enter at once upon some interesting discussion. This, however, was not the case. I then told him, very energetically, that he was the cause of all the evils which the Republic was enduring, as well as of those which were still to be expected:—I added, that since his ministry had hurried on these calamities, and plunged the nation into this abyss, he ought to change it instantly; and I allowed him, if I may use the expression, a very short term of payment; because, as I added, if this be not done, the evils will continue, and it is my wish to cut them short." He replied, that we would talk the matter over at night, and arrange all these questions.* "Well, Sir, said I, let it be so. But take notice, that the Capital is in a state of anarchy, and that the country itself will soon be so. It is absolutely necessary to appoint new chiefs, and other authorities, of which we are at present in want. The question is a most pressing one."

His Excellency, upon this, asked for an escort and withdrew. We remained astonished at the coolness, or rather the indifference of the President, while contemplating all that had occurred. Every thing was confusion, and disorder, around, but General Victoria did not appear to be in any way affected by the great events, of which he was a witness.

NOTE 8.

In the evening, Messrs. Herrera, Acosta, Gondra, Zerecero, Alpuche and others, met me in the President's apartments at

* It does not seem unnatural that the head of a Government, whose authority had just been overturned, should require a few hours to reflect upon the means of substituting a new system for that which had ceased to exist. To appoint a Ministry in the midst of a scene of carnage, and plunder, would have been rather a novel mode for a President to change his constitutional advisers, and might have been regarded as ominous by people accustomed to less violent measures.

the palace. His Excellency apologized for any share which he might have had in causing the late events, and deplored the calamities brought upon the country. We proposed a change in the Ministry, and he promised that it should be made in the following day.

NOTE 9.

I ought to remark, that no part of what I here state is advanced gratuitously, or without proofs.

Those who applied to me respecting the Revolution of Tulancingo, inviting me to take part in it, assured me that the President was himself committed in it, and General Bravo's Manifesto confirms it.* When the New York Lodges were established, Mr. Alpuche assured me, that it was with the full concurrence of the President.

When I returned to Tlalpam,† he told me that the Supreme Government, and he himself personally, would support me, if any one should dispute the legality of my reinstallation. I was well aware that I could not reckon upon similar speeches. The Revolution was enough, and more than enough, for me; and, at proper times and seasons, I have energy sufficient to turn its consequence to full account.

NOTE 10.

All who are acquainted with the history of our Revolution, know the cruelties, the crimes, and the perfidious acts attributed to Gonzalez. Those who inhabit the neighbourhood of Tlalpam, Ajusco, and Cuernavaca, know likewise that he was a man whom all feared, and who acknowledged neither laws,

* I am not aware of any passage from which this inference can be drawn. Besides, the idea of Mr. Zavala's having been consulted, or invited to take part in a plan, the object of which was to put down a party, of which he was notoriously the head, is absolutely preposterous.

† After the December Revolution.

nor authorities.* The Executive was forced to have recourse to the most unworthy methods in order to induce him to obey its orders. In the last Revolution, he had sworn to assassinate the enemies of Pedraza, and he was a man who knew full well how to keep similar engagements.

When passing, at eleven at night, with Messrs. Cerecero, Saboli, and others, near the house of Don Juan Guzman, we heard a shot, and immediately entered. I inquired for him; and his family, fearful that I wished to injure him, concealed him from me. I assured them that my wish was to save, and not to destroy him; and upon this, he was presented to me, with one hand wounded by the shot which we had heard. I freed him from the daggers which were directed against him, though I reproached him at the same time with the gross injustice evinced by him in my cause. In fact, it is notorious, that between him and the Juez de Letras of Tlalpam, they formed an inventory of my goods, and laid a sort of sequestration upon them, naming a trustee, as if they had been my guardians, or as if my goods and chattels had been taking a part in political events.†

It was fortunate for me that the trustees were Messrs. Malo and Bonilla, thanks to whom, I found every thing as I left it.

* It is not by such vague charges as these, that the men, who, without law or authority, butchered Gonzalez in cold blood, can justify the deed. Doubtless he committed during the war of independence many unjustifiable acts, but so did every one of those, who are now exalted as the heroes of the country. With regard to disobedience to the Executive, I know that he was employed in several commissions, of which he acquitted himself to the President's satisfaction: and, if he was feared in the vicinity of his Hacienda, it was by the banditti, of whom he had contributed to clear the country around. His real crime was the courage with which he fought in support of the Government, and by which he had been too much distinguished not to be removed.

† I am not sufficiently conversant with Spanish law to say how far Mr. Guzman exceeded his powers in laying hands upon the property of

REMARKS OF THE TRANSLATOR.

It is not from any personal hostility to Mr. Zavala, but from a detestation of the principles, to which he has affixed his name in his present publication, that the observations with which I have accompanied it, proceed.

While these principles constitute the political creed of the men, to whom the destinies of Mexico are entrusted, there can be no confidence in the stability of any Government, which they may succeed in establishing.

The Revolution was in itself an evil, which the violence of party-spirit had, perhaps, rendered unavoidable; and so gradual was the growth of this spirit, that men of the most upright, and patriotic, views, might find themselves, involuntarily engaged in the struggle, to which it led.

To confess the illegality of that struggle,—to throw a veil over its excesses, and to deplore the calamities produced by it, even while turning them to account,—such was the line that prudence dictated to a Party desirous to give a legal colouring to its usurpation, and to palliate the violence by which its power had been acquired.

But to justify this insurrection, by proclaiming it a principle of national law, or rather, the unalienable, indisputable right of man, is to sap the foundations of society itself, by rendering the exercise of any species of authority impracticable.

The more ingenuity, or rather, the more sophistry, is displayed in the establishment of such a creed, the more dangerous does it become; particularly in a country where patriotism, (to

an individual, who had fled from justice. But, whatever may have been the provocation, it is melancholy, indeed, to hear the application of daggers and pistols to a judge, because he has done, or even exceeded, his duty, talked of as a thing of course, and his rescue from such violence extolled as an act of generosity, and virtue.

use the word in its pure, and unadulterated sense,) is not regulated by knowledge; and where the impulses of the great mass of the inhabitants are guided neither by any previous reflection upon the theories of government, nor by a practical acquaintance with their effects.

Mr. Zavala has the credit therefore of having introduced a system, the application of which to himself, and his friends, he has justified both by precept, and by example. According to this system, the Patriots, should their expectations of advantage from the late Revolution not be realized, are warranted in continuing their labours, until their public-spirited views are carried more fully into effect; while, by the same authority, the opponents of the recent changes may attempt a reaction, the moment they acquire sufficient consistency, as a party, to set the Executive at defiance.

The natural conclusions to be drawn from these premises are, that the labours of four whole years have been wasted; the instability of the System adopted in 1824 proved; the organization of the country broken up; and the nation left once more to establish a government as it may, and to hope that it will prove more durable than the last;—an expectation, in which Mr. Zavala's lessons, if not disavowed by General Guerrero, would hardly lead me to indulge.

I say this with no other feeling than one of disappointment, and regret; but I will neither disgrace my pages by recording Mr. Zavala's doctrines without refuting them, nor allow it to be supposed that I can, for an instant, imagine that such pernicious maxims can be productive of any good.

If any man in particular can be accused of lowering the character of his country in Europe, it is he, who, by attempting to palm such doctrines upon the credulity of his fellow-citizens, contributes more effectually than any passing disturbance towards the destruction of those hopes of progressive amelioration, which, from the results of the first years of self-government in Mexico, Europe was inclined to entertain.

We have seen,—we have felt,—the consequences, with which Mr. Zavala's theories must be attended; nor is there any thing in the position, or character, of the Mexicans, to exempt them from the evils, which a similar casuistry has brought upon the rest of the world. Let them hasten, then, to disavow these fatal doctrines; let the voice of the country, and the Legislature, be raised against them; or let them not complain if silence lead to farther suffering, and suffering, thus merited, produce neither compassion, nor regret.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

18*th June.*

It was my intention to have closed my work with the translation of the preceding documents, and the remarks annexed; but having received Mexican papers up to the 5th of April, I think it expedient to add the most important portion of their contents.

They record the installation of General Guerrero as President, on the 1st of last April; the Manifesto addressed by him to his fellow-citizens, upon his inauguration; the farewell speech of General Victoria; and the law for the expulsion of the Spanish residents.*

It is neither my wish, nor my intention, to analyse too strictly publications of no durable interest, or importance. The use, or abuse, of authority is not determined by the professions, with which the gift of it is received: it is to time

* This law is general in its application, and embraces all Spaniards, and children of Spaniards born upon the high seas, (whether by a Spanish, or a Creole, mother,) with the exception of the natives of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. The term of two, and three, months respectively, (according to the States in which they reside,) is assigned to them for quitting the Republic. Monks and friars are included in the decree, and the Government pays the passage of those, who are without resources of their own, as far as the United States.

Nothing is said respecting the property which they are compelled to abandon, and which it is impossible to realize in so very short a time.

that we must look for proofs of their sincerity. I hail, however, with pleasure, such sentiments as these:

"Upon the reconciliation of all classes of citizens, I found my hopes of banishing from the Republic feuds, and divisions, and thus destroying the germ of civil war. Mutual forgiveness, after the late clash of opinions, will abate the bitterness of the fruits, which excited passions have produced, and heal the wounds inflicted in a contest, to which all must look back with grief, because it has been most injurious to the country. The union of her sons is sufficient to place Mexico amongst the most fortunate countries in the world. May heaven grant that oblivion of the past, may secure our future tranquillity!"*

The same feelings prevail throughout the Manifesto, and though intermixed with many crude theories as to trade, and political economy, which General Guerrero confesses not to be his *fort*, and which it would, perhaps, have been more prudent not to mention; they inspire some confidence in the general tenour of his administration, and authorize a hope that tranquillity will be preserved.

The state of the finances of the Republic is not pictured in very favourable terms, but immediate and extensive reductions are promised, in every branch but one.

This *one* is, unfortunately, that, without a reform in which, as already demonstrated, retrenchment in other quarters is of little avail,—the Army.

Of this the new President speaks with the utmost tenderness. He calls it his beloved family, and dilates, with transports of gratitude, upon its services, and merits.

Its numbers, in lieu of being diminished, are to be increased, (though the present establishment consumes eleven millions of dollars annually,) and no efforts are to be spared, on the part of the Government, to promote the warlike propensities of the

* General Guerrero's Speech to Congress.

nation, and to render the Army worthy of the high destinies for which it is reserved.*

I do not pretend to understand either the policy, or the practicability of such a system; for I see neither the end to be attained by it, nor the means, by which it is to be kept up.

I augur, therefore, but little good from its adoption, and nothing but pure, and unmixed, evil from its continuance.

Nor is this the only portion of the documents before me, that inspires me with apprehension, and distrust.

I had hoped that, considering the extreme publicity of the late events, a decent affectation of regret for the part which the victors had been compelled to take in them, would have been kept up, and a veil thrown over the calamities, with which they were attended.

In lieu of this, funeral solemnities have been performed in honour of Lobato, Garcia, and the other Yorkino leaders, who perished at the Acordada; and an oration pronounced in their praise by Mr. Gondra, a member of the Municipality of that Capital, upon which they inflicted the horrors of civil war.

General Victoria, too, stoops to say, in his last discourse, that, "Amidst the various troubles which the Republic had experienced, as a necessary effect of its new social organization, General Guerrero, and the Army, alone, had remained faithful to the institutions, which they had sworn to protect."†

To me such a declaration, from such a quarter, appears not less a perversion of common language, than a profanation of common sense.

We may smile at the vanity of Santa Anna's epistolary effusions, in one of which he affirms, "that, in the general opinion of his fellow-citizens, he and Mr. Zavala are the body, and General Guerrero the soul, of Mexican liberty, which,

* Manifesto, p. 12.

† General Victoria's Address to his Successor, as published with his signature.

without their protection, would cease to exist;" but we must deplore the voluntary humiliation of a man, who, after an honourable career of nearly twenty years, ought not to have kissed the hand, by which his authority was overthrown, or to have preached insubordination, by eulogizing those, whom he tried, but tried in vain, to reduce to obedience.

Truth must, indeed, be difficult of attainment in after ages, if, within three short months, events witnessed by thousands, can be thus disfigured, and a statement consigned to posterity, in which the honours due to virtue are transferred to triumphant vice.*

An Amnesty has been published by Congress, in which, however, Bravo and his friends are not included. It merely embraces those, who, from the 10th of September, 1828, to the 12th of January, 1829, "pronounced themselves against the Government, or took any part in the disturbances which preceded and followed the acts of the Acordada."

There is no mention made in the President's speech of the foreign loans. The Manifesto, indeed, contains an allusion to the subject, but not of the most agreeable nature, since it is merely an assurance, that if *another* loan should be required, it shall be employed honestly, and exclusively, in opening out those sources of internal prosperity, which the capitals placed at the disposal of the Government four years ago, have not yet called into existence.

The theory is good, but, as a financial operation, in the present state of Mexican credit, it is impossible that it should be practically illustrated, unless, indeed, a sacrifice of territory in the North be resorted to, in order to obtain supplies.

It is said that a proposition has been made to the Congress

* I use these terms in a civil, and not a moral sense. With the last, as relates to individuals, I have nothing to do; but as long as subordination, and respect for the laws, are classed amongst the good qualities of a citizen, I shall maintain that an army, after a successful insurrection, is not entitled to this praise.

for imposing a tax of ten per cent. upon all exportations of bullion, and for raising the duties now paid by cotton and woollen goods, in order to afford protection to native manufactures.

The first of these measures must be regarded as a violation of those engagements, upon the faith of which foreigners were induced to embark so large a capital in the mines of New Spain: the second, by reducing to little more than half the present produce of the Customs, will deprive the Executive of the means of collecting the other branches of the revenue, which are now in a state of complete disorganization.

Both will tend to promote a system of universal smuggling, for which facilities exist in every part of Mexico, and to which the established houses will be compelled to resort.

As long as the different manufactures of New Spain can be imitated in Europe, and sold upon the Table Land at one-fourth of the price, at which they are brought into the market by the manufacturers of La Puebla, and Queretaro, it is not in the power of any Government to afford them protection. The attempt will only lead to the ruin of the revenue, and the total demoralization of the population.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Zavala, who is appointed Minister of the Finance department, will view the question in this light, and prevent an evil, which, whatever be his talents, it will not be in his power to remedy.

My readers will form their own opinion of the prospects of New Spain, by the facts which I have here submitted to their consideration.

There is much to fear, but there is also something to hope; for many of the causes of former disturbances have ceased to exist, and General Guerrero pledges himself, "that he will show no weakness or uncertainty in his measures, nor yield to the influence of contending parties, living from day to day without any fixed plan, or stability in his system.*"

* Manifesto, p. 17.

This has long been a desideratum in Mexico, and will compensate many disadvantages. But firmness must be accompanied by moderation, and guided by strict impartiality, or it will do little towards repairing that devastation, which the fury of party spirit, and the vacillating policy of the late Government, have occasioned.

ERRATA.

In the first Edition, as well as in the present, the height of the town of Catorce above the level of the sea was erroneously given, the calculations made by Colonel Graces upon the observations of Captain Wylde, being entirely wrong.

I am now enabled to rectify this mistake, and to state that, according to the calculations of Captain Wylde himself, the height of the town of Catorce is 9,254 English feet, and that of the Cerro del Verde, or de La Leona, (one of the highest adjoining peaks) 10,645 feet.

GENERAL INDEX

OF SPANISH WORDS.

Abrojos, thorns, prickles.
Acequias, canals of irrigation.
Acojote, a long gourd.
Acuerdo, resolution or legal opinion of Audiencia, when consulted by the Viceroy.
Administracion, board of management.
Administrador, steward, overseer.
Aduana, custom-house.
Adobe, mud bricks.
Aguamiel, the unfermented juice of the aloe.
Alameda, public walk.
Albaradon, dike.
Alberga, natural hollow, or recess.
Alcalde, officer of justice.
Alcavala, a tax varying in its amount, payable upon each transfer of goods.
Alhondiga, public granary.
Alimentos, allowance made to mining proprietors by those who undertake to work their mines.
Amparada, a mine worked to a sufficient extent to preserve a legal title, and no more.
Anquera, a covering for the hind quarter of the horse, of leather or fur.
Arepa, maize-cake.
Aparejo, Mexican pack-saddles for mules.
Apartado, establishment for separating the gold from the silver, when combined.
Apolvillados, ores superior in quality to the azogues.
Apolvillados buenos, rich ores.
Arastre, crushing-mill.
Armas de agua, skins attached to the pummel of the saddle to protect the knees from rain, or from the thorny underwood.
Arenillos, refuse earth.
Arroba, 25lb. weight.
Atajo, a string of mules.
Atolli, maize boiled with water.
Atierres, refuse ores.
Audiencia, Supreme Court of Justice.
Aviador, a person who habilitates a mine; that is, who furnishes the money for working it by a contract with the proprietors.
Avio, contract between the mining proprietor and capitalist, or habilitator, for the advance of money.
Ayuntamiento, municipality.
Azogues, common or inferior ores.
Azotea, flat roof of a house.
Aztecs, ancient Mexicans.

Bando, decree, proclamation.
Bagre, Tierra Caliente fish, without scales.
Banana, plantain.
Barra, one of the 24 imaginary shares into which a mine is divided.
Barra de plata, 136 marcs of silver.

Barranca, ravine.
Barretero, common miner.
Barrio, suburb.
Baxio, a part of the States of Guanajuato, Queretaro, Valladolid, and Guadalajara, remarkable for their fertility, and conjointly thus called.
Bendicion, blessing.
Beneficio, system of reducing ores.
Boletas, checks.
Bolsa, purse.
Bonanza, sea term, expressive of fine weather, and used by miners to denote a mine covering its expenses, and leaving a profit.
Borrasca, the reverse of bonanza.
Boveda, vaulted chamber.
Brazeador, horse with particularly high action before.
Buscones, searchers.

Cabildo, municipality.
Cabildo Ecclesiastico, Cathedral Chapter.
Cafetal; coffee-plantation.
Cajas, treasuries.
Canada, ravine.
Capella, cupelling furnace.
Carga, mule load of 300lbs.
Cargador, porter.
Cata, mine denounced, but unworked.
Cazo, cauldron in which amalgamation is sometimes effected.
Cebo, tallow.
Cedulas, checks.
——— Reales; royal decrees.
Consontli, mocking-bird.
Cerro, a hill, or mountain: it is used indiscriminately.
Cibucan, a bag used for expressing the juice of the Yuca Amarga.
Cienega, a marsh.
Champorrada, a preparation of maize and chocolate mixed.
Chicha, a fermented liquor made from maize.
Chile, capsicum.
Chinos, or Zambos, descendants of Negroes and Indians.
Chingarito, coarse rum.
Chirimoya, a superior kind of custard-apple.
Clavo, a bunch of rich ores.
Coffre, the crest of the mountain of Perote; literally, a chest.
Cohete, a rocket.
Colorados, ores impregnated with oxyd of iron, and in a state of decomposition.
Corazon, the heart or central portion of the aloe.
Corral, enclosure.
Costal, miner's-sack.
Costre, saline incrustation.
Coyote, Mexican jackal.
Creoles, whites of pure European blood born in America.
Cuchara, spoon; share of the administrador in a mine.
Cura, Vicar.

Dependiente, superior kind of servant.
Desadgue, drainage.
Desadgue de Huehuetoca, great canal, or Cut of Huehuetoca.
Despacho, department of state; or, in mining language, places for the reception of ores.
Dictamen, opinion of Audiencia.
Dulces, sweet-meats.

Emborrascada, applied to a vein not producing good ores.
Escardadores, weeders.
Estacion de las aguas, rainy season.
Escoces, member of the Scotch Masonic Lodge.
Estanco, monopoly.
Estancias, stations for feeding cattle.
Estio, dry season.

Fabrica, manufactory.
Fanega, a bushel, sometimes half a mule load.
Fiscal, legal adviser.
Frijoles, beans, haricots.
Fueros, special privileges.

Gachupin, native of Old Spain.
Galera, gallery of a reduction-work, or building attached to a mine.
Ganado, mayor; horned cattle.
——— menor, sheep and goats.
Gergetilla, woollen stuff.
Grana, cochineal.
Granilla, cochineal of an inferior quality.
Grenadito, fruit of the passion-flower.

Godos, a name by which the Old Spaniards are designated in parts of America.
Guava, fruit so called.

Habilitador, habilitator, or person who advances money for working a mine.
Hacienda, estate.
———— de Azucar, sugar-estate.
———— de cria, breeding estate.
———— de beneficio, amalgamation-works.
———— labor, of tillage.
———— trigo, corn-estate.
———— publica, the finances in general.
Hectare, 11,960. 46 English square yards, or 2 acres, 1 rood, 35. 4 perches.
Hilitos, threads of ore.
Horno, furnace.

Indulto, pardon.
Ingenio, works belonging to a sugar plantation.
Intendente, intendant.

Junta, a junta.

Kilogramme, 2,04288lbs.

Labores, works of a mine.
Lana de chinchorro, best Queretaro wool.
Lasso, cord with a noose.
Leperos, the Lazzaroni of the great towns.
Ley de oro, proportion of gold combined with the silver.
Llano, plain.
Lumbrera, air-shaft.

Machete, large cut and thrust sword.
Magistral, copper pyrites roasted.
Maguey, aloe-plant.
Malacate, horse-whim.
Manga, cloak worn in riding.
Manta, a blanket.
Marco de plata, (silver,) 8½ dollars.
———— oro, (gold,) 136 dollars.
Matanza, season for killing goats.
Mestizos, mixed whites and Indians.
Meson, inn.
Metre 39, 371 English inches.
Mexical, or mescal, brandy made from the aloe.
Mineral, mining district.
Mita, law by which the Indians were subjected to compulsory labour.
Molienda, the process of grinding ores so as to prepare them for the action of quicksilver.
Molonque, crystallization of silver.
Monte, a favourite game of cards throughout America.
Monton, a heap of pulverized ore, containing a number of "Cargas," varying according to the district.
Mortero, a stamping machine.
Mulattoe, descendants of whites and Negroes.

Niño, boy.
Nopal, prickly pear.
Noria, water-wheel.
Norte, north wind.

Obrages, manufactory.
Obras pias, charitable foundations.
Octli, pulque.
Organos, a particular kind of cactus.

Palanca, cross-beam.
Palmares, woods of dwarf palm-trees.
Palo Moralete, a Tierra Caliente tree, the wood of which when pounded produces a yellow dye.
Pañete, kind of wrapper.
Pañuelo del sol, handkerchief worn loose across the shoulders by the Rancheros, to protect the back from the sun.
Partido, share of ore raised assigned to workmen, and varying in its amount.
Pase, Exequatur; Regium placet.
Paso, pace peculiar to Mexican horse.
Patio, court.
Patio de amalgamacion, amalgamation-court.
Pedegral, Stony district.
Pegador, man who sets fire to the matches for blasting.
Pepena, picked ore, of the best quality.
Pepenadores, ore-dressers.

Peon, working Indian.
Pertinencia, extent of 200 varas upon a vein, to which a title is acquired by denunciation.
Peso, dollar.
Petanques, crystallizations of silver.
Pimpollo, leading Sprout.
Pintos, inhabitants of particular districts affected by a disorder which discolours the skin with large blue spots, and may be communicated by contact.
Pita, fibrous part of the aloe, of which rope or thread is made.
Planes, lowest levels of a mine.
Plaza mayor, great square.
Polvillos, ores richly impregnated with silver.
Polvos de grana, cochineal dust.
Potreros, enclosures for cattle.
Presas, reservoirs of water.
Presidarios, convicts.
Procurador, legal adviser.
Provincias Internas, the northern provinces under the old government.
Pueblo, a large village, or town, not possessing the rank of city.
Puente, bridge.
Pulque, beverage made from the aloe.
Puros, segars.

Quajado, dull lead ore.
Quemadero, burning-house.
Quilate, 4 grains.—24 quilates, pure gold.
Quintal, 100lbs.

Rancho, a village.
Ranchero, Mexican peasant; the term is applied, however, generally to the inhabitants of the country, as distinct from those of the towns.
Rastrillo, rake.
Raya, weekly expenditure.
Real, 8 reales make 1 dollar.
Reales cedulas, royal decrees.
Rebozo, a shawl of striped calico, used by the lower orders.
Regador, waterer.
Regidor, member of the Cabildo.
Rescatador, purchaser of ores, which he reduces on his own account.
Residencia, examination to which Viceroys, and other high officers, were subjected on their removal.
Repasador, labourer employed in working up the ores during the process of reduction.
Riego, process of watering lands by artificial means.
Rio, river.
Rumbeador, man whose occupation it is to seek for mineral veins in the mountains.

Sabino, cypress.
Sacatlascal, a parasitic plant, the seed of which produces a yellow dye.
Sala, principal room of a hacienda.
Salones, caverns; hollows on the course of a vein.
Semilla, seed.
Semillero, a piece of ground covered with young coffee-plants.
Serape, coloured blanket.
Sitio, de ganado mayor, a square of 5000 varas, or a superficies of twenty-five millions of varas.
Socabon, adit.

Tahona, crushing-mill, (arrastre.)
Tajo, cut.
—— abierto, open cut.
Talega, bag of dollars usually containing 1000.
Tanda, system of compulsory labour
Tanque, reservoir of water.
Tapa ojos, bandage placed over the eyes of mules.
Tapalo, a long shawl.
Tapia, rammed earth.
Tarea, 100 quintals.
Tejo, cake of gold, or gold and silver combined.
Tenateros, carriers.
Tentadura, mode of trying a small portion of the "torta," by washing it, in order to ascertain whether the amalgamation of the silver with the quicksilver has taken effect.
Teocalled, ancient pyramid.
Tepetate, rubbish; refuse.
Tercios, packages of a proper size for conveyance on mules.
Territorio, district.

ng-vat for the amal-

radiza, land annually
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o, the northern States;
rithin land.
te, the hot country.
ida, the temperate dis-

he cold country.
ules; two, four, or
may happen.
f a mine.
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i maize-cake.
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rhich two out of three
arily old Spaniards.

Troge, buildings for the reception of grain; sometimes of stone, and very large.
Tulsa, a sort of large ground squirrel.
Tulsales, burrows of the tulsas.

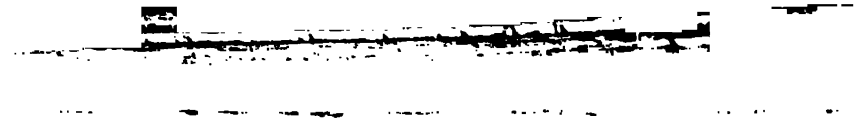
Vara, the Mexican vara is 2 feet 2 inches 046 lines, English measure.
Vaquero, mounted cowherd.
Vecino, householder.
Venta, inn.
Veta, vein.
Vomito, black vomit, or Vera Cruz yellow fever.

Yorkino, member of New York Masonic lodge.

Zacate, dried maize-stalk, grass.
Zacatilla, December crop of cochineal esteemed the best.
Zambos, descendants of Negroes and Indians.

THE END

LONDON:
PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.



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